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1815.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

LIST OF THE PRINCE REGENT'S MINISTERS,

As it stood at the opening of the New Parliament, November 24, 1812.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl of Harrowby	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl of Liverpool	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister).
Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart . .	Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Lord Viscount Melville	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl Mulgrave	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Lord Viscount Sidmouth	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Lord Viscount Castlereagh . . .	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Earl Bathurst	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Earl of Buckinghamshire	President of the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. Charles Bathurst . .	Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Right Hon. George Rose	Treasurer of the Navy.
Earl of Clancarty	President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. F. J. Robinson . . .	Vice-President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. Charles Long . . . Lord Charles Somerset	Joint Paymaster-General of the Forces.
Earl of Chichester . . . . Earl of Sandwich	Joint Postmaster-General.
Viscount Palmerston	Secretary at War.
Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot . . Richard Wharton, Esq.	Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Thomas Plumer	Attorney-General.
Sir William Garrow	Solicitor-General.

IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
Right Hon. Robert Peel	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. W. Fitzgerald . . .	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

HISTORY OF EUROPE,

FOR 1813.

CHAPTER I.

Meeting of Parliament.—Prince Regent's Speech on opening the Session.—Debates on the Address.—Sir Francis Burdett's Motion concerning the Regency.

THE new parliament met on the 24th of November, 1812. After the usual formalities had been gone through, the Prince Regent, on the 30th of the same month, pronounced from the throne a speech which embraced a comprehensive view of the great events of the year.

His royal highness stated, that he had been induced to take the earliest opportunity of meeting his parliament after the late elections; and he was persuaded they would cordially participate in the satisfaction, which he derived from the improvement of the state of public affairs during the course of the year. That the valour displayed by his majesty's forces, and those of his allies, in the peninsula, on so many occasions during the last campaign, and the consummate skill with which the operations had been conducted by general the Marquis of Wellington, had led to consequences of the utmost importance to the common cause. By transferring the war into the interior of Spain, and by the glorious and ever-memorable victory obtained at Salamanca, he had compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Cadiz; and the southern provinces of the kingdom had been thus delivered from the armies of France. Although his royal highness could not but regret that the efforts of the French, combined with a view to one great operation, had rendered it necessary to withdraw from the siege of Burgos, and to evacuate Madrid, for the purpose of concentrating the main body of the allied forces; these efforts of the enemy had however been attended with important sacrifices on his part, which must materially con-

tribute to extend the resources and facilitate the exertions of the Spanish nation. His royal highness expressed his firm reliance on the determination of parliament to continue every aid in support of a contest which had first given to the continent of Europe, the example of persevering and successful resistance to the power of France, and on which not only the liberties of the nations of the peninsula, but the best interests of his majesty's dominions essentially depended.

The restoration of peace betwixt his majesty and the courts of St Petersburgh and Stockholm was announced, and copies of the treaties were laid before parliament. The exertions of the Russian empire were highly applauded. By the magnanimity of its emperor, by the zeal and disinterestedness of all ranks of his subjects, by the firmness and intrepidity of his forces, the presumptuous expectations of the enemy had been signally disappointed. The enthusiasm of the Russian people had increased with the difficulties of the contest, and the dangers with which they were surrounded. They had submitted to sacrifices of which there are few examples in the history of the world.—A confident hope was expressed by his royal highness, that the determined perseverance of his imperial majesty would be crowned with ultimate success; and that this contest, in its result, would have the effect of establishing, upon a foundation never to be shaken, the security and independence of the Russian empire. The proof of confidence which his royal highness had received from his imperial majesty, who had recently sent his fleets to the ports of this country, was in the highest degree gratifying; and it was added, that his imperial majesty might rely on the fixed determination of his royal highness to afford him the most cordial support in the great contest in which he was engaged.

The conclusion of a supplementary treaty with the regency of Sicily, the object of which was to provide for the more extensive application of the military force of the Sicilian government to offensive operations, was also announced; this measure, combined with the liberal principles now happily prevailing in the councils of his Sicilian majesty, was calculated to augment his power and resources, and, at the same time, to render them essentially serviceable to the common cause.

The declaration of war by the government of the United States of America, was said, in the speech, to have been made under circumstances which might have afforded a reasonable expectation, that the amicable relations betwixt the two nations would not long be interrupted; but the conduct and pretensions of the American government had hitherto prevented the conclusion of any pacific arrangement. The measures of hostility, on the part of America, had been principally directed against the adjoining British provinces, and every effort had been made to seduce the inhabitants of them from their allegiance to his majesty. The proofs, however, of loyalty and attachment received from his majesty's subjects in North America, were highly satisfactory. The attempts of the enemy to invade Upper Canada, had not only proved abortive, but, by the judicious arrangements of the governor-general, and by the skill and decision with which the military operations had been conducted, the forces of the enemy assembled for that purpose in one quarter, had been compelled to capitulate, and in another had been completely defeated. The best efforts of his royal highness should not be wanting for restoring the relations of peace and amity between the two

countries; but until this object could be attained, without sacrificing the maritime rights of Great Britain, he relied upon the cordial support of parliament in a vigorous prosecution of the war.—The prince concluded by stating, that the approaching expiration of the charter of the East India company, rendered it necessary that the early attention of parliament should be called to the propriety of providing for the future government of the Indian provinces of the British empire.

A very wide field of discussion was entered into by the members of both houses of parliament, when the address was moved; and a comprehensive survey was taken of the state of public affairs. Athough men of all parties approved of the general spirit which pervaded the address (which was of course an echo of the speech,) the alleged practical errors of administration were the subject of severe censure.—It was admitted, indeed, that the address would have been most unsatisfactory, had it, with respect to the great contest in the peninsula, or the cause in which the Emperor of Russia was engaged, assumed in any degree a lower tone than that which pervaded it. "Nothing less, it was observed, was demanded by the interests of the country, by a proper zeal for our own honour, or by a true regard to the welfare of our allies, embarked in the same great cause with ourselves. The speech from the throne anticipated wisdom, firmness, and prudence, from parliament on the present trying occasion, when the eyes of Europe, nay, of the world, were fixed upon us. There was nothing novel in this language to be sure, but there was the most splendid novelty in the circumstances to which it was applied. Parliament would exercise the same wisdom, it would evince the same perseverance, it would display the same firmness, especially on the great question of the war in the peninsula, as it had hitherto shewn. That country, it was remarked, at this moment naturally excited the most lively interest—for great as the triumphs achieved there had been, they were not unchequered by misfortune. But, as it was certainly the highest mark of wisdom to persevere, with reasonable grounds of hope, in the face of danger and difficulty, so it was the highest character of firmness to meet the tide of success without intoxication, to analyze the grounds upon which it depended, and from that analysis, carefully and cautiously pursued, to deduce one general and consistent ground of public action. Even if our success had been general and unqualified, a wise man would say to those who represented an enlightened nation, to those who were prepared and anxious to do their duty—be not led away by this success—be not intoxicated with it—let not its lustre so dazzle your faculties, that you perceive neither whence it originated, how it may be rendered permanent, nor to what ultimate objects it may be applied. We had, indeed, done much in Spain; but, what still remained to be done? And that question naturally led to a review of the events which had taken place there, since the time when Lord Wellington was before Badajoz. From the very commencement of the struggle in the peninsula, the only solid ground of success, the only practical system of resistance which could be adopted, was to awaken in the people of Spain a spirit of hostility to France, and to succour and aid that hostility upon a broad and extensive scale of operations. With our force and resources properly directed in that way, great advantages might be expected, and final triumph be ensured. It was, indeed, very clear, that the ruler of

France never would desist from his object, till some overwhelming force should interrupt the career of his ambition. If the Spanish people could once bring themselves to feel that there was no evil to be put in competition for a moment with that of submission to the government of France; that loss of property, loss of relations, loss of all that was dear to them, loss of life itself, was small and insignificant, compared to that tremendous and overwhelming calamity—submission to France; if they could be brought to this pitch of patriotism and resistance, every thing might then be hoped from the contest. Our efforts co-operating with this general feeling, might have been productive of the greatest benefits. The person who now ruled over the destinies of France would, were such a system pursued, either find himself, by the success of our arms, reduced to the necessity of abandoning the cause; or his ambition, leading him to exert all his means and energies in this one quarter, would rouse his secret enemies in other parts of Europe, who would seize the opportunity of his reverses in Spain, to shake off his yoke. He would then be compelled to divide his forces; and a prospect of more easy success to our efforts in the peninsula would be opened.—Such it was said was the view which ought to be taken of the contest in Spain, and with regard to the spirit of universal hostility in the Spanish people, which was so essential to success, that had been produced in its fullest force in the course of last year. The success of the British arms in Spain had moreover been felt and considered in Russia as the salvation of that country; had it not been for our triumphs in the peninsula, the leader of France would have been able to direct a military force against Russia, so vast and overwhelming as to preclude the hope of successful resistance. But was not all this foreseen, and was not this the very basis on which the system to be pursued in our present situation should be founded? What then followed from this view of the subject? The moment it was known that such efforts were making in Russia, the moment it was known that resistance was commencing on the one side, ought we not to have made every effort on the other,—ought we not to have strained all the resources of the country to their very utmost; and if we were honest in our professions respecting the common cause, ought we not to have seized the momentous crisis which had occurred, to strike one grand and decisive blow?

"It became a great question therefore, whether the system of policy which had hitherto been pursued was founded upon just and extended principles; whether an able and efficient direction of our resources had been made; whether such means as the country possessed had been fully employed; and whether, upon the whole, the result had been such as the nation had a right to expect, from the possession of those means, and the just application of them.—The true and legitimate object of the contest was, the expulsion of the French armies from Spain: this was the plain and practical view of the matter; it was intelligible to all; and it became necessary to enquire what had been done in the course of the year towards its accomplishment, compared with what might have been done if our resources had been properly, wisely, and efficiently employed. Now the war in the peninsula had been carried on in a way totally inadequate to the accomplishment of the only practical object of the contest. Let us look back to the period of the reduction of Badajoz—the beginning of April last. At that time the great general who com-

manded our armies in Spain having reduced that important fortress, his next step, it was natural to suppose, especially at that season of the year, would be to expel the French from the south of Spain. But why did he not do so? Because his means were deficient; because he was under the necessity of abandoning his object—that of marching against Soult, and raising the siege of Cadiz, his resources being inadequate; and he was under the necessity of marching northward with his army, because in the north of Spain there was no force which he could leave sufficient to check the progress of Marmont. To the north he accordingly did proceed, and there he was, from the operation of the same causes, compelled to remain on the frontiers of Spain till the 13th of June, and by that time Marmont's army was in such a state, from the accession of reinforcements, that it became doubtful whether the British commander could safely advance. But why did he remain inactive so long? Because his means of advancing were insufficient; because he wanted money, and supplies of every sort; because he had not the common means of transport to convey his artillery. At last, however, Lord Wellington advanced without a battering train, not because he thought it unnecessary for the success of his military operations, but because he literally had not the means of transporting it. After Lord Wellington did advance, what was his real situation? He had advanced because he expected powerful co-operation on the other side of the peninsula, agreeably to the plan concerted with him even when he was before Badajoz. He must have expected the assistance of this force, therefore, at the time of his advance into Spain; for, had he not so expected it, his advance into that country would have been unjustifiable, even though success had ultimately attended his progress. It was certain, however, that he remained a considerable time on the frontier, waiting for intelligence of the arrival of this co-operating force, but waiting in vain; he then advanced, still confident in his hope that it would arrive in time to make a strong diversion in his favour. But he soon discovered (as every one knew) the army of Marmont to be much more numerous than he had expected. Nor was that all he found: he learned that Suchet had detached a corps to unite with Joseph's army, which made his force efficient to co-operate with the army under Marmont. What was the consequence? On the 17th of July, five days before the battle of Salamanca, Lord Wellington commanded, not a feigned, but a real retreat; and this retreat he continued during the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and till late in the day of the 22d. But why did he retreat? Why did this great general retreat? Because his means were inadequate. He had no money; he had not even 20,000 dollars in his military chest. The richest brigade in the army did not possess more than 3000 dollars; and what were the means left to this deserted general to recruit his finances? Forty thousand dollars had been sent to Cadiz for the use of the Spaniards. these he was forced to intercept, and apply to the exigencies of the British army. Upon a fair comparison of his force with that of Marmont, and taking into calculation the reinforcements so lately received by Joseph's army from Marshal Suchet, which the latter would have been unable to spare if the Sicilian expedition had arrived in due time on the eastern coast of Spain, Lord Wellington deemed it most prudent to retreat. Here was a proof that his means were inadequate; and this deficiency of force arose chiefly, if not entirely, from the tardy and ineffectual co-operation of the Sicilian expedition.

"The next step in tracing the progress of Lord Wellington led to a period full of glory and renown—the battle of Salamanca. But from what circumstances did that battle arise? Did it arise out of his efficiency, or out of his necessity? It arose from the magnificence, the splendour, the greatness of his talents. He struck the enemy with his spear the moment he saw an opening. But was the unexpected coincidence, out of which such great events arose, a solid ground to build a system of policy upon? Lord Wellington's talents, indeed, were a firm and secure rock, on which any hopes, any expectations, however great, however exalted, might be founded; but it ill became statesmen to calculate upon chances and occasions presenting themselves for success in operations, upon the prosperous issue of which so much depended. Did the ministers mean to say, that their system was raised solely upon the matchless abilities of their general, and upon the errors of the enemy? Did they mean to affirm, that all their plans amounted only to this? The battle of Salamanca was certainly productive of great events; the evacuation of the south of Spain; the raising of the siege of Cadiz, and the occupation of Madrid by our troops. But did it secure these advantages? Were they permanent? Was Lord Wellington able to pursue Marmont? No. He was not able to do that, which so obviously he ought to have done, because Joseph's army, reinforced by the corps from Suchet, was hanging on his flank, and afterwards on his rear. It was necessary to disperse that army. He did so, and entered Madrid. Could he then march southward to pursue the career of his conquests? No. He found that the corps which he had so lately defeated, the army over which he had so recently triumphed, was strong again, and he was compelled to direct his course to the north once more, to meet them. Then followed the siege of Burgos; and so far from considering as a disappointment the failure of Lord Wellington in his attempt to reduce that fortress, madness alone could have supposed that a fortress of such a description should be reduced by a few guns. Lord Wellington's means were confessedly inadequate to the object, according to all the established rules of war.

"Again, when it was understood, so far back as the month of June last, that Lord Wellington was advancing into Spain, could ministers fail to discover, that France, being engaged in a war with Russia, must necessarily detach a great part of her force to that quarter of Europe; and that now was the moment, not only in reference to that event, but also to the temper of the Spanish nation, to send out sufficient reinforcements to enable his lordship to proceed upon a large and effective scale of operations? Without such reinforcements, it was manifestly imprudent to advance into Spain. But how was Lord Wellington reinforced? On the 21st of October he thought it necessary to retire from Burgos; on the 25th he saw the French army, and we knew from his dispatches it was greatly superior to his own force, especially in cavalry, an arm so important to military operations in that country. On the 25th of October, therefore, that army which Lord Wellington had conquered on the plains of Salamanca,—that army which he had driven before him on that memorable day, with a grandeur of military achievement which the language of history or poetry could never equal, and which ranked him among the most renowned generals of this or any other age,—that army had received strong and efficient reinforcements since the battle of Salamanca, and was now enabled to turn upon its pursuers. Where were

Lord Wellington's reinforcements during the same period? Scattered every where: some in port at home, some on the ocean, and some landed at too great a distance to be of any use. Fifteen hundred men reached him on the 24th, four days after he had begun his retreat. Where were the others? One regiment advanced as far as Benevento, and was forced to retreat again to the frontiers. Two regiments were landed at Corunna, and were re-embarked for Lisbon, where they might probably arrive in time to reach Lord Wellington at the commencement of the next campaign.

"Such was the state of the war in the peninsula,—such the manner in which it had been conducted,—and it might be asked, whether, if the same exertions had been made by the ministers of this country as were made by the enemy, Lord Wellington might not have been able to prosecute to their full extent his operations against Burgos?—Now for the Sicilian expedition, as it had been denominated. The plan of that expedition had been concerted with Lord Wellington when he was before Badajoz. In consequence of the improved fortune of our affairs in Italy, it was thought that a part of our force might be spared from that quarter to co-operate with our armies in Spain; and, if it had arrived at the proper season on the south-east coast of that country, at the period when Lord Wellington fully expected it, Suchet would have been utterly unable to detach a corps to reinforce Joseph's army: Joseph, indeed, must have hastened to assist Suchet. Such a timely arrival would have been of real service; but, like all the other parts of the system, it was imperfect exactly at that moment when it was most required to be perfect; something was done, but not all; and what was done was therefore of no use. The first division arrived in the course of June, but was so small that it could effect nothing. Suchet, meanwhile, wrote to Joseph, that he could not proceed with his whole corps, but that he sent him a reinforcement; which reinforcement, it afterwards appeared, had the effect of defeating every great object of the campaign. Suchet had nothing to apprehend from the Sicilian expedition, in the force to which, at that period, it amounted. Some time afterwards, however,—about the end of July—arrived the remainder. They appeared on the coast of Catalonia, and all they accomplished was to excite the Catalonians to a demonstration of attachment to the British and Spanish cause, which led, in the result, to dreadful executions among them. The result had left also, on the minds of the Catalonians, sentiments of suspicion, alienation, and hatred, which it would be difficult to eradicate. It was thought advisable that this expedition should operate either at Barcelona or Tarragona, or at some intermediate point; but at last it arrived where no human being could have anticipated its presence, and then became utterly extinct as to any efficient purpose in the prosecution of the war. No adequate apology could be offered for this fatal indecision: at one time it was thought this place would be the best at which to disembark; and then another was suggested, till at last the very worst place of all was adopted. If it was the greatest trial of a powerful mind to decide among great difficulties, it was the test of a weak mind to be placed between two advantages, and not know which to choose. The singular feature of the present case, however, was, that both the advantages were lost, and only this disadvantage gained,—that a warlike province of Spain had been alienated from the Spanish cause by the indecision of the allies. And what had been the result of all those proceedings? It had been said in the

speech from the throne, indeed, that the result was nothing more than the concentration of the French armies, as if Lord Wellington's retreat had been merely a military manœuvre; after which followed the monstrous proposition, that such events were favourable to the interests and resources of the Spanish nation. Some explanation should be given of that assertion; for it was most injurious both to this country and to Spain. Had the south of Spain been delivered? Did the minister mean to say, that, in point of fact, the south of Spain was not now under the dominion of France?

"In moving from Burgos, Lord Wellington found himself pursued by a force much superior to that under his command; and such being the end of the campaign, what real progress had been made towards the great object of the contest?—With regard to the object of the war in Spain, three schemes had been successively devised; two were merely talked of, and the third was practised. The first was founded on an idea that it would be imprudent to embark as a principal in the contest, unless some other power, by its co-operation, prevented the force of France from being concentrated towards that one point—the subjugation of Spain. From such a scheme of policy this inference was deducible, that our resources were considered by those who maintained the opinion to be insufficient to carry on the war as principals upon an adequate scale, and that we must therefore wait a more favourable opportunity. The second plan proceeded on the principle that it would be prudent and highly expedient to make exertions upon a large scale, adequate to the destruction of the French power in Spain. Both these plans were different in their principle, and yet each was consistent upon its own principle. If our resources were really inadequate, then the first plan was very just and proper; but if they were adequate to extensive operations, then the second plan was obviously the fittest to be adopted. But the plan which all mankind must reprobate, was that of employing our resources, so as to expose the sinews of our strength to hourly danger; bearing hard upon our finances, yet accomplishing no great object. Such a plan as this every one must concur in condemning. It was essentially hostile to the principles of economy; it was expence without advantage; and yet that was the system which had been pursued during the late campaign. A vast expence of blood and treasure had been lavished, and our resources enfeebled, without accomplishing any one definite or precise object. When France was meditating fresh wars in the north of Europe, and when we saw Russia prepared to resist her ambitious designs to the last extremity, what more vigorous or effectual assistance could we have given to Russia, than by prosecuting the war in Spain? The best succour we could give to that country, the most essential aid we could bestow, was by carrying on the war in the peninsula upon a broad and extensive scale of operations; but it was not so carried on, and our present system, therefore, might almost be thought a defection from the cause of Russia. The events of the last campaign had indeed been beneficial to Spain; but those benefits were imperfectly secured, and could not be expected to be permanent."

The speakers on the side of opposition then passed to the affairs of the north, and alluded to the hopes held out of a diversion from Sweden in favour of the operations of Russia. Nothing could be more erroneous in policy, they maintained, than the line of conduct pursued with regard to Sweden. "A more extraordinary act of diplomacy had never occurred than the treaty

which ministers had concluded with the Swedish government. It was a treaty which promised every advantage to Sweden, without guaranteeing any to England. It was, in fact, a treaty in which, as it had been once whimsically observed upon a similar contract, the reciprocity was all on one side; for we had engaged to afford Sweden all the assistance in our power, in her operations against the enemy, or for her own protection, while nothing appeared likely to be done for us, or for our allies, on her part. An expedition was indeed projected, and expected to sail from Sweden, to co-operate with Russia; but that object was soon abandoned; no expedition ever did sail; and in consequence of that abandonment, General Victor, who, with his force, waited in Swedish Pomerania to meet the apprehended diversion, was enabled to withdraw, and his division actually formed a part of the army with which Buonaparte made his way to Moscow. Such were the important effects of the inactivity of Sweden; and for that inactivity, so injurious to the objects of the war, it was for ministers, in their diplomatic management with Sweden, to account. This account, indeed, they were bound, for their own justification, to produce. At a meeting which had taken place at Abo, about the end of July, between the Emperor Alexander, Lord Cathcart, and the Crown Prince of Sweden, it was understood to have been arranged that the expedition already alluded to should be dispatched from Sweden; and so cordially, it seemed, did ministers enter into the project; so powerfully did they determine to forward its progress, with the view of impeding the French army, that transports for the conveyance of the Swedish expedition were ordered to sail from Sheerness on the 19th September, and Buonaparte entered Moscow on the 14th of the same month! So fared this grand and much-talked-of expedition. What sort of explanation ministers had it in their power to give upon this subject, it was difficult to conjecture; but it appeared most extraordinary, that after the meeting and discussion just mentioned, ministers should not have been enabled to judge of the real disposition of the Crown Prince of Sweden, or that they should not have taken measures to ascertain whether any change had taken place in that disposition before the dispatch of the transports. With respect to Russia, while all must concur in the panegyric pronounced upon the magnanimity displayed by that power, it might be asked, what assistance had our ministers afforded to encourage the display, or to aid the operation, of that magnanimity? This it was difficult to conceive, except sending the Russians about 50,000*l.* together with Lords Cathcart and Walpole, were to be viewed in this light.

"The war in the north of Europe was the child of that great effort in the peninsula, which had enabled Europe to reflect on its condition, and roused it to struggle for emancipation. There can be but one feeling—that of unbounded admiration—at the great efforts which Russia had made. Noble indeed has been the struggle, and glorious beyond anticipation the results in that quarter; there, even there, where the tyrant anticipated an easy victory, and concluded, from former experience, that one decisive battle would be the precursor of an abject peace,—there, where, thinking that he knew his man, and that he should have only one man to cope with and to cajole, he found, what he had forgotten to take into his estimate, a nation; where, imagining that, having issued a bulletin and taken a fort, his work was done, he unexpectedly found a countless population thronging to the standard of their sovereign, pre-

pared for exertions and for sacrifices such as the world has seldom, if ever, witnessed before; and opposing, not merely with the arms of a disciplined soldiery, not merely with the physical mass of impenetrable multitudes, but with famine and with fire, with the voluntary destruction of their own resources, and with the conflagration of their own houses, the progress of his desolating ambition. No man can contemplate the recent occurrences in the north of Europe without feeling exultation in his bosom. The invader of Russia flattered himself that a nation, to which he affixed the appellation of barbarous, and which he pictured to himself as in a condition of degrading and disheartening servitude, conld entertain no generous and patriotic sentiment. He had yet to learn, that there is a principle of instinctive patriotism, which prevails even over the vice of positive institutions; he had to learn, that in spite of the doctrines, and, it may be added, of too many of the events of the last twenty years, it is not an universal truth, that before the people of any country determine to resist an invader, they coldly speculate on all the possible improvements to be made by regenerating laws in the actual condition of their society, that they refuse to draw a sword in defence of their altars or their fire-sides, until they have weighed well the question, whether they be worth defending, and entered at full leisure and with all imaginable research into a comparative anatomy of various political constitutions. The invader of Russia has found that the natural feelings of man, the sacred attachment to home, the ties of custom, of family, of kindred, are enough to arouse resistance to a foreign invader, come though he may with splendid promises of freedom and improvement; that he may be resisted, and gallantly and effectually resisted, by those whom he proposed to regenerate, not merely because it may be apprehended that he might not realize those promises, but simply because he is a foreigner and an invader. If this were to be the sole result of what had taken place in the north, it would be an invaluable addition to, or rather it would be a timely and salutary revival of, those ancient maxims of national independence, which the convulsions of the modern world have almost buried in oblivion. But is this all? Can any man who looks at the present condition of Buonaparte, with what ability soever he may have rescued himself from former difficulties, so chastise his feelings as not to entertain a sanguine hope of events most decidedly favourable to the general cause of Europe?"

With reference to the war with America, it was generally agreed "that a more iniquitous attack never was made upon the peace of any nation than that made by the American government upon this country, nor could any cause be figured of which the justice was more apparent, than that which this country had to oppose to America. But the passage in the speech from the throne, which sanctioned the opinion that ministers still hoped for pacification with America, in consequence of something done previously to the declaration of war, created much surprise. Nothing, it was said, appeared more preposterous than the hope that the repeal of the orders in council would serve to pacify America; for these orders were never, in fact, the point at issue. The dispute with America did not turn upon the orders in council, but referred to higher questions, to topics deeply affecting our great maritime rights,—to points, indeed, of such importance, that the British government could not accede to the pretensions of America without throwing into her hands the trident of the main. It would not avail mini-

sters to repeat the assertions of those who expressed such sanguine opinions as to the probable result of the repeal of the orders in council. They abandoned their own opinion upon that question, and adopted that of their adversaries, which no doubt furnished a strong proof of their vigour, firmness, and perseverance. They ought, in fact, to have expected, and been fully prepared for war with America; they ought, as statesmen, to have known that the American government had been long infected with a deadly hatred towards this country. It was absurd to suppose that governments might not, as well as individuals, be influenced by passion; or that they were not more apt to act from the impulse of their own vices or corruptions, than from a consideration of the interest of those over whom they preside. No statesman would therefore conclude, that because it was contrary to the interest of the American people to engage in war with this country, the American government would shrink from such a measure. In this instance, indeed, no such conclusion could be deemed in the slightest degree excusable, for the disposition of the American government was quite evident, and therefore common policy might have urged ministers to prepare fully for the event; they ought to have made adequate exertion to pacify, intimidate, or to punish America. No means should have been unprovided to repel the audacious attack which the American government had ventured to make upon Great Britain.—Nothing of this kind, however, had been done, and America had been suffered to commence, and, for a time, to carry on hostilities, even without danger to herself. The most extensive exertions should be made to convince the American government of its folly; and the best hope of peace would rest upon the manly and vigorous employment of our resources to make our enemies feel the consequences of war."

The only remaining topic in the speech, was that which related to India. The affairs of our Indian empire, it was said, should be fully investigated before any system for its future government was finally determined upon. The whole question should be brought forward, not in the shape of a bill for legislation, as was proposed last session, but in a distinct and separate form for deliberate enquiry, in order that it might be examined in all its details.

The omission to notice the catholic question in the speech from the throne, was severely censured. "After all that had occurred in discussion," said some members of opposition, "and been excited in hope, no disposition whatever was expressed to conciliate the catholics, or to adjust their claims. Every one remembered what had taken place at the close of last session in both houses of parliament; by the House of Commons, indeed, a distinct pledge had been entered into, fully to consider the catholic question, with a view to an ultimate and satisfactory arrangement. Was it now resolved to relinquish this pledge, and set aside all that had been done? There were too many grounds of suspicion upon this subject; and several proceedings had occurred both in this country and in Ireland, where, to use the words of Lord Camden, "the hand and fingers of government were very visible." Such, indeed, was the supposed hostility of government to the cause of the catholics, that one motive for the dissolution of parliament was said to be a desire to get rid of the pledge of the other house upon the subject; and if the rumours now abroad were well founded, that statement would appear not improbable. For, according to one rumour, it was the intention of ministers, after the Houses had met for a few days, and adjusted some

matters immediately necessary to the objects of government, to propose an adjournment for two months. Now, the practical effect of such an adjournment would be to evade the pledge for taking the catholic question into early consideration, which, combined with the omission in the speech, was a bad omen for the catholics.—There were some words at the conclusion of the speech in praise of the constitution. Yet there was also a report that ministers had it in contemplation to propose an extension of the duration of parliament upon the demise of the crown; but the praise of the constitution contained in the speech, surely destroyed all belief in the rumour."

Such was the view taken by opposition of the general policy of government. The ministers, on the other hand, vindicated their conduct from the imputations which were cast upon it, and expressed "their readiness to submit the whole of their proceedings to the strictest scrutiny, whether referring to disaster or to triumph—whether furnishing matter for congratulation, or connected with events which every one must deplore. With respect to the conduct of the war, history enabled every one to pronounce that those who looked for unmixed success and exemption from every species of misfortune, rested on hopes the most chimerical. But where misfortune occurred, the majority of parliament and of the public were too considerate and just, not to distinguish between that which was attributable to the contingencies of war, and that for which ministers or their agents might be deemed fairly responsible.—The war in Spain might be regarded as a new era in the history of modern wars, because here the people were active in repelling their invaders. Unlike the people of Germany and Italy, who were passive spectators of the conflict produced by French invasion, the Spaniards were most forward to contend for the independence and for the old establishments of their country, and therefore their cause held out an encouraging prospect, and a good example, which the people of Russia were now so nobly emulating. It was this exhibition of a high national spirit which originally induced ministers to become the advocates of that assistance which the Spaniards had received from this country. Indeed, if this country had not afforded that aid, it would have betrayed an indifference, not only to every high sentiment of liberty, but even to the most common notions of policy. But while our object was to assist Spain,—to afford to the Spanish people and to Europe the means of profiting by circumstances which appeared so promising, ministers were certainly not so sanguine, as many others who concurred with them, in the policy of granting assistance. Whatever the result might be, it was the duty of England to make an attempt in favour of Spain. The real question therefore was, whether the exertions of Britain were commensurate with her means and resources, as well as with the importance of the object, the attainment of which was in view? This was the true question. With regard then to the amount of the aid afforded, the utmost had been done for Spain, which, consistently with a due attention to other objects, it was possible for government to accomplish. It was for those who maintained the contrary to shew how and where more might have been done. As to the adequacy of the means to the end in view, it was proper to remark, that our great commander in the peninsula had never been deceived by government with respect to the means in its power to afford, nor had any aid which that officer required ever been refused. It would,

indeed, have been an injustice to him, to our ally, and to the country, to have deceived him on such points.—Considering the subject in all its bearings, how could any blame be imputable to ministers? It was admitted, indeed, that at the period when the French armies were engaged with Russia, the opportunity was favourable for a great effort in the peninsula, but considering the uncertainty of war, and the responsibility of government for the perpetual protection and safety of the empire, would it have been consistent with its duty, for the sake of one extraordinary effort, to throw away the means of future exertion. As the most brilliant campaign has often no decisive influence upon the fate of war, should a wise government cast all on one die—hazard the power, and shed the heart's blood of a country, merely to make a flourish—and risk perpetual strength for the triumph of one year? A government entrusted with the management of the resources of a great empire, is bound to recollect that it has to provide for the future as well as the present, and ought to look to the safety of the whole.—The country ought to know what exertions had actually been made, and it would be convinced of their sufficiency. But when the assertion was hazarded, that more ought to have been done for the peninsula, let us look to the proudest periods of our history—to the periods of King William and Queen Anne, when the great Duke of Marlborough wielded the energies of the nation with so much glory and success. Let all the relative circumstances be fairly taken into view.—Our means had of late augmented in a surprising ratio; and within two or three years the increased strength of the military force of the country was great beyond example. For what was the actual state of our force in that quarter, which it had been said was so inadequately supplied? We had on the 25th of June last, in the peninsula and the Mediterranean, an army of no less than 127,000 men in our pay; that was, 91,000 British, including foreign or German troops, with 36,000 Portuguese. Such was our force, independently of Spanish auxiliaries, who received from us all the assistance in our power, in their formation, equipment, and pecuniary supply. Nay, the British army alone under Lord Wellington, at the period alluded to, amounted to 58,000. Did the exertions which collected such an army deserve to be characterised in such terms—three years ago would any man have been so sanguine as to believe the collection of such an army practicable? Yet such had been the exertions of that government, which had also to provide for the protection of India, of our numerous colonies in the West, and for our domestic arrangements.—As to the alleged deficiency of equipment in our army,—that our soldiers should be quite secured from privations, that they should at all times be completely equipped, it would be too much to expect in the ordinary vicissitudes of war. Where, however, such privations occurred, and where they were reported by our illustrious commander, his requisitions were immediately attended to. This could and would, no doubt, be confirmed promptly by that distinguished commander himself—for it was a striking feature in his character, that he was as just to those who supported him, as he was bold to those who opposed him—and it was another striking feature in his character, that he was never extravagant in his expectations or demands; indeed, he was never likely to make such demands, because ministers took care that he should be always accurately informed as to the means of supply.—That some inconvenience might have been felt from the state of the military chest no one could deny;

but the supply of specie at present must depend upon a great variety of circumstances, beyond the power of any ministers to controul; upon the means of obtaining money for bills on the continent, and other causes, particularly the state of the Spanish colonies in America, all of which naturally interfered with the importation of bullion. Yet no blame could attach to government, for nothing practicable was left undone by them. There was, however, a limit to their means, as there was a limit to the means of any nation; by that limit alone government was confined in its efforts to assist these operations which it was called upon to extend.—The Sicilian expedition was prepared to sail early in March, and was conducted throughout in concert with Lord Wellington, who communicated regularly with the commander of that force. The appearance of this expedition off Catalonia was of great utility, as it prevented Suchet from sending reinforcements to Joseph Buonaparte, who in consequence evacuated Madrid; and the arrival of this expedition at Valencia, instead of being a mistake, as asserted, was the result of a concerted plan.—That the late campaign had eminently succeeded was obvious. For what was the object of the campaign? Why, the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, the expulsion of the French from the south of Spain, and the raising of the siege of Cadiz. All these objects had been attained; and would not that man have been deemed very sanguine, who at the outset would have predicted the attainment of such important objects, particularly the liberation of the Spanish government by the raising of the siege of Cadiz?—While the objects of the campaign had been accomplished, many of the hopes excited by the victory of Salamanca had been disappointed. But that disappointment was not attributable to any want of energy on the part of his majesty's government; nor was the scarcity of artillery at Burgos any imputation upon government; for in fact there were three battering trains on the continent; and besides these, one was sent last March to Lisbon to be kept afloat, subject to the orders of Lord Wellington. According to the opinion, however, of the noble lord himself, Burgos must have been taken, if at all, without delay, and before any artillery could be brought to him. But the failure of our gallant commander's calculation, and the consequent recapture of Madrid, was owing to the refusal of Balasteros to obey his commands; which refusal facilitated the movements of the French force, and disconcerted Lord Wellington's plan of operations."

With reference to America, it was observed, "that the dispatches of her government clearly demonstrated that the orders in council were the great stumbling-block, in the way of an amicable arrangement between the countries. Not only the acts of the government, but also the acts of congress, expressly declared, that the repeal of the retaliatory measure, the non-importation act, depended upon the rescinding of those orders. So soon as that very measure should be adopted, which it was now pretended the Americans regarded as insignificant, the American government proclaimed that its hostile measures should cease to be enforced.—It had been asserted, that we were unprepared for the American war; but where and how were we unprepared? Were we unprepared in Canada, or was there any neglect at the Admiralty? Upon this subject, as well as with respect to Spain, let the opponents of ministers come to close quarters—let them state facts—let them bring something specific, and abandon that style of loose and general accusation, of which the

House had been favoured with so many specimens in the course of the discussion. "Now as to the concluding topic of the noble marquis's (Marquis Wellesley's) speech, I have not," said the Earl of Liverpool, "made use of any expression with respect to the catholic question, to which I do not adhere. My opinion I have always publicly proclaimed upon this subject. I have resisted, and I will resist, the proposition for entering into the consideration of the catholic claims, because I cannot see any way to an adjustment of those claims, likely to satisfy the catholics. I therefore think it more consistent to oppose the proposition at once, than to seek to defeat it by what are called guards or securities. I meet the catholics openly and publicly, and will never attempt to disappoint their wishes by any little underhand opposition—by any schemes or subterfuge. My system of opposition I feel to be more fair and candid, and therefore I will continue to pursue it. In stating this to be my intention, I declare merely my individual opinion, without meaning to sway the judgment of any of my friends."

Returning again to the affairs of the peninsula, it was remarked by other members, "that this was the point on which ministers ought, by the ordinary course of policy, to make their effort as a diversion in favour of Russia, since it could not be expected of this country, that it should be able, at one and the same time, to make proper exertion in that quarter, and nerve the arm of Russia in the north, by furnishing her with men or money. Ministers would not be inclined to ward off any censure that might be applied to them, on the ground of relaxation in their efforts to carry on most vigorously the war in Spain; but there had been no relaxation on their parts; neither had they neglected any means by which it was possible for them to obtain possession of a greater disposable force. The ministers of the prince regent were prepared to defend themselves on the exercise of the means they actually did possess, or could possess, and on their having employed the resources entrusted to them to the utmost, without draining the country beyond that point which no nation could sustain or support. Ministers certainly could not have been expected to make these unnatural attempts (now suggested as necessary or defended as politic) by gentlemen on the other side; by those who had ever inculcated upon their minds the necessity there was for husbanding our resources, and, even on the peninsula, keeping our exertions within the bounds of the strictest moderation.—It was obviously impossible indeed for ministers to enter on an ample elucidation of the measures respecting which doubts might be thrown out on a night like the present, when all the numerous points of policy connected with the country were thrown open for partial discussion, and the attention was not confined to a single object, though many of those alluded to were sufficiently intricate and important to require of themselves the utmost diligence of parliament.—The country should be on its guard against being led to expect too much from successes, or to despair on account of reverses, even though they might be such as to replace the allied forces in the lines at Torres Vedras. It was not by one victory that the fate of the peninsula would be decided; and it was a dangerous enthusiasm which was elevated beyond bounds, even by such a victory as would soon call for the thanks of the House; or be depressed beyond measure by every failure that might attend our exertions. When by the most consummate generalship, that victory unparalleled in the his-

tory of the war, and as glorious as ever adorned the British name, was obtained; that victory which was felt by the enemy to the utmost extremities of his force; because our illustrious and excellent commander had accomplished this, was there any reason whatever to suppose that the entire French power on the peninsula would be at once annihilated, and the allies enabled to march to the Pyrenees? The public mind was apt to become too sanguine, and to believe that the effect of a defeat like this would be the total destruction of the enemy in Spain. But when people reflected, that, at the commencement of the campaign, the French force in the peninsula amounted to 200,000 men, which was perhaps reduced by detachments sent to the north to 150,000, at the period of the battle of Salamanca, they would be inclined to take a different and more correct view of the subject. They would observe that such a force, when spread over Spain, might have maintained possession of the country by keeping down the spirit of its population, which they were unable to do when collected into two great masses. After the memorable battle of Salamanca, they were rendered too feeble to keep possession of Spain, and instead of driving the British into the sea, as they had often vainly threatened, they were driven in confusion before the British. But when they gave up the provinces and became a concentrated army, any man looking with a soldier's eye, must observe, that even after the battle of Salamanca, the Marquis of Wellington had a heavy task to perform to drive the French out of Spain. Every one must applaud the spirit of the people of this country, whose exultation on the triumphs of their gallant countrymen in Spain was so great as to induce a sanguine feeling, not warranted by the actual state of affairs. But whatever were the expectations of the people, it was right to state, that as far as Lord Wellington's prospects, with his knowledge and information, went, they had been largely and liberally accomplished.

"Lord Wellington had of late received supplies and reinforcements to a greater extent than ever. In the course of last year, 20,000 men had been sent to join him, and although large reinforcements had not arrived since the battle of Salamanca, the impossibility of sending men with all the dispatch which might be desired was the sole cause of the delay. The exertions of the government, and in a peculiar manner of his royal highness the commander-in-chief, to bring regiments to such a state of proficiency as to render them fit for foreign, service had been incessant and strenuous. The grants from the militia had not been available as a regular force earlier than the month of May, and neither the internal state of the country, nor that of Ireland, would at a former period admit of those forces being spared, which might now be united to their gallant comrades in the glorious task of delivering the peninsula. The greatest possible efforts had been made for an active campaign.—It was perfectly true that the aid to Russia ought to be given in Spain; and in proportion as the north opened prospects of greater success, so ought we to make more strenuous efforts in the peninsula.—With respect to the war in the north all the world must feel, and none felt it more than the illustrious person at the head of the Russian empire, that it was not to be expected from this country that it should make larger sacrifices, or in other quarters, than it did at present. That great monarch did not call on us for pecuniary support. He said, "You are

fighting my cause, and the cause of the world in Spain, and there it is that your efforts will be most available and efficacious." His Imperial Majesty felt this to be the proper policy in the common cause, and instead of looking to us for aid in the north, he had counted on the patriotism, the liberality, the spirit, and the loyalty of his people, to support him in the great struggle for independence, in which he was engaged, and to us he had looked for the effectual carrying on of the contest in Spain.

"Russia had taken the field to resist the encroachments of her adversary, and therefore there could be no impropriety in speaking openly of her measures; but as Sweden had not yet taken a step so decided, ministers had a duty to perform which rendered it very difficult to make any open or explicit statement on this point. Yet if the exertions of Sweden, necessarily more limited than those of Russia, had required the pecuniary aid of the country, to effect a diversion in the rear of the French armies, ministers would have been ready to assist her operations to that extent. France had committed an unqualified aggression on the Swedish monarchy, which had as yet been only met by a qualified resistance. What was the motive for collecting the force upon her coasts ministers could not be expected to explain; but it would be observed with a feeling of hope, that between these great northern powers, (for they were both great) and out of the late contention, which had led to the dismemberment of the province of Finland from Sweden, a system had arisen, which happily had linked them together in the bonds of the closest friendship and alliance. This fact was obvious from the very commencement of the campaign, when it was easy to perceive that a perfect understanding existed between the two countries. It was evident that Russia reposed confidence in Sweden, as she withdrew the mass of her troops from their cantonments in Finland. But those who were not satisfied with this demonstration of friendship, must have every apprehension relieved by the event of the personal interview at Abo, after which 18,000 men from the port of Swinburgh were dispatched to Riga, where they arrived in time to join general Wittgenstein at the most critical period, and enabled him to turn the tide of war in that quarter, and to defeat the object of the enemy. If there had been no actual military exertion on the part of Sweden, yet much benefit had been reaped from the posture she assumed. Much as we might wish other powers to enter into resistance against the enemy with as great energy as ourselves, yet when we considered that they did not possess our advantages, and were not so remote from danger as we were, we ought to look with forbearance to their measures, and not impute want of virtuous feeling to them, because they might not embark in hostilities with all the decision which we desired. The position assumed by Sweden had the effect of detaining two corps of the French army from active operations, which were left in the confines of Denmark. These corps amounted to 60,000 men. The most advanced, that of Victor, the enemy had not ventured to employ till after the battle of Borodino; and in fact it had not advanced till September, when it proceeded by detachments to join the main army. The other corps, that of Augereau, was still more retired in Germany, and completely withdrawn from hostile operations. Russia had a well-grounded confidence in the amity of Sweden, and the demonstration made by the latter

power had paralysed 60,000 men of the enemy's force. On these grounds ministers would be prepared to meet any future discussion on such subjects which might be thought necessary.—

"With respect to America, it was true, that in negociation too much forbearance had been shewn towards her. But the war after its commencement was not carried on wit greater for bearance than was dictated by a consideration of the other contests in which this nation was unhappily engaged. Ministers would justly have drawn down the vengeance of the country, had they withdrawn a force from the peninsula for the purpose of originating belligerent measures against America. It was admitted that the declaration issued by America, if persevered in, would preclude for ever any prospect of peace: but the speech from the throne in its allusion to this topic, referred to the state of America at the period when this declaration was issued Ministers had never assured the House, nor the country, whatever had been done by others, that the concessions which they were induced to make to America would lead to peace; on the contrary, when the repeal of the orders in council was discussed, they said,—in answer to those who contended, that if these measures were abandoned, peace would be the consequence,—that the claims relative to blockade and impressment would disappoint their expectations. It was not however till after the war broke out, that the American government alledged other grounds of war, than the orders in council and the system of blockade The question of impressment was previously only urged as an angry point of discussion.—With respect to the course taken by ministers when they acquired a knowledge of the actual commencement of the war, they had done what was tantamount to complete hostility; and it was not from a spirit of forbearance, but from a consideration of the other circumstances of the country, that they had refrained from the immediate issue of letters of marque and reprisal, and from publishing to the world their case against the United States. But although letters of marque and reprisal were not issued, war was as effectually waged in another mode; and this course was followed from a desire to keep the councils of government ready to meet any disposition which might arise on the part of America towards peace Had they not acted in this manner, they would have justly provoked censure, if America had on the receipt of the intelligence from this country withdrawn her declaration, and restored the British property which had been seized, while the British government was unable to meet this pacific disposition by a correspondent restitution, without coming to parliament to obtain that sum which had found its way into the coffers of the captors of American ships. The moment the declaration of war was received, and so soon as it was known that the Americans had proceeded to the condemnation of British property, and refused to ratify the armistice concluded between them and the governor of Upper Canada, that moment the letters of marque and reprisal were issued.—It had been justly represented as strange, that no answer had been published to the American declaration which could be so readily refuted, and it had been added, that government was bound to give some grave and weighty reasons for not taking that official step. But let it be remembered, that although we were actually at war with America, yet negociations had not absolutely terminated. A mission had been entrusted to Admiral Warren, and a proposition submitted by him to the American government,

to which no answer had been received. The same proposition was intended to have been made through Mr Foster; but as he had left the country before the dispatch arrived, the business had of necessity devolved upon the admiral on the station. Under these circumstances, and waiting for the reply of the American government, ministers would have more consulted their feelings than their judgments had they hastily put forth the answer which they felt themselves prepared to give to the calumnies of America.—It was true, that the British government had never endeavoured to force, through the intervention of neutrals, British manufactures into France. With regard to the mission of Henry, it was not necessary that ministers should now publish any disavowal of it. They had disavowed it in their places in parliament, and declared they never knew of it until they saw the publications by the American executive. Government had disavowed it to the American cabinet, to satisfy whom they had sent over all the papers with which they were acquainted on the subject."

Leaving these details, and reverting to the general state of affairs, it was asked, "When had a speech been delivered on the opening of parliament, which contained so cheering a list of successes, or displayed a brighter prospect of advantages to the country? If it could not be said that the enemy was altogether discomfited, and finally and effectually repressed, yet he never was so dangerously involved in two great wars in the opposite extremities of Europe. These were wars in which he was not merely committed against the governments of countries, but in which the nations were arrayed against him. They were not, as formerly, wars productive only of means to recruit his resources, augment his forces, and open to him a prospect of more extended conquests. Though he could drag his tributary states into the field, and amass a powerful force from those whom he had already overcome, yet in the great scale on which he was engaged he met with no aids to enable him to carry on the war vigorously; he met at all points with national resistance, he was obliged to bring his supplies from a distance, and to exhaust the miserable nations over whom he exercised his rigorous sway. In Russia the spirit of opposition to his aggressions was, as noticed in the speech, unparalleled in history. The people of that country had been spoken of as barbarians, and as being a century behind the other nations in civilization; but could we find, that in any country a resistance to invasion so glorious as that which was now displayed had ever been made—a spirit of resistance, firing every rank and description of men, in the vast Russian empire? Nor was it for courage alone that the Russians had shone conspicuous during this contest; that heroic valour for which they were famed on former occasions, was not now their only praise; the military councils and skill of the commanders also shone forth pre-eminently; and the whole conduct of the campaign proved them to be equal to the most difficult situations and trying emergencies. The retreat of the numerous bodies of troops from the Niemen to the Moskwa, and the able and judicious manner in which it was conducted under pressing circumstances, was scarcely to be equalled in the history of the most celebrated military transactions. The retreat of Moreau, on which his highest fame rested, no military man would say could be placed in competition with this in Russia. How few armies had marched over 500 miles of country before they united into one mass, invariably baffling the immense

force of their enemy, fighting various battles, and never putting it in the power of that enemy to say that he had dispersed a single regiment, or captured a single gun or baggage-waggon! So fine a movement was not surpassed in the history of the world; it evinced on the part of the Russian commanders the utmost skill and ability, which, with the known valour of the troops, added fresh hopes of the deliverance of Europe. The interests of this people were now identified with our own in the most gratifying manner, by the approach of their fleets to our harbours; a mark of confidence on the part of our ally which was calculated to humble our enemies, by proving to them in what estimation were held the good faith and generosity of England. The emperor Alexander had shewn a glorious example of what a monarch ought to be, and had his policy been acted upon by others, Europe would not have been in its present state of degradation. He had not placed his strength in a capital city, but had trusted to the spirit of his country to stand by him and to repel the invaders; and in this expectation he had not been disappointed."— After the very full discussion, of which an outline has been given, the address was carried in both houses of parliament without a division.

On the 23d of February Sir Francis Burdett made a motion in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill to provide against any interruption of the exercise of the royal authority in the event of the death of his royal highness the prince regent, during the continuance of his majesty's malady. In support of this proposition it was contended, that violent encroachments had been made upon the true principles and frame of the constitution of this country, by the measures adopted in consequence of the unfortunate affliction under which his majesty was suffering. The first encroachment occurred in the year 1788. The whole of the proceedings of that year involved an unwarrantable departure from the principles of the constitution, and were supported with no other view than to keep power in the hands of the party then in office, without any regard to the interests of the state, or respect to the legal government of the country. At that period the constitutional and safe, though not the successful doctrine was maintained on the one side, that upon failure of the capacity of the person filling the throne, the exercise of the functions of royalty immediately devolved upon the heir apparent. But this simple and obvious position was denied, and it was insisted that the heir apparent to the crown had no more right to the government of the nation than any other of the king's subjects. In the strict legal acceptation of the word "right," there certainly was no right, because there was no law, and where there is no law there can be no right; but upon every principle of propriety and expediency, there could be no doubt of the line of conduct which ought to have been pursued; for nothing could be more easy and safe than to follow that example to which the faction seemed blind, which had been set at the glorious revolution in 1688. If the proceedings of parliament had been governed by that wholesome precedent, ministers would not have been allowed for five months to take into their own hands the government of the country; and instead of the usurpation of an odious oligarchy for that period, there would have been no suspension of the powers of the crown, no departure from the leading principles of the constitution. The steps, however, taken in 1788, were justified on the plea of necessity. But the exercise of the functions of the crown forms an essential part of the constitu-

tion; and there are two leading principles that govern the whole of this question: First, That the powers and prerogatives annexed by the common law to the crown, descend by hereditary succession, and not by election: Secondly, That these powers are never suspended; the functions of royalty never cease, for if they were for any period interrupted, the destruction of one part of the three essential branches of the constitution would involve a total dissolution of the legal government. At the period referred to, these two leading principles were unnecessarily and unwarrantably departed from.

"The great danger which must arise from admitting the plea of necessity, has become obvious from subsequent experience, for in the year 1810 this mischievous precedent was followed. In 1810 the violent usurpation was renewed, and that which ought to have been considered as a beacon to warn ministers from a dangerous coast, was mistaken for a sure light to guide them in safety to harbour. From the evidence of the physicians it is known, that during the interval between 1788 and 1810, his majesty was sometimes in a state of mind that rendered him incompetent to the consideration of those important matters of policy which naturally devolve upon the sovereign; and the person whose duty it was to submit them to the king, abstained from so doing, in consequence of the state of the royal mind. To what degree the malady existed; how far ministers presumed, under cover of the royal authority, to exercise the powers of majesty at a time when the occupant of the throne was unable to discharge the duties annexed to that exalted station; no one knows, although it may be reasonable, from the testimony of the physicians, to conclude that the government of the nation was carried on in the name of the king by his servants at a time when one branch of the constitution was incapacitated by disease,—when the situation of his majesty's mind did not permit him to perform the important duties appertaining to his high office. Thus, then, there appear to have been two violent deviations from the established principles of the constitution, of such a nature as to be subversive of the interests of the throne, and destructive of the security of the subjects. The miserable fiction which was resorted to on those occasions implied a deception too gross to impose upon the most superficial observer; for it seemed a most absurd consecration of an act completely illegal, to get the lord chancellor, without any adequate authority, to affix the great seal to it; thus pretending to give the royal approbation to a measure of which the king could have no possible cognizance.

"Many reasons call upon the House at the present moment to come to a decision as to the mode of proceeding on a contingency, which is possible, though perhaps not probable, and which, if not provided against, may again place the country in that situation in which it would be deprived of all legal government, in which the majority of the House might usurp and retain all the powers that belong to the crown. The object of the motion was to prevent, on future occasions, this lawless assumption of authority, to destroy that pretence of necessity which it is plain never existed; because, in truth, by the constitution of the empire, a choice, indeed many choices, of legal remedies remained. On a recent occasion, however, this illegal mode of proceeding was resolved upon, and the House not only took upon itself to nominate the executive magistrate; not only, on its own authority, resolved to supply a throne which never could be vacant, but it went still further, and usurped the power of declaring that restrictions

should be placed upon the person whom it invested with some of the prerogatives of the crown, all of which were bestowed by the common law for the benefit of the people. Parliament proceeded so far in its assumption of authority, that the Prince of Wales was unwilling, under such conditions, to take upon himself the task of government. In that able letter written by his royal Highness in the year 1788, in which he so distinctly, accurately, and perspicuously defined the principles of the constitution, and the insurmountable objections existing in his mind to the mode of proceeding suggested, he at length consents to act as regent, with no other view than to put a period to the anarchy which prevailed, conceiving that the evils resulting from this line of conduct would be less than those which might arise from the continued abeyance of the third branch of the constitution: he accepted the kingly power, mutilated as it was, rather than permit the constitution to be further mutilated. The greatest evil, the most dreadful calamity which the history of this country presents, arose out of a dispute regarding the succession to the crown, and by not decidedly maintaining the constitution as it has been happily established in this respect, consequences equally fatal, calamities equally dreadful, may again be endured. Parliament is called upon, by a proper sense of its duty, to guard the people of these realms against contingencies which may enable the minister of the day, on a pretended plea of necessity, to subvert the constitution, and usurp the government of the country. Such was the object of the motion. It is right at all times to give to the regent powers as uncontrouled as those which belong to the king himself. The principle upon which this proposition rests is this, that the incapacity proceeding from insanity is like every other species of incapacity, and amounts to an utter vacating of the government.

"The kingly office is not by the constitution bestowed for the benefit of the individual filling the throne, but is a trust exercised for the advantage of the people, and in this view it is of great consequence that it should never cease. The crown, according to the common law, knows neither infancy nor insanity, or any other cause that can incapacitate the person holding it to discharge his important duties; and if such cause do exist, it must be viewed in the same light and treated in the same way as the natural death of the monarch. If insanity should unhappily visit the sovereign, the authority, by the law of the land, immediately devolves upon the successor, without the interference, much less without the election, of any set of persons who may be anxious to usurp powers which do not belong to them. Such is the obvious, simple, and legal mode of proceeding, which will meet all possible circumstances and preserve the various branches of the constitution independent of each other.

"If it be true, as is pretty generally believed, that certain powerful individuals by different means do place their dependants in the House of Commons, it becomes a matter of double importance, that a bill should be passed to restrain such individuals from usurping and exercising illegal authority; to remove a new motive for ambition; to shew that the crown is not to become the prey of greedy cormorants, and that factions must not hope to deck themselves in the trappings of royalty. The powers now exercised by the Prince Regent, therefore, should, in case of the death or disability of his royal highness, be exercised by the heir to the crown, the Princess Charlotte of Wales. Factions should not have the power

to fill the throne with whomsoever they please, and under what conditions they please. The gentlemen of the long robe could not pretend, that the Princess Charlotte of Wales was not of sufficient age, because the common law, as far as relates to the crown, knows no infancy, and grants may be produced, made by children in such situations, which have been held by lawyers to be absolutely binding: the security which the public require is, that there shall always be an executive government zealous in the discharge of its duties, and responsible not only for the acts done, but for the advice given. But bills for appointing regencies have at different times passed, in which it was provided that the king or queen should have a particular council till he or she came to a certain age. Such provisions, however, were totally distinct in their character from those to which his royal highness the Prince Regent had been subjected after he had attained a full maturity of age. The country never before heard of such a regency as the present, except the attempt of 1788. It was enacted indeed for particular purposes, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Philip and Mary, that the full age of the successor to the crown shall be 18 in the males, and 16 in the females. But there was no occasion to dwell upon these cases, as the Princess Charlotte of Wales was in her 18th year, and therefore, by the admission of all parties, either was, or would very soon be, of age to exercise the royal functions. In the event of the death of the King, and of the Prince Regent, no one can doubt but the royal office would descend to her, without its being in the power of the House of Commons to prevent it. It might be said, that there was no necessity for any such regulations as those proposed; but those matters, which even in private families are not left to the contingencies of human life, ought not to be left to a similar contingency in cases of so much greater importance. We have already experienced the mischief resulting from the want of a fixed rule to follow; and it is our duty to prevent the recurrence of those contests by which the power of the crown was torn in pieces for private and factious purposes. The danger to the crown from the late proceedings with regard to the regency must be obvious. The two houses directed the chancellor to put the seal to an instrument appointing a person to exercise the royal functions; and this they called giving the royal assent to that instrument. Now what is there to prevent their making a similar use of the great seal, if they choose it, to alter the descent of the crown? If the principle is once admitted, there is no limit to the mischief that may follow. In the interregnum which took place not long ago, they might have affixed the seal to bills of pains and penalties. The danger both to the crown and the subject was imminent. In these great constitutional principles, the Prince Regent himself and the royal family concur; for it is well known, that in 1810 the royal dukes did protest against the proceedings adopted at that time, and were reviled, in the grossest manner, by the ministerial writers, who called them the "College of Princes," and made use of other abusive terms, though the royal dukes, both as subjects and as persons nearly connected with the throne, were perfectly justified in the step which they took on that occasion.—It appeared to be the intention of ministers to keep the crown always in a state of pupillage to the oligarchy in the House of Commons; for in the Regency Act, it was provided, that in the event of its being necessary to appoint another regency, the House

should meet and take the proper steps for that purpose. The object of the present bill was to prevent the necessity of this, and to put it beyond the power of the two houses of parliament to render the royal authority subservient to their will, and to parcel it out as they may think proper."

The motion of Sir Francis Burdett was seconded by Lord Cochrane. The following is the short answer by which lord Castlereagh opposed it. "He trusted that he should be able to show, that there was not a sufficient necessity to induce the House to agree to the motion before them. The honourable baronet, who had been induced by his constitutional views of the subject to bring forward the present motion, appeared to him to be more anxious to destroy the authority of the parliamentary proceedings in the two former instances, than to provide for the contingency he stated. He appeared to think it of the greatest importance to subvert all the principles which the House had laid down on that subject; and to get rid of what he considered a pernicious precedent. For his part, he had a view of the subject directly opposite. He thought it was a benefit, and a blessing to the country, that the great constitutional difficulties which attended this subject had been removed, and the point settled on the fullest discussion, which was afterwards revised upon the late occasion; and in which the greatest legal and constitutional learning had been displayed. He considered that those precedents would be a great protection to the country hereafter from similar difficulties. He allowed that parliament had a right to enter into such considerations without a message from the crown; but it was always for their prudence to consider, whether they should expose themselves to a conflict with the crown upon the point? In any thing respecting money, all conflict with the crown was prevented by the necessity that the crown should propose or previously consent to the grant. In common legislative measures this was not necessary; but it was obvious that there was no description of questions more likely to involve the House in a conflict with the crown, than those which touched the crown so nearly.—The contingency which was mentioned appeared to him to be so very remote a one, that he thought the honourable baronet, upon his own principles, should rather have proposed a permanent Regency Bill applicable to all cases, than have confined himself to this particular contingency. It appeared to him, however, that what the honourable baronet wanted, was to destroy the discretionary power of parliament upon the subject; and that he preferred to have the question determined on the hereditary principle rather than by the discretion of parliament. In determining upon which of the two principles the question should be decided, there was certainly a balance of inconveniences. But the reason why it was better that it should rest in the discretion of parliament was, that parliament felt it to be its first duty, to take care that the royal power should be restored undiminished into the hands to which it legitimately belonged, so soon as the sovereign was again capable of exercising his royal functions; whereas upon the hereditary principle, the royal power being fully and immediately transferred to the Regent, there was not the same security for the resumption of it by the sovereign, when the temporary cause which suspended his personal exercise of it was removed. He conceived that the contingency was not sufficiently pro-

bable to justify parliament, in the exercise of its discretion, in adopting the proposition of the honourable baronet, for which reason he should certainly give it a decided negative." Sir Francis Burdett was not supported in this attempt to overturn the parliamentary precedents so recently established. His motion was negatived without a division.

CHAP. II.

Parliamentary Proceedings continued.—Vice-Chancellor's Bill.—Sir Samuel Romilly's Bills for improving the Criminal Law.

THE great increase which of late years has taken place in the duties to be discharged by the Lord High Chancellor of England, and the serious inconveniences resulting from delay in matters of such high importance, appeared to those best acquainted with the subject to demand the interference of the legislature. It had become evident, that if some remedy were not adopted, the whole of the judicial code of the country must be affected, and great injury done to the subject. There had accumulated at this time in the House of Lords an arrear of 280 appeals, which, computing by the average rate at which such causes had of late been decided, could not be determined in less than eleven years.—This in itself was a serious grievance to suitors; but the evil did not stop here, for by the delay in ruling disputed points of law, the number of new appeals was greatly augmented. In the determination of the causes actually under appeal, doubtful principles of law were often involved; and till a decision was obtained, the subject was kept in ignorance of the law of the land, and thus litigation was greatly increased. The delay offered a strong temptation also to present appeals for the mere purpose of postponing the effects of judgments; as it was obvious to unsuccessful litigants, that by moving into the House of Lords they could put off the decision for a term of years. The successful suitor might thus have been deprived of the benefit of the judgment, and of the justice awarded to him for no less a period than eleven years.—It was the bounden duty of the legislature, therefore, to establish some remedy for evils of this magnitude.

The nature and extent of the evil could hardly admit of dispute, but as to the most suitable remedy different opinions were entertained. It was suggested that the Lords might, by some new distribution of their business, get over the arrear of causes now before them, and prevent the recurrence of similar arrears in future.—To accomplish this it was proposed, that they should sit after the session for the general political business of the country was closed, and continue for a time to discharge their judicial functions. But to suppose that the Lords would remain in town to hear appeals after the other affairs of parliament were dispatched, was absurd. There was a strong constitutional objection also to the measure, viz. that it could not be adopted without trenching upon the prerogative of the crown in the prorogation of parliament. Such a regula-

tion must have placed the crown in the delicate and awkward situation of either permitting parliament to sit after the national business for which it had been assembled was finished, or of doing injustice to the claimants who were at the bar of the House of Lords.—As to another proposal that the House of Lords should appoint a committee or delegation of its members to hear appeals, such a measure would also have been repugnant to the constitution. The public besides had no right to expect from the House of Lords that they would depart from their usual habits of business; nor would the evil have been remedied even had their lordships consented instead of five months to sit for twice that time, unless the great advantage had been foregone of having the Lord Chancellor as the presiding officer in the House of Peers. Without encountering this most serious inconvenience the remedy first projected would have been only an exchange of one evil for another, and would have transferred the arrears from the House of Lords to the court of Chancery, by occupying that portion of the Lord Chancellor's time in the former, which during the recess he is accustomed to devote to the latter.

It was proposed by some persons that the Lord Chancellor should withdraw from his high situation in the House of Peers, and confine himself to the business of his own court of Chancery. But to this project there were many obvious objections. The most eminent statesmen who have turned their attention to this point have been agreed in opinion, that such an alteration would derogate from the dignity of the House. No other individual could be found so well qualified to discharge this laborious duty; for although there are several eminent peers capable of performing it, it would have been absurd to think of building a permanent measure upon the prospect of assistance from peers, not of necessity bound to devote themselves to the public service.—The only other plan, therefore, which could be proposed, was that the Chancellor should be relieved to a certain extent of his duties in the court of Chancery, and be thus enabled to devote more of his time to the other high duties of his office. The question then arose (since it was necessary to provide some aid in the court of Chancery) whether such aid could be drawn from the other courts of law, or whether a new office must be created? In the Court of Chancery itself there was a great, if not a growing, arrear of business—a serious evil, for which there appeared to be no remedy, unless by creating a similar evil in another quarter—for if the Lord Chancellor had not hitherto called in the assistance of the Master of the Rolls, it was only because that could not be done without creating much confusion in the Rolls Court. None of the other courts were in a situation to afford help, but were all so pressed with business, that the judges, with all their diligence, could not fully discharge their duties. The court of Chancery too could only draw aid from a court, the decisions of which rested on principles of equity, and were analogous to its own: But there is no court in Westminster-hall, except the court of Exchequer, which acts upon principles of equity; and so far was that court from being able to afford the aid required, that there had been a serious proposal for requiring an additional effective judge in the Exchequer, the arrear of business being even more pressing in that court than in the court of Chancery. If the court of Exchequer could not supply the want, no other court in Westminster-hall could. It was thought impossible, therefore, that aid could be derived from any of the courts in Westminster-hall. It was in consequence

proposed that a permanent officer should be appointed in aid of the Lord Chancellor.—Some persons imagined, however, that such a measure would lead to great innovations in the mode of conducting business in the court of Chancery; but nothing could be more inconsistent with the principles on which the measure was founded, than such a supposition. The appointment of a Vice-Chancellor involved the smallest departure from ancient practice, and was scarcely an innovation. The chancellor already had the privilege of calling in the assistance of the nine puisne judges, together with that of two masters in Chancery, and it was intended that he should in future have permanent instead of temporary assistance. The Chancellor besides had already the privilege of calling in the assistance of the Master of the Rolls; and when that officer assisted the Chancellor, he was as much under his direction as the judges under a commission, or the Vice-Chancellor whom it was now proposed to appoint. The object of the bill, in short, was to afford to the Lord Chancellor permanent instead of temporary assistance in the transaction of the business of the court of Chancery. This plan did not imply any innovation in the mode of transacting business, although on this ground chiefly it was opposed.

In support of the bill, it was stated "that it would not occasion any additional expense to the public, though it would be productive of so great benefit to the suitors in Chancery; and the question was, whether with those advantages to the suitor, with the removal of the evil complained of, and while no better plan was proposed, parliament should hesitate? One half of the expense of the office would be charged on the profits of the Lord Chancellor, in the business of the court; the other half would be taken from what was called the dead cash, or suitors' fund, the annual revenue of which at this time was 9000*l*. The revenue of that fund had on various occasions been applied, under the authority of parliament, for analogous purposes, and could not certainly be devoted to any better use than the support of that officer whose appointment was in contemplation. The fund consisted of unclaimed monies in Chancery, which had been allowed to accumulate at interest. The salaries of the masters in Chancery, and of superannuated officers, were paid out of it; and the sum of 9000*l*. per annum was its present clear revenue unappropriated. Thus, as far as related to economy, there could be no objection to the bill. It had been said that there were other means by which the object of the bill could be more effectually attained, and it had been proposed to take the management of the bankruptcy business out of the hands of the Lord Chancellor. But even allowing that this branch of business might with propriety be taken from the Lord Chancellor, still it would be necessary to have a Vice-Chancellor. But the bankruptcy law was so particularly important in a commercial country, that it would be highly dangerous to entrust it to any authority subordinate to that of the Lord Chancellor. It had been objected, that in the distribution of the business in the court of Chancery the bill enabled the Lord Chancellor to direct the whole at his pleasure; that he might allow the Vice-Chancellor to decide upon matters of such difficulty, that no authority short of the Lord Chancellor's should be allowed to dispose of them; or, on the other hand, he might only entrust to him matters of minor importance, and by such an arrangement the character of the new magistrate must be degraded. To this it was answered, that the possible abuse of beneficial powers ought not to be al-

ledged as an argument against granting them, and that it ought on the contrary to be presumed that the discretion thus vested in the first law officer of the country would be soundly exercised. It was needless to speak at large on the impropriety of supposing, that any person vested with so high an office as that of Lord Chancellor, could be guilty of such a breach of all the ties of duty and of honour.—Much had been said about the increase of appeals which would be occasioned by the adoption of the measure before the House, and the erection of an intermediate jurisdiction. But it was the interest of the suitors to have their causes speedily decided, and the Lord Chancellor would have the power of bringing at once before himself such causes as were most likely to be matter of appeal. At any rate, the objection did not apply with greater force in this case than it did to the courts of the Master of the Rolls, and of the puisne judges acting under commission; and surely the power of distributing business afforded such additional means of dispatch, as to counterbalance any evils which might arise from the increase of appeals.—It had been urged, that the measure would transform the first law officer of the kingdom into a mere politician, since he might now entrust the decision of all matters of importance to the Vice-Chancellor. But never was any opinion more absurd, than that which supposed that a chancellor would abdicate his judicial character; the honour and responsibility of this high officer affords sufficient security against such an event. Why might not the chief justice of the King's Bench too withdraw from the execution of his duties, and intrust the functions of his office to his assistants? Lord Ellenborough was bound to the performance of the duties of his office only by ties similar to those which bound the Lord Chancellor; there is no law which prevents his withdrawing himself entirely from his court, yet would any man dream of the possibility of such an event? Was it not a suspicion equally chimerical, to suppose that the Lord Chancellor would remain idle, and leave his business to be transacted by the Vice-Chancellor? It would be absurd to legislate on such fancies. In Ireland, business was so arranged that the Master of the Rolls afforded the same assistance to the Lord Chancellor which was here proposed to be given by the Vice-Chancellor. When the bill creating such regulations was first proposed, objections had been made to it similar to those now started to the present bill. The object which both the bills had in view was similar, namely, to provide an auxiliary to the Lord Chancellor; and it was then said as now, that the Chancellor (Lord Clare) would become a mere state officer. The best answer to this objection was furnished by the conduct of the four distinguished persons who had since the above period filled that high station. Not one of these eminent characters had ever withdrawn for a moment from his judicial business for political purposes, or ever betook himself to the Master of the Rolls except as an auxiliary. Experience proved that the object had been attained in the case of the Irish bill, so that it was but rational to conclude that the same object would be effectually accomplished by the bill under the consideration of the House.—Some persons had maintained that the whole expense of the office of Vice-Chancellor should be charged upon the emoluments which the Lord Chancellor derived from the business in the court of chancery. That noble lord (the Chancellor) had stated, at the very commencement of the enquiry, that he wished for no profit which was not purchased by beneficial labour; yet,

when the importance and dignity of his office were considered, and when the extent of the labour attendant on the execution of its duties were estimated, it would appear but reasonable that the Lord Chancellor should live with great splendour. He should have the means of providing for his family—for it was to be remembered that there was always much uncertainty as to his continuance in office. The pension of 4000*l.* to ex-chancellors was by no means sufficient of itself for this purpose, and it should be remembered that there were many distinguished noblemen who owed the rank and fortune of their families to the dignified labours of their ancestors who filled the office of Lord Chancellor. It seemed to be reasonable that this office should be endowed more liberally than any other; and that its income should not be looked upon with jealousy. The office exposes the holder to greater cares and to more political uncertainty than other judicial situations which are held during life, at least during good behaviour. Under these circumstances parliament would not think of making encroachments upon the revenues derived by the Lord Chancellor from his office.—The measure, therefore, being charged with little or no expense, while it was calculated to remedy two great evils; and coming recommended, as it did, by the sanction of all the great legal characters, seemed to be of such a nature, that all parties might be expected to concur in it."

Mr Canning distinguished himself by his opposition to this measure, and as his speech contains a good summary of the arguments urged against the bill, it shall be inserted in his own words. On the 11th February, when the second reading of the bill was moved by Lord Castlereagh, Mr Canning observed, "It seemed to be maintained that the members of this House were not fit to judge of such a question. If that disqualification were supposed to apply generally, much more forcibly must it apply to those members (of whom he was one) who could boast of no means of forming a judgment but plain sense unadorned with legal learning. He must, however, protest against any such plea in bar of their discussions; and must deny that the lay part of the House were implicitly to adopt the *dicto* of certain learned personages in matter not of law but of regulation. He yielded all respect possible to the House of Lords, but could not consent to pass the bill they had sent down without examination. Some considerations indeed there were which might perhaps tend to diminish in this particular instance the general respect due to the authority of their lordships. It appeared on the very face of the bill that it arose out of arrears in their lordships' jurisdiction. They might be better judges of the extent of the evil, but if the evil lay with them the Commons ought not to exercise the less jealousy in the examination of the remedy proposed. A learned friend of his had set out with rebuking an excess of levity, and a want of grave consideration on this subject; but he should have been aware that the sources of ridicule were not merely in things which were themselves ridiculous, but also in the attempted approximation of things which were not in themselves reconcileable—in the comparison of lofty pretensions with paltry means—in the contrast of magnificent promises with the total inadequacy of the mode suggested for following up and realizing them. If the bill was to be considered as the result of all the experience and wisdom of the other house, undoubtedly on that ground, and in that character, it was to be received with the greatest reverence; but if it was found that all this learned labour had only produced an office, which the legal profession

must treat with contempt; then in spite of all prepossessions in its favour, the ridicule against which his honourable and learned friend protested might blamelessly or rather must infallibly attach to it. The bill said, that whereas great arrears had been accumulated, it was necessary to do so and so. The diminution of this accumulation might, to be sure, be accomplished in either of two ways; by clearing the reservoir at once, or by impeding the channel whence it was constantly supplied with so rapid a current. The bill appeared to follow the latter of those two courses. Its most obvious and certain effect was to occasion all the causes in Chancery to be tried twice over, a process which must necessarily delay the proceedings of that court, and so check the vicious rapidity of the stream of appeals which flowed from it into the House of Lords. If the tried wisdom, the high legal attainments, and pre-eminent authority of that great magistrate who had been used to speak from the bench from which he (Mr Canning) had now risen (Sir William Grant) did not prevent constant appeals to the Lord Chancellor from his decisions as Master of the Rolls, it was idle to suppose that from the new Vice-chancellor, new in office, new and unsettled in authority, and (be he who he may) probably far inferior to the present Master of the Rolls in legal knowledge and abilities, there would not be appeals to the Lord Chancellor in a far greater number. It was indeed attempted to be shewn, that this new creation would be similar to the mastership of the rolls; but there was this essential difference between the two magistracies; there was a choice allowed to the suitor to have his cause carried before the Master of the Rolls or the Lord Chancellor, and therefore it was the less likely that he should desire it to be reheard: but this bill gave the Chancellor power to refuse hearing a case, and to send it to the Vice-chancellor: and in every case which was thus delegated from the Lord High Chancellor to his deputy, against the will and choice of the suitor, it was surely most natural to suppose that the suitor would desire a hearing. Thus, therefore, the accumulation before the lords might indeed be prevented from increasing so fast as at present, since every cause heard by the new magistrate would probably be heard again by the Lord Chancellor; and the suitor perhaps might be sickened by his first appeal, and deterred from prosecuting a second to the House of Lords. But how would the device tend to the accomplishment of the professed object of the bill, the allowing the Lord Chancellor more time for attendance in the House of Lords? After all, if the accumulation of appeals in that house be the evil to be cured, why was not some remedy applied distinctly and at once to the seat of the evil? It was surely a derogation from the dignity of the House of Lords to suppose that they could not discharge the business before them; that their noble natures could not rise at nine o'clock to adjudge the causes at their bar; that, with privileges so far surpassing those of other senates, they could not make an exertion for the discharge of those important duties which were annexed to such high privileges, and which justified and ennobled them in the eyes of their country and the world. Why should such reasonings apply to them more than to the Commons? The Lords admitted a delay amounting to a denial of justice. What degradation or shame could it be to the Lords to adopt with respect to their own proceedings some such coercive regulations as the Commons had adopted to secure the

discharge of their own duty in causes of contested elections? The shame seemed to lie in stopping short between the removal of abuse and the adoption of a remedy. Was it a problem so obscure, knotty, and difficult to devise the means of securing a sufficient attendance in the other house, whatever skill it might have required to produce such a bill as this? No! let the House reject this bill, and a better measure would be proposed in a very short time. An appeal had been made to their compassion in behalf of this unhappy scrap of paper, as if it were the offspring of some infant member, who was employing his untried hand, in his first and crude attempt to remedy some acknowledged evil, hoping that a committee would lick his unformed abortion into some sort of decent shape. Another learned gentleman thought they were treading on a sort of hallowed ground, and that they could not presume even to alter and amend the bill, such as it was sent down to them, without a species of *scandalum magnatum* against the legislative wisdom of the House of Lords! The bill in fact was all it could be. A committee was useless. It would offend the Lords more to send it back so changed, as it must necessarily be, if it was to be made useful to any good purpose whatever, than it would to reject it altogether; abstaining, however, at the same time, with the utmost deference, from presuming to suggest any other method of proceeding in a case which appeared to be claimed as the peculiar province of their lordships, and leaving their lordships to go to work again upon a new plan better calculated for their own credit and the public satisfaction.—He begged pardon for any seeming levity, if he were guilty of any in speaking with freedom of this strange project: but there were different moods in which different men viewed the same subjects: some might indulge in harmless merriment; while others (he did not see the learned gentleman, Mr Stephen, present) might view this mouse which the mountain had brought forth with feelings quite "melancholy and gentlemanlike," like Master Stephen in "Every Man in his Humour." For his own part he thought there could not be a graver subject than the due and speedy administration of justice: but on the other hand there could not be a more ludicrous association than that of high magisterial functions, and great official trust, with all the circumstances of degradation and disparagement with which the new magistrate procreated by this bill is to be invested. It was pretended indeed, that the power of the Lord Chancellor to devolve business upon this new deputy, was to be no other than that which he now has, to call to his assistance any one of the judges, or masters in Chancery, named in the commission, empowering them to sit for the Chancellor. Nothing could be more unlike. Compare the language of that commission with that of this bill by which the Chancellor was to ring for his deputy. It would appear that the judges, when called upon, were really to sit for the Chancellor, to sit as the Chancellor; to do his business; to execute his functions, and the rssult was to be of as great validity, force, efficacy, and virtue, as if from the Chancellor himself. The new gentleman to be created was to have full power, &c. but in such a manner nevertheless, and under such regulations and restrictions, as the Lord Chancellor himself shall from time to time order and direct. If this was to be freedom, he wished to know what was servitude? If this was volition, what was coercion? What was such a judge, but a man sitting on the judgment seat fettered hand and foot?

And was it possible to conceive that any decision of such a magistrate could be received as satisfactory and acquiesced in as final? Conceive a melancholy client coming into court, and directing his solicitor to take care that his cause is set down for hearing, not before that tedious indecisive judge the Master of the Rolls, but before the Lord High Chancellor himself. Soon afterwards he hears that his cause is, according to his direction, before his lordship himself. So much the better. At least the hearing will be final. Some time afterwards he is informed that his cause is decided against him—by whom? By the Lord Chancellor himself? No such thing; but by a judge under the constant direction and superintendance of the Chancellor, subject to his interference and controul, to his revisal, and reversal or alteration.—What consolation could this be to the suitor, who had chosen the Lord Chancellor for his judge in preference to the Master of the Rolls, for the express purpose of avoiding the necessity of an appeal, which would now be his only refuge? Was not this the meaning of the bill? He heard some murmurs near him as if he was misrepresenting its tenor and purport. He certainly did not mean to misrepresent it. The advocates of the bill had particularly praised it for its clearness. It was indeed overloaded with perspicuity, full of qualifications and limitations, and exemptions, and provisoes, patching up one hole and making another to patch up in turn; and involved in inexplicable explanations. But after all, was not the result as he had stated it, that the Lord Chancellor might send causes he did not like to his Vice-Chancellor as he pleased, just as he would order away a corked bottle; was not the Vice-Chancellor to take whatever was sent to him—to abstain from whatever was not thus sent to him? To begin or to leave off exactly when and where the Lord Chancellor pleased, at the beginning, or the middle, or the end of a cause—just as might suit the Chancellor's fancy? Had he, or was he, intended to have any regular, known, fixed, intelligible substantive province or authority? Scrub in the play, Mungo in the farce, Sancho in his island, were in a state of settled jurisdiction compared with this new officer! If the form of his tribunal were copied from any thing at all, it must have been from Sancho in his little island! It was to be a delegation by fits and snatches—the offspring of the humours and leisures of the Chancellor, dealt out in bits and scraps of jurisdiction. It really required more credulity than the authors of the bill had a right to expect, to imagine that the bill, even though it should receive the polishing hand of any learned serjeant, could ever answer the purposes for which it was intended. As an unlearned member of parliament, his vote should be against the introduction of a magistracy which it was not fit to create. It was not his fault that the proposition was so objectionable. They had a right to take time to consider this bill, as the Lords had paused for eleven years before they hit upon this mode of remedying an inconvenience of such great and growing mischief. If indeed it was contended, that they were not entitled to object to this mode, without having some other more perfect plan to propose, he would answer, that he had no doubt another plan might easily be devised; but he denied the necessity, or even the propriety, of originating it in the House of Commons. The *onus* was on the Lords, but not on them. The evil was with the Lords, who pleaded their own fault, and applied for the remedy. The evils he believed

were exaggerated, and must vanish at the touch of a reforming hand. Let the Lords adopt an efficient measure, and the mass of evil would soon sink to a manageable size.—He was unable to follow the reasonings of Chancery lawyers; but was such an office as a Vice-Chancellor ever recognised in England before? He felt the highest respect for the present Lord Chancellor, but he must consider that he was called upon to legislate, not only for the present times, but for posterity. He wished to preserve the office of Lord Chancellor in this country in all the plenitude of its powers and splendour of its authority. He believed in his conscience that it was most essentially important to the constitution that it should be so preserved. He thought that it was one of the highest prerogatives of the sovereign, that he could take a man from the profession of the bar, and place him at once by an act of power in a situation giving rank and precedence above ducal coronets. This high prerogative, however, like all others, would be exercised with a responsibility to public opinion; and although the crown might make whom it would Lord Chancellor, yet it would never will to make any man a Chancellor who in the public eye was not conceived to be fit for that high situation. He was not imputing any negligence to Lord Eldon, when he said, that if this bill should pass, a time might come when all the business of the court of Chancery might be thrown upon this new officer, and the Master of the Rolls, and that in future times a Lord Chancellor might be chosen chiefly from other considerations unconnected with his legal knowledge or ability to preside in the Court of Chancery. This bill might therefore lead to the destruction of the office of Lord Chancellor, which he conceived to be, as it now stood, an office of the greatest importance as well in a constitutional point of view as with regard to the administration of the important duties of the court of Chancery. He, therefore, could not support a bill which appeared to him to do things utterly unwise; to create a magistracy unfit to be created, and to endanger, by innovation upon its character and duties, a magistracy which it was of the highest importance to maintain unaltered and unimpaired; a bill not calculated to remedy the evil which it professed to obviate, and risking the introduction of other evils which it might be difficult hereafter to cure; a bill directed to the removal of an obstruction in the course of justice avowedly of a temporary nature; and effecting (or rather not effecting) that object by a permanent dismemberment of the highest judicial office of the constitution."—The measure, notwithstanding this opposition, received the sanction of the legislature.

It has been frequently remarked, that revolutions in the civil or criminal laws of a country are of all others the most difficult to be accomplished. It is a salutary prejudice, no doubt, which resists innovations so extremely hazardous; yet when we consider what was the character of those remote ages in which the foundations of our jurisprudence were laid,—how rude and savage were their manners,—how limited their information,—and how unsettled was the whole form of society, it may with some reason be presumed, that there is scarcely a subject on which a sober and rational spirit of improvement may with more advantage be employed. The English have been more remarkable, perhaps, than any of their neighbours for a sacred, and, in some cases, a superstitious veneration of their ancient constitution; and their laws may therefore be supposed to offer as strong a temptation

to the genius of reform as those of any other country. It cannot be disguised, indeed, that notwithstanding the general strength and solidity of the fabric of their jurisprudence, and the distinguished talent and integrity with which their laws have long been administered, there are some parts of their system which bear visible marks of the barbarism and folly of a ruder age. Those who complain of such absurdities in the *letter* of the law, are told, indeed, that every thing is well managed in *practice*, and that in the criminal code nothing can differ more than the punishments denounced, and those which are actually put in execution against offenders. Yet even this apology seems, in a great measure, to admit the justice of the complaint. The statute-book is disgraced by laws which are not executed; the advantages of a precise and written code are needlessly relinquished, and a strong encouragement is held out to the most arbitrary proceedings. Among the eminent English lawyers of the present day, Sir Samuel Romilly has honourably distinguished himself by his exertions to improve the criminal code; and as he made another effort during the present session of parliament, it may not be improper to present the reader with the substance of the debate which occurred with reference to this important subject.

On the 7th February, Sir Samuel Romilly rose and said, "he hoped that in again drawing the attention of the House to a part of the general laws of the country, which he had already on a former occasion brought under their notice, he should not be considered guilty of any impropriety. The bill which he at present meant to introduce was one which had twice passed that House; but had been rejected in the House of Lords. No person had more respect for the quarter from which opposition had come than himself, and if he imagined, by again introducing a measure which had been considered impolitic, he should be supposed to act from the least disrespect to that quarter, no person could feel more concern than he would. But from all that he had observed since the last consideration of the subject, he felt he should not be doing his duty if he did not bring the subject under the attention of a new parliament. It would be in the recollection of the House that in 1810 he had proposed to bring in three bills; one of which was to repeal the act of King William, which rendered it a capital offence to steal property to the amount of five shillings privately in a shop; another to repeal the act of Queen Anne, which pronounced it a capital offence to steal to the value of forty shillings in a dwelling-house; and the third to repeal the act of George II. rendering it a capital offence to steal property to the same amount from on board a vessel in a navigable river. These bills were all passed in 1811 by that House, but were rejected by the Lords. At the present moment he should only move for leave to bring in that one which, in the former discussions, was considered least objectionable; he alluded to that which related to stealing property to the value of five shillings in a dwelling-house; and the principle on which he should propose to introduce this bill, was precisely the same as that which he had before stated, namely, the inexpediency of penal laws existing which were not intended to be executed. This inexpediency was strongly demonstrated by the returns of the criminal courts for London and Middlesex during the years 1805, 6, 7, 8, and 9. He could not help here expressing his surprise that these returns had not, in compliance with the order of the House, been made to a later period. During these few years it

appeared, that the number of individuals committed for this offence amounted to 188, of whom 18 only had been convicted, and of these not one executed. This he trusted would be admitted as a pretty accurate criterion to shew, that it was not intended to carry the law into effect against individuals who were found guilty under this statute. The consequence of the law not being executed, as was already stated, was, that where some punishment was deserved, no punishment was at all inflicted, and the offender escaped altogether with impunity. This was an evil which could not exist if the laws were less severe, and a certain but mild, although effectual punishment was substituted. He did not mean to censure the forbearance which thus disarmed the law of its ferocity, but he condemned the retention of a law which was found too cruel for application, and which was therefore superseded in almost every instance by a discretionary adoption of that wise and humane principle, that no unnecessary suffering, no useless pang, ought ever to be inflicted under the sanction of the legislature. Upon this part of the subject, he could not more powerfully illustrate his argument than by quoting the sentiments of a man who had once been the ornament of that house, and whose opinions would have weight far greater than belonged to any thing that could fall from so humble an individual as himself. In the observations upon our penal laws which were published in the last edition of Mr Burke's works, that distinguished person says, 'The question is, whether, in a well-constituted commonwealth, it is wise to retain laws not put in force? A penal law not ordinarily executed, must be deficient in justice or wisdom, or both. But we are told, that we may trust to the operation of manners to relax the law. On the contrary, the laws ought to be always in unison with the manners, and corroborative of them, otherwise the effect of both will be lessened. Our passions ought not to be right, and our reason, of which law is the organ, wrong.' The words of this admirable writer were never more applicable than in the present case; for without some extraordinary aggravation, who was there with nerves strong enough to contemplate the execution of this law? Who would say that any one for stealing a ribbon or a piece of lace above the value of five shillings, was deserving of death, if not guilty of some other offence? He did not believe that there was a single instance in which the sentence had ever been carried into execution. If there were any instance, it would be very desirable to know under what aggravations the offence had been committed; and it would also be extremely desirable that these aggravations, which had been the foundation of the punishment, should in future be made the foundation of the sentence. This would relieve the judges from that responsibility in deciding on the fate of individuals from their own private judgment, which constituted the most painful part of their duty. He was himself satisfied that the effect of the law had been to increase the frequency of the crime. Laws, to be effectual, must hold out a terror to individuals. What terror could a law carry with it, when it was known that it was never put in force, but remained a dead letter on the statute-book? He had on a former occasion stated, that no instance had occurred of the law against stealing to the amount of forty shillings on navigable canals having been put in force. An aggravated case of this kind had lately happened, in which property had been stolen to the amount of some thousand pounds. This case had been cited against the principle of the

bill for repealing that act. But could this be considered as a fair ground of objection? Because stealing to the amount of some thousand pounds was punished with death, was that a reason why stealing to the amount of forty shillings should be punished with death? He should, however, have congratulated himself, even if a law had passed to save the lives of those individuals. It was not likely that an instance of so aggravated a nature would soon occur again, and the effect of the execution of the sentence was to make persons dissatisfied with the existing law. The trial had lasted three days, and the jury had the fullest opportunity to consider every circumstance of the case. Yet after their entire conviction of the guilt of the prisoners, they had joined in an unanimous petition to the prince regent to spare the lives of those whom by the law they were bound to condemn. There could not be a stronger instance of the general repugnance in men's minds to the carrying such laws into execution.

"The next bill he proposed to introduce related to the common-law punishment in cases of high treason. The sentence, at present, it was well known, was, that the criminal shall be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution; that he shall be hanged by the neck, and being alive shall be cut down; that his entrails shall be taken out of his body, and, he living, the same shall be burnt before his eyes; that his head shall be cut off, his body be divided into four quarters, and head and quarters shall be disposed of at the pleasure of the king. In point of fact, this horrible sentence was not now executed, the offender being hanged until dead, and his head being then cut off and exhibited to the spectators, a practice to his mind most exceptionable, when it was considered that it was calculated to excite only disgust in some, compassion in others, and brutal apathy in a third class. Mr Justice Blackstone had said, that the practice of embowelling had been discontinued, but it was well worthy of consideration whether so shocking and ignominious an infliction ought to be left to the discretion of the executioner. The judges had not the power of remitting any part of this prescribed judgment; for in the case of Captain Halcot, who was convicted in the year 1683 of being concerned in the Rye-house Plot, the judgment was set aside upon appeal to the House of Lords, because, although the embowelling and burning had been directed, the words *ipso vivente* had been omitted. These expressions were pronounced by that high tribunal to be an essential part of the judgment, without which it had no legal validity whatever.—It was argued, that never any judge was known to require that the man's bowels should be burnt while he was alive, and that the same was impossible to be executed. To which it was answered, that to have bowels cut out *while alive* was the most severe part of the punishment, and therefore ought not to be omitted; that to pretend that the judgment could not be executed, was to arraign the wisdom and knowledge of all the judges and king's council in all reigns; that the strict execution was not impracticable, for that tradition said that Harrison, one of the regicides of Charles the First, did rise up and give the executioner a box on the ear after his body was opened.—Ought then this punishment to remain to revolt the feelings of mankind, and furnish foreigners with a reproach against our national character? Ought the terrors of a vain threat to be displayed in the hour of the wretched offender's fate, to bereave him of his understanding? Ought the question, whether a man shall perish instantaneously, or by slow, bitter, and protracted torments,

to be left to the decision of the executioner? He was ready to admit, that at later periods no such horrible scenes were exhibited, except by accident, and such instances had occurred; but surely it could never be endured with any degree of patience, that the unfortunate wretch who was doomed to suffer death, should be exposed to the most horrid tortures by the mere inattention or carelessness of an executioner, while the judge had no discretion whatever. It was true, that from the increasing humanity of the present times, the dreadful sentence of the law was seldom put in execution; but what other effect could it produce, he would ask, but that of frightening the wretched culprit, when all those barbarities were denounced against him by the judge? Nor was this the only evil; the judges could use no discretion in those cases; they were bound to pronounce the dreadful sentence of the law, while the mitigation of punishment was left to the care, and the aggravation to the negligence of the executioner. Nor were the additional cruelties sometimes exercised on those occasions always to be attributed to negligence. Lord Bacon had recorded, that in the time of Queen Elizabeth, they were generally excused by the barbarities practised in other countries; and Cambden relates, that in Babington's conspiracy, when fourteen individuals, found guilty of high treason, were left for execution, the first seven who suffered were so cruelly tormented, that 'the queen being informed of the severity used in the executions the day before, and detesting such cruelty, gave express orders that these should be used more favourably; and accordingly they were permitted to hang till they were quite dead, before they were cut down and bowelled.' He was sorry to say, that in the last rebellion, in the year 1746 such was the state of inflammation which men's passions had attained, that a Mr Townly was executed with all those disgusting barbarities which he had submitted to the reprobation of the House. After hanging six minutes, he was taken down, and laid on the block, but still showing signs of life, the executioner struck him on the breast, and finding this not sufficient, proceeded to cut his throat. He was afterwards embowelled, according to the letter of the law.—The origin of this common-law judgment he had not been able to trace higher than the reign of Edward I. when David, Prince of Wales, and the celebrated Wallace, were executed for having bravely and heroically maintained the interests and defended the independence of their native land. The burning, in cases of petty treason and witchcraft, long remained a disgrace on the statute-book; it had been repealed in the one instance, "and blessed," he said, "be the memory of the man who had procured the abrogation of the dreadful edict."—He intended then to move for leave to bring in a bill 'to alter the punishment of high treason,' and also for another bill 'to take away the corruption of blood, as a consequence of attainder of treason or felony.' This corruption of blood, he begged leave to observe, was quite a distinct thing from forfeiture, and was, indeed, a subject on which great diversity of legal opinion had prevailed. It consisted in incapacitating the person attainted from devising his property; it left him, in fact, without an heir, or, in technical language, disqualified him from tracing a pedigree. He should be ashamed," he said, "to take up any more of the time of the House with this subject, although he could quote passages from Mr Justice Blackstone, and other eminent writers, in favour of his opinion."

The Solicitor-General (Sir William Garrow) "hoped the House would

indulge him while he made some general observations on the principles by which his hon. and learned friend appeared to be actuated, although he certainly did not mean to oppose his motion. He confessed himself totally unprepared to speak on the subject of punishment in cases of high-treason, as he had not understood before that this would form a part of the proposition of his hon. and learned friend, yet he would say that the barbarous punishment so loudly and pathetically complained of was merely nominal; and as to the corruption of blood it had been devised to deter men from committing such a heinous crime, for it was well known that individuals, whom no human or divine law could keep in bounds, were restrained from crimes by the consideration of the fate which awaited their helpless orphans. As to the first proposition of his hon. and learned friend, he certainly agreed with him, that if the obligation of strictly interpreting and literally enforcing the provision of the criminal law, were imposed on the judges, no man would accept an office which would convert the assizes into shambles. But if discretion must be vested somewhere, where could it be so safely reposed as with the judges of the land? Always reserving an appeal to the fountain of mercy—an appeal, which, whenever good cause could be shewn in support of it, had never been made in vain.—With respect to the punishment of transportation he might be permitted to say a few words; and possibly he could not do better than to relate what had come under his own immediate observation. He had at times been called upon to assist the judges at assizes. In one instance a man had been tried for stealing a piece of timber in the night time, and had been convicted. The sentence to be inflicted by the law was transportation for seven years; but if the judge had been compelled to insist on the infliction of that sentence under the peculiar circumstances of the case, it must have made his situation miserable indeed. The prisoner was a poor, but industrious tailor; every body bore testimony to his good character, even the prosecutor himself was constrained to say that he believed him to be the most industrious and excellent creature living. When called on for his defence, and to state why he had committed the theft, the poor man said, 'It is true that I stole the piece of timber as I was returning home from my club; and I intended to make stools of it for my poor, sick children.' Such was the feeling of the judge, after having heard all the heart-rending circumstances, that he said to the prisoner, 'I hope that your appearance here will be of no detriment to you hereafter—it ought not to be—you have suffered much already—go home, and bless the laws which have enabled the judge to exercise some discretion in your case:—Gaoler, discharge the prisoner!'—What would have been the situation of the judge, had there been any written scale of law which must be applied to this case? Would not any further punishment than this man had already received have been too much? The same occurrences often happened, yet there were instances in which it was advisable for the security of society, to exert the utmost rigour of the law.—He could not but lament that the present motion had been brought forward; yet, knowing the high and honourable mind of his learned friend, he felt convinced that it had been the result of honest conviction, and not from a mere desire of making complaint. He meant not to impute any thing like blame. He lamented that any such notion had been introduced into that House, for there were persons out of doors who might think that there was much

ground for complaint. His hon. and learned friend had told them, that he verily believed a recent occurrence would not have taken place, had the bill proposed by him succeeded, alluding to the conviction and subsequent petitioning of those persons who had stolen a great quantity of silk on the river Thames. He, however, differed from his hon. and learned friend in such an opinion. He admitted that it would be most cruel if the letter of our penal code were to be abided by in every instance, for there were many cases where to inflict the punishments prescribed by the statutes for the offence would be the most barbarous cruelty, yet there were many cases of a very different description. It was death to steal on a navigable river to the amount of 40s., and there were many cases where it would be acting mercifully by society to inflict the punishment to the utmost letter of the law—cases which developed regular plans and deep-laid conspiracies; which formed part of a series of depredations that were carried on daily and nightly, to the apparent disregard of all law. When the ringleaders in such violations of good order and law were caught, was it not right that they should be punished as examples, out of mercy to others, to deter them from committing similar offences?—Such then was the character of the case which had been alluded to. There were to be seen deep-laid plots, and the effects of widely-extended corruption. Those who had the care of the property had been corrupted to abandon their duty towards their masters, and the law by which they had been tried, had said that the offence was capital. They had been tried before as conscientious and as intelligent a judge as ever sat upon the bench (Mr Baron Thompson.) After a patient trial, which lasted three days, they had been convicted. On that occasion, the assistance was had of all the persons eminent in the law; and the learned recorder of London, as was customary, had laid a minute report of the case before the sovereign authority. In the privy council every circumstance of so important a case was minutely canvassed; and the anxiety of the royal mind on all occasions to render judgment in mercy was well known. Indeed, the anxiety of the sovereign to save the life of that unfortunate criminal, on whom the sentence of death had been passed, could only be known to those who had witnessed its effects, and it was difficult to communicate even a faint idea of that anxiety. He had heard the late recorder (Adams) speak with great delight and enthusiasm of the excessive anxiety of his majesty to save the lives of criminals; and for that purpose he would repeatedly question as to the law and the circumstances of the case, and all in favour of the criminal. But what was to be done, when a desperate gang were brought before the tribunal of justice to answer to the violated laws of their country? Was there no difference between the measure of their guilt—betwixt their culpability and that of an individual who might have committed a similar offence for the first time, from absolute poverty, and without having been in concert with any one? But it was said, respecting the robbery on the Thames, that the jury had afterwards petitioned his royal highness the Prince Regent for a mitigation of the punishment—a proof of their notion of its unnecessary severity. Some of the criminals had families—others wives—and others fathers or mothers dependent on them for bread. No man had a higher veneration for the trial by jury than he had, and for those who composed the juries of this country. Few men had seen more of the

proceedings in criminal courts than he had; but after thirty years' experience, he had not known six instances where, had he been of the jury, he should not have felt himself bound to determine precisely as the jury had determined. But after they had brought in their verdict, they were like other men, accessible to pity. The doors of the jurymen might afterwards be crowded by the daughters, the sons, or the mothers of those who had been convicted, praying their interference. They would admit the justice of the conviction, they would acknowledge the offence of their relatives; but they would add—"you cannot wish them to expiate their crimes with their lives—you cannot desire that they should be hanged; think, then, on our feelings for those who we believe, may be saved if you will petition the Prince Regent. You will not refuse to sign this paper—life is valuable to the meanest being that crawls!" Thank God! few Englishmen could withstand such an appeal as this! The petition was signed under these circumstances, and was forwarded to the fountain of mercy, where it would always have due effect if a fair case were made out.—While assisting the judges of assize it was once unfortunately his duty to pass sentence of death on six individuals, some of whom he could not leave for execution, and of course no such order was left. But such feelings of mercy as he had in his own mind towards the unhappy individuals could not be communicated to them. The consequence was, when he was about to leave the town the carriage wheels were beset; and there were loud prayers calling on him "for God's sake, not to leave the criminals for execution!" Those who were offering up the petitions so fervently were actually the prosecutors; and they admitted the justice of the sentence, but said that the poor men's lives ought to be spared—for life was valuable. Such had ever been the case, and if the judges were not so to run a race of humanity with the prosecutors, their carriage wheels would be so obstructed that they would be unable to move. It had the happiest effects, it communicated mercy to those who merited it, while the law was to be called into action against greater offenders. The severity of the law was not too much for some cases; for the utmost rigour was sometimes called for out of mercy to society. He should not detain the House longer on the present occasion; he had now addressed them for the sole purpose of doing away that prejudicial impression which might be made on the public mind, had the statement of Sir S. Romilly gone forth to the world without some observations being made upon it."

On the 26th of March, when the third reading of the bill was proposed, Sir S. Romilly entered upon a review of the objections which had been stated to the measure. "To those members," he said, "who had not before heard him on this subject, it would afford satisfaction to hear that his was not theory; and though the gentlemen who opposed the present bill obliged him by bestowing on him the appellation of a theorist, they themselves were in reality the theorists. It would be some relief to those who objected to him, that he was accustomed to indulge in fanciful theories, when he assured them that he would now cautiously abstain from obtruding on their attention any thing of that kind; at the same time he could not help observing, that this charge, so frequently preferred against him, was by no means well founded; on the contrary, he had the satisfaction of thinking that those who were most forward in accusing him, were themselves addicted to the practice they condemned. He really was not conscious that he had attempted to support any measures

such as those which formed the object of the present bill by theoretical arguments; he had always, in endeavouring to recommend them to the House, relied principally on facts, and he had very diligently laboured to put the House in possession of those facts. These practical men, as they would have themselves supposed, however, who resisted the bill, had brought forward no facts in support of their opinions. They disdained even to have recourse to those facts bearing on the subject which they had before them. He was sorry not to have heard the sentiments of his honourable and learned friend (the Solicitor General) on this measure, considering how gratifying it must have been to the House to learn the opinion of a learned gentleman of his great experience on the subject.—The simple question now at issue was, whether a law, enacted in the reign of William III., which made robbery to the amount of more than five shillings, without any aggravated circumstances, a capital offence, should remain on the statute book. Without at all alluding to the changes procured by lapse of time, and even to the change in the opinion of the judges since the time of King William, an honourable and learned friend of his (Mr Wetherall) called on the House to adhere to the ancient system of our criminal law, and for information on that head referred them to a work of Dr Paley. This, however, was a work not founded on an enquiry into the ancient system of our criminal law, but into the nature of that law as it had been practised in modern times. Now, he would remind the House, that for a considerable time the judges had, without being charged with indulging in theories, seen occasion to swerve in their practice from the spirit of legislative enactment; a spirit, which, by the way, had not been always dormant, as the punishment in question had been inflicted till within the reign of his present majesty; and the frequency with which it had been inflicted, could be ascertained from Howard's book on prisons. From this it appeared, that from the year 1749 to 1771 the number tried was 250, of whom 109, or nearly one half, were convicted. Within the last five years, on the other hand, in London alone, there had been tried for similar offences 188, of whom were convicted only 18, being only one in ten of those indicted, and of the 18 convicted not one had been executed. Now, he asked how the disparity between the number tried and the number convicted was to be accounted for, on any other principle but the unwillingness of the jury to find the property stolen to be of the value required by the act?—He asked, could any stronger argument against an existing law be conceived, than that crimes not only increased but multiplied under it? Or could any thing be more absurd than that the punishment of death should continue to be held out as applicable to offences of a trivial nature, when it was perfectly well known that such punishment would never be inflicted? It was said that the bill repealing the capital part of the punishment for privately stealing from the person had had the effect of increasing that crime. He denied that that crime had increased since the passing of the act repealing the capital part of the punishment; but if the fact was so, it remained to be shewn that the alteration in the law had been the cause of it. For if crime in general had increased, it would be rather too much to hold that the increase of it in this particular instance had been caused by the alteration in the law. The increase of crime in general would be apparent from the returns before the House; and could with fairness be attributed in a great degree, only to the uncertainty of the punishment, or rather to the certainty

that no such punishment as that provided for the offence would be inflicted. The whole committals in the year 1805, throughout the kingdom, for offences of this kind, amounted to 980—in 1806 to 890—in 1807 to 1017—in 1808 to 1110—in 1811 to 1242—and in 1812 to 1484. So that in those six years the committals had increased upwards of 500. Now, in order to see what alteration had been effected, it was necessary to enquire what number of persons had been executed for those crimes since the latest of the periods mentioned. There had not been one.—He had been accused of ringing the changes on impracticable theories, but he had never dealt in theories; he had supplied the House with facts—he proceeded on facts, plain demonstrative facts; but something very much like theory had been arrayed against him.—But the act of 1809 had produced unhappy results. A noble and learned Lord (Ellenborough) was reported to have said, that the alteration in the law as to privately stealing from the person had caused an increase of that offence; but he denied that the mere increase in the number of committals for that offence proved the assertion, as the increase might be attributable to the increase of crime in general, and also to the fact, that since the alteration in the law, parties were less disinclined to prosecute. The opinion of the Lord Chief Justice had been often referred to, but that eminent person had declared the same opinion, that the crime had increased in 1808, before the passing of the act. He did not know why the authority of the Lord Chief Justice should be singled out as superior to every other. He did not try so many criminal causes as the other judges; nor was it possible for any judge officially to ascertain whether the crime had really increased or not.—The number of prosecutions at any period it was easy to ascertain, not the number of offences; and that the number of prosecutions would be greater in proportion to the number of offences, was what had been foreseen and foretold as the consequence of passing this act. In 1805 there were 23 persons indicted for this offence, and only one convicted; and in 1806, 31 persons tried, and one convicted; in the next year, 37 indicted, and three convicted; and in 1808, from January till June, when the capital part of the punishment was abolished, there were 31 persons indicted for stealing privately from the person. Such was the progressive increase of this crime before his bill had passed, although the increase had been considered as the effect of the passing of that bill. So little attention did these gentlemen who talked against theory pay to facts. They were so taken up with their zeal about practical men, and the great superiority of experience over speculation, that they never once condescended to look at the returns laid upon the table.—As to the terror held out by these unexecuted punishments, on which so much stress had been laid, it was purely chimerical,—they had no effect. Let the House for a moment remember how vast a difference there was between the great number of indictments and the small number of convictions which formerly took place, and the nearer proportion between the convictions and indictments which was now observed. The fact was, that juries were not to be found who would find guilty on such sanguinary laws. Before the passing of the former bill, within a specific period 30 were indicted, but only one was found guilty; and after the bill became a law, within the same period 99 were indicted, and 45 out of that number were convicted. The reason of this evidently was, that the law being less sanguinary, the juries did not hesitate to convict men when evidence had proved them to be

guilty. To keep these sanguinary acts standing on the statute-books, as threats, was much worse than useless; for they in effect often prevented men from being convicted when they really were guilty. Many instances could be adduced to shew, that in consequence of the laws regarding some particular offences being so very sanguinary, men who had been guilty of those offences, even in an aggravated degree, were not even proceeded against. This applied particularly to bankrupts. How many bankrupts have been guilty of those offences which the law made punishable with death, such as secreting their property, and not appearing to their commission, and yet were never proceeded against, such was the terrible severity of the law? Its terrible severity was such, that no one could be found to prosecute, for there were but very few creditors who could ever think of proceeding against a bankrupt, however deeply that bankrupt might have injured them, when such proceeding was to endanger the man's life. Though those offences were extremely common, as must be well known to those who had any thing to do with bankruptcies, yet had there only been four prosecuted within half a century! But was it surprising that such a law remained a mere dead letter on the statute-book? If those offences were punishable by transportation, or by imprisonment for a term of years, would not many bankrupts be justly prosecuted for secreting their property from their creditors, or for not appearing to the commission? Where then was the boasted benefit resulting from holding out *in terrorem* what was not carried into execution? Men who referred to facts, who did not indulge in theories, were well convinced of this. Some gentlemen were fond of facts, and he would appeal, by way of illustration, to an instance given by a respectable traveller, Barrow, in his account of the Cape of Good Hope. When he arrived there, the law still ordered breaking on the wheel and torture for certain offences; and when it was proposed to repeal those laws, all the lawyers exclaimed loudly against the repeal; they said, that though never put in force, these punishments were necessary *in terrorem*, and that simple strangling with a cord would not have any effect. The judges were of the same opinion. The laws were however repealed, and the consequence was, that an application was soon afterwards made by the hangman to have a pension assigned him, as, owing to the diminution of the number of criminals, his place was become worth nothing to him. Strangling, putting on the rack, and beheading, were punishments which were still enforced there by the letter of the law. The statesmen saw that they were never enforced, in fact, and that the continuance of the law was detrimental rather than otherwise. They applied for the repeal of them; but the continuation of the laws was defended on the ground of their being valuable as a terror. They were repealed, and the consequence was, that the poor executioner petitioned the government for a pension, offering, at the same time, to give up his fees of office!—With respect to the authority of the judges in favour of the present law, it should be remembered that till 1771 they had executed that law, and their present practice was an innovation on the law, which was no longer any thing more than a mere theory. A learned serjeant (Best) had said, that if any case could be found in which the sentence ought to be executed, this would be a sufficient justification of the law. But he would suppose a case of assault so aggravated as to deserve a capital punishment; as for instance, if a son should cruelly and wantonly assault a kind and most in-

dulgent father, was the honourable and learned gentleman, therefore, prepared to say, that he would make an assault capital in all cases whatever? If so, he must bring in an entirely new code of laws, and he would advise the learned serjeant to inscribe them with the name of Draco. The learned member had quoted the maxim, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.* But he must beg leave to remind him when and how those words were applied. They were used by the barons when they resisted the attempt to overturn the whole system of our laws, and to introduce the old Roman for the common law of the land. If they were to be quoted against all alterations in the existing laws, why then the learned serjeant would have appealed to them when it was first proposed, in the time of Queen Anne, to have witnesses examined in favour of the prisoner; or when it was proposed to extend the benefit of clergy to women as well as men; or when it was determined to disregard clerical accomplishments, which were so long the criterion that precluded capital punishment in certain cases. Such must have been the effect of applying the learned serjeant's notions during all times.—With respect to the sentence of death, it had been said that there were 'different ways' of pronouncing it,—one way when the criminal was really to be hanged, and another when it was intended that he should be respited. But he knew nothing of these 'different ways' of pronouncing a sentence of death; for if there were any such practices, the pronouncing of the sentence must lose much of its efficacy. He knew of but one way; and as the prisoner remained ignorant of any intention to lessen his punishment, the pronouncing of the sentence must have all the effect it would have if the sentence were really to be inforced. The only form he knew of, was that where the judge concluded with solemnly pronouncing, 'And the Lord have mercy on your soul!' He had witnessed the awful effects which the delivery of this sentence had on the criminals; and in some instances, where it was the intention not to execute, he had seen the judge, after the sentence had been pronounced, send to the prisoners, such was their dangerous state, to assure them that the sentence was not to be executed! What benefit could result from such a proceeding? and what advantages resulted from placing a judge in such situations? He was for reducing the theory to the practice of the law, and for enacting such punishments for offences as were not of that sanguinary character which would induce juries to acquit altogether, even where some punishment was due. He would conclude in the words of the Master of the Rolls, whose absence he deeply regretted,—that when the law was such as to be no longer executed, from its repugnance to the manners and sentiments of the community, the time was come to repeal that law, and to substitute another for it, more mild and more effectual."

The bill passed the House of Commons by a considerable majority.

CHAP. III.

Domestic Affairs continued.—State of the Finances.—Mr Vansittart's new Plan of Finance.—Objections urged against it.—Army Estimates.—English and Irish Budgets.

THE state of the finances of this country may well excite astonishment. The prodigious amount of the public debt, the magnitude of the loans which in a season of war are annually contracted, the variety of the taxes imposed, and the entire confidence which, notwithstanding all these circumstances, is still reposed in the national credit, appear to set at defiance all the suggestions of theory. The extent and fertility of the resources of the country, and the scrupulous fidelity of the government in the discharge of its pecuniary obligations, can alone account for these singular phenomena. Yet as the means of taxation, although extensive, are in their nature not inexhaustible, while the expenditure seems to be altogether without limits, it is obvious that without some vigorous effort to maintain a due proportion, ultimate embarrassment must be the result of the present system.

To arrange and methodise the public income and expenditure,—to mitigate in some degree the burdens of a period exposed to unusual difficulties,—to arrest unnecessary profusion in the public business,—and to raise a given sum with the least possible severity on those who are to pay, a wise system of finance may do much; but as an instrument for arresting the progress of continued extravagance to certain ruin,—of wasteful expenditure to national bankruptcy,—and of excessive taxation to the discouragement and ultimate destruction of industry, all such systems seem to be unavailing.

The nation which has recourse to the funding system, without making any provision for retracing its steps, and for recovering in a period of repose from the difficulties into which it may have been led during a season of war, must look forward to insolvency as the inevitable consequence. Great Britain has, on almost every emergency, resorted to the funding system since the Revolution. A weak and timid minister will be partial to this system, and will rashly increase that burden, which can be removed only by his more resolute successors. At the close of the American war this system had been carried to a great extent, without the provision of adequate means for arresting its progress. It was reserved for the virtue and

talents of Mr Pitt to provide the remedy.

The fundamental principle of Mr Pitt's system was developed in the new arrangements with regard to the sinking fund. His plan was, to separate it completely from the other departments of expenditure, and to place it under the controul of commissioners, responsible not to ministers, but to parliament. He provided also that this fund should operate in war as well as in peace; that while new debts were contracted, the sinking fund should pay off the old; and that, at the period of every new loan, taxes beyond what might be necessary to pay the interest should be imposed, and form an addition to the sinking fund.

It has been thought by some persons, that the only mode of discharging the national debt, is by obtaining a surplus of revenue beyond the expenditure; that the separation of the sinking fund from the other funds is in peace a measure of no real efficacy; that in war it is equally unavailing, and must for ever be attended with loss, because it increases the sums raised by loan, and upon which the persons who make the advance must receive a profit. It would therefore, it has been said, be far better that any surplus which may arise during peace, should be employed in defraying the expences of the war, and in lessening the amount of the loans.—Those who argue this forget, however, that in the actual conduct of the finances something more is to be considered than the mere science of calculation; and that it is our duty to appretiate well, not only the nature of the affairs themselves, but the character of the men by whom they are to be administered; not only what *can*, but what *will* be done. It may be laid down as a fixed principle, that every minister will have some object, in which it would be convenient and agreeable to spend any surplus of the public money. If then this surplus be left floating and mixed with other funds, the result will be, that an immediate and desirable use of it will be preferred to one which, though great, is distant, and therefore uninteresting. This is no vague theory; it has been confirmed by the experience of Great Britain for the last century. The influence of every sinking fund prior to that of Mr Pitt, though operating in the most favourable circumstances, and during long periods of peace, has been utterly insignificant.—It may be said, indeed, that although a sinking fund is expedient in time of peace, yet during war there can be no motive for its adoption. But those who reason in this manner ought to reflect on the temptation which would arise in a time of war to apply the surplus of the sinking fund to pay the interest of loans, instead of diminishing their amount; thus avoiding, for the time, that discontent which the imposition of new taxes inevitably creates. Even when peace arrives, the winding up of the concerns of war occasions much extraordinary expence, to which this existing surplus might be most conveniently applied. For these reasons, a sinking fund may be considered as a necessary appendage to the funding system; it ought to be separated as completely as possible from all other funds, and to be guarded by the strongest barriers. It ought to operate at all times by its own intrinsic force, and not according to the varying and capricious views of statesmen.

Another important change accomplished by Mr Pitt, was the introduction of the practice of raising the greater part of the supplies within the year. The sinking fund, adhered to with the characteristic firmness of the minister who established it, might have been sufficient for supporting the na-

tion under wars of common magnitude and common duration; but a war conducted on a scale exceeding all former experience, and of which the termination appeared wholly uncertain, was found to require some more vigorous measure; the accumulation of debt became too great, and the prospect of its discharge too distant; and provision was now to be made for carrying it on to an indefinite term. These purposes could only be answered by war-taxes, which, by defraying part of the extraordinary expenditure, might diminish the amount of the annual loans. Such a plan indeed, to a certain extent, is, in all cases, highly expedient. Yet it required, perhaps, the decisive and commanding character of Mr Pitt to force upon the nation so ungrateful a remedy. This remedy was administered also in the most unpopular of modes—that of direct contribution. After ineffectual attempts to arrive at income through the medium of assessed taxes, the direct and offensive form of an income-tax was at length adopted, and submitted to by the nation. A variety of exemptions and allowances were at first admitted, with the view of mitigating its pressure; but as the nation became inured to the burden, it was gradually rendered more severe and more productive. Large war-taxes were afterwards imposed upon wine, spirits, and tea, and other articles of general consumption; which, with the income-tax, raised the whole produce to upwards of twenty millions, and, joined to the permanent taxes, formed the enormous annual contribution of between sixty and seventy millions. No such burden had ever before been endured by any country in any age.

The administration which succeeded to power on the death of Mr Pitt, either from an apprehension that the limits of taxation had been approached, or from a desire to innovate as much as possible on the plans of their great predecessor, once more attempted to revive the funding system to a large extent. The object which they proposed was, that the war, of whose termination there was no prospect, might be continued indefinitely without any considerable increase of taxation. The war-taxes, exclusively of that on income, were to be applied to pay the interest of the annual loan. They were also to furnish a sinking fund of 5 per cent. which, at the end of fourteen years, would extinguish the debt, and leave the revenue disposeable, to provide for a new loan. This diversion of the war-taxes from their original object necessarily occasioned an annual deficiency, to be compensated by a supplementary loan, increasing every year till it amounted to a sum equal to the whole of these taxes. The interest on the supplementary loans was to be chiefly defrayed, 1st, by the falling in of annuities; 2d, by stopping the accumulation of the sinking fund, after its amount should have equalled the interest on the redeemed debt; an event which was expected to take place about the year 1817.—This plan manifestly involved a recurrence to the funding system, and a revival of it in the most obnoxious shape which it could assume; for, not only were new loans to be contracted for the public service, but even to pay the *interest* of the public debt.

The ministers, by whom these arrangements had been made, were soon removed from power, and their place was supplied by their political adversaries. The plan was therefore abandoned, and the new ministers set out upon the principle of preserving entire the war taxes, and consequently of providing for every successive loan by new impositions. But they soon found that this was a task which they possessed no adequate means of performing; that taxation was rapidly approaching that term when an increase

of the rate diminishes instead of increasing the produce. This tendency was accelerated by the expenses, judicious and ultimately economical, which were occasioned by the great scale of the war in the peninsula. It was increased still more by the stagnation of trade, occasioned by the shutting of all the continental ports. In short, after several temporary expedients had been tried, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr Vansittart, became sensible that recourse must be had to measures of a different and more decisive character.

On the 3d of March, in the present year, Mr Vansittart explained his new plan to the committee of the whole house appointed to enquire into the finances of the country. Besides some propositions of minor importance, as to the redemption of the land-tax, and an addition to the sum appropriated to the sinking fund on each new loan, Mr Vansittart proposed an important change, the nature of which may be explained in a few words. By the original constitution of the sinking fund, the stock purchased by the commissioners was not cancelled, but was considered still to be the property of these commissioners, who regularly drew the interest, and applied it to the further discharge of the national debt. It was in this manner that the fund accumulated by compound interest; a circumstance on which so much reliance was placed. This arrangement was now abolished, and the whole stock purchased by the commissioners (which happened to be 236,000,000*l*. the precise amount of the debt when the fund was instituted) was to be cancelled, and the interest to become disposable for current services, or for paying the interest of new loans. An addition of 867,963*l*. was at the same time to be made to the sinking fund. It was also proposed, that when the loans should in any year exceed the amount of the sinking fund, a new fund of 2½ instead of 1 per cent. should be provided for that surplus.

Mr Vansittart made the following remarks in support of this proposition: "I beg leave to preface my explanation of the system I am about to recommend, by a few general remarks on the redemption of public debt. We are apt to consider this subject (if I may so express myself) too arithmetically; we compute that a certain annual sum will, at compound interest, redeem a given amount of debt within a certain number of years, but we forget the great considerations of policy and public economy which this operation involves. We do not consider that it disposes of the fortunes of thousands of individuals; that it requires the transfer of a mass of property, amounting perhaps to a fifth part of the whole capital of the country, if estimated according to the returns to the property tax, from an employment in which it has been vested by the proprietors to the manifest advantage of the public, into other modes of occupation. It is an experiment which, as far as my knowledge extends, has never been tried on a great scale. The present Elector of Saxony, it is true, discharged the debt which his predecessors had accumulated upon that country; but neither the amount of the sum, nor the circumstances of the electorate of Saxony, can form any precedent for this wealthy and powerful kingdom. While war continues, and loans are annually contracted exceeding the amount of the sinking fund, that amount, however great, can only be considered as an advantage; but whenever peace may take place, it will soon be found that there is a point beyond which the annual redemption of debt cannot be carried without great public inconvenience. This is no new argument in the House; my noble friend the Marquis of Lans-

downe urged it with great force and eloquence in opening his plan of finance in 1807. He observed that the mischief of an excessive sinking fund overloading the money market with a superabundance of capital, exceeding the means of employment, would be not inferior, and somewhat similar, to that of a national bankruptcy. Whenever, therefore, the sinking fund has reached that point beyond which it cannot be employed with advantage in time of peace, it seems to be wise to think of setting bounds to its further accumulation, and certainly unwise to exhaust the national resources by an augmentation of taxes for its further increase. Whether the sinking fund has now reached that point it belongs not to me to decide, and I wish the most cautious and deliberate wisdom of parliament to be applied to the decision. But it may unquestionably be said, that the sinking fund has now reached an extent of which the history of no country affords an example. In no country has the experiment of an annual repayment of twelve millions, or any thing like it, been tried. This at least is obvious, that the present arrangements of the sinking fund require revision. As the law now stands it will accumulate to about thirty, possibly to above forty millions, and will be at once reduced to twenty, or even to twelve. Whatever may be thought of the effects of its greatest amount, it is undeniable that such a revulsion must be pernicious. If the larger sum be not too great, the smaller must be far too little. But I perfectly agree with Lord Lansdowne, and all the great authorities which have treated of this subject, that the plan of employing thirty or forty millions in the purchase of stock in the time of peace is perfectly impracticable and visionary. A change must therefore be made at some time; and if so, is it not wiser to make it while the inconvenience is still at a distance, than when it is actually pressing, and when any corrective may be opposed with an appearance of justice, by the individual interests which may be affected by it at the moment? On this account, I think it becomes the House now to pause, and take a deliberate view of the situation of the country with respect to the repayment of its debt. But other circumstances concur to point out the present as a proper time for some revision of our system. By the original Sinking Fund Act of 1786, provision had been made, that when the fund should have accumulated to the amount of four millions per annum, its further accumulation should cease, and the sums purchased from that time be discharged and made applicable to the public service. Had not that plan been varied by the act of 1802, the public would before this time have received relief from the operation of the sinking fund, though only to the limited extent of the interest of four millions a-year; for the calculations which were made of its progress fixed the period at which it would have reached its highest amount about the year 1812, and the average rate of interest at which its operations have been conducted, proves in fact that it would before this time have accomplished that object. It seems natural to look for some relief from the sinking fund at the period at which it would actually have been obtained, if the constitution of the fund had not been varied. But there is another circumstance still more striking in our present situation. When the sinking fund was established in 1786, the total amount of debt was about 240 millions, and the redemption of such a sum appeared, if not utterly hopeless, at least placed at a very remote distance. But great as the difficulty then appeared, the firmness and perseve-

rance of the nation, pursuing this important object with undeviating steadiness, have at length completely surmounted it; and I have the pleasure to refer the committee to accounts upon their table, which prove that a sum equal to the total capital of the debt existing in 1786 has been redeemed. I mean, that the sums purchased by the commissioners, or transferred to them, exceed the amount of the debt existing in 1786; for this is the only mode in which the redemption of the old debt can ever be ascertained, the new loans having been contracted in old funds, and no distinction kept up between the earlier and later creditors of the public. If any further circumstance could be wanting to prove that the people of this country have at the present time the fairest title to any relief which can be afforded, consistently with the exact observance of public faith, and due attention to permanent security, it will be found in the extraordinary exertions they have made to prevent the accumulation of public debt. Instead of shifting the burden from themselves, and throwing it upon posterity, they have nobly and manfully supported the load of increasing difficulties which the vicissitudes of this eventful contest have thrown upon them. To prevent the increase of public debt, they have actually paid upwards of 200 millions in war taxes; a sum which considerably exceeds the value of the debt existing in 1786. The public have therefore a right to claim the merit of having doubly redeemed the original debt; first, by its actual repayment, and, secondly, by the anticipated payment of a still greater sum which would otherwise have been added to it. But whatever claims the public may now have on these grounds for relief, and with whatever immediate advantage it might be attended, it becomes us more anxiously to enquire what are the claims of public faith which we owe to the stockholders, and what the conditions on which the public debt has been contracted. The debt contracted previously to 1792, was raised without any condition of repayment whatever, the government being bound only to the punctual payment of the interest, and left to consult its own discretion or convenience with respect to the discharge of the principal. This debt, however, I contend is now wholly discharged; and that which now exists has been contracted since the passing of the act of 1792, and subject to its provisions. Under these the stockholder has perhaps no real right, as he has voluntarily subscribed his stock into the old funds which have no conditions of redemption, but he has undoubtedly a just expectation that the terms of redemption pointed out in that act shall be adhered to.

"Those terms are, that provision shall be made for the repayment of the capital of all debts subsequently contracted, within 45 years from its creation, either by the specific appropriation of one per cent. upon such capital, or in any other mode which parliament may think fit. That this is the true interpretation of the act, I affirm on the authority of the declarations and conduct of its illustrious author Mr Pitt, and of the resolutions and acts of the legislature itself. Of Mr Pitt's sentiments I can mention a very remarkable instance. It must be generally recollected by those gentlemen who, eleven years ago, were members of the House, that Mr Pitt strongly supported the sinking fund act of 1802, but it is not perhaps generally known that he was the original proposer of that act. I speak this from my own perfect knowledge, and there are other living witnesses, and I believe written documents in proof of it. The act originated in a suggestion of Mr

Pitt to Lord Sidmouth, then chancellor of the Exchequer; and his first suggestion went to this extent, that not only no sinking fund should be provided upon the sums funded in that year, but after reserving so much of the sinking fund as should be sufficient on calculation to redeem the whole debt at par within 45 years, the surplus, then amounting to above a million, should be applied to the public service. After much discussion between Mr Pitt and Lord Sidmouth, at which I had the honour to assist, the proposition was reduced to the more limited form in which it received the sanction of parliament.

"There could not be a more decisive declaration of Mr Pitt's opinion of the true construction of the act, and it was no less clearly shown by his public conduct on other occasions. In contracting several loans in 1798, 1799, and 1800, on the credit of the income-tax, he made no provision for the immediate repayment of the principal, but proposed to discharge it by the continuance of the income-tax in time of peace, so long as might be necessary. This shews that he viewed the provision for repayment within 45 years rather with regard to probability and practice than to that extreme nicety and rigour which is sometimes insisted on; for it was clearly possible that the war might outlast 45 years, and in that case no provision whatever would have been made for the redemption; but Mr Pitt viewing the subject as a wise and great statesman, according to the probabilities of human affairs, thought it sufficient to make such provision as any reasonable and practical man would think adequate to its purpose; not looking to such cases as, though mathematically true, approached the extreme verge of possibility.

"With respect to the resolutions of parliament, I shall beg leave to refer to the first of those passed by this House on the 18th of May 1802, and lately read at our table. On these resolutions an act was founded, which, as well as the acts which established the loans to which I have just referred, clearly evinces the opinion of the legislature, that the act of 1792 merely required that provision should be made for the redemption of debt within 45 years from its creation, leaving to the discretion of parliament both the mode to be applied in specific cases, and any subsequent variation of that mode, which, within the limits prescribed, it may think proper to adopt.

"I shall now attempt to explain to the committee how it appears to me that some immediate relief may be afforded to the public, without the smallest infringement of the provisions of the act of 1792, which I have detailed. Neither the act of 1786, nor that of 1792, contains any provision as to the mode in which the debt, when purchased, shall be cancelled or discharged, so as to relieve the charge upon the consolidated fund. There are two modes in which this might be carried into effect. The first would be, that, supposing any number of successive loans to be contracted, a proportion of sinking fund should, according to the present practice, be attached to each, and should continue to accumulate at compound interest until the whole of such loan should be discharged by its exclusive operation, and thus that the redemption of each should be separately and independently effected.—This is understood to be the mode established by law under the operation of the act of 1792, in some degree varied by that of 1802, but remaining in force as to all loans contracted subsequently to the latter of those years. It is evident, however, that as the funds are intermingled

and consolidated, the stock created for any particular portion of debt cannot be distinguished, and the purchases are made indiscriminately. Any separate loan can therefore no otherwise be redeemed than by purchasing, with the sinking fund attached to it, an amount of stock equal to that which was created in consequence of such a loan.

"The other mode, which would have been equally consonant to the spirit of the act of 1792, would have been to direct that the debt first contracted shall be deemed to be first paid off, and that the sinking fund created in respect of any subsequent loan shall be first applied to the discharge of any prior loan then remaining unreclaimed, while the operation of the per centage created for those earlier loans should be continued for the redemption of those subsequently contracted. By this means the loan first contracted would be discharged at an earlier period, and the funds charged with the payment of its interest become applicable to the public service. Thus in the event of a long war, a considerable resource might accrue during the course of the war itself, as every successive loan would contribute to accelerate the redemption of those previously existing, and the total amount of charge to be borne by the public in respect of the public debt, would be reduced to a narrower compass than in the other mode, in which a great number of loans would be co-existing. At the same time the ultimate discharge of the whole debt would be rather accelerated than retarded. The advantages of this mode of operation did not perhaps present themselves to Mr Pitt when framing the arrangements of the sinking fund, in the prospect of a continuance of peace, and with a very remote view of the ultimate redemption of the debt, nor would it have been easily made applicable to the large mass then existing, and for the redemption of which no provision had before been made. But the circumstances of the present time afford a most advantageous opportunity of establishing a plan which would in the first instance have been preferable. It is now only necessary to declare that an amount of stock equal to the whole of the debt existing in 1786 has been redeemed, and that in like manner, whenever an amount of stock equal to the capital and charge of any loan raised since 1792, shall be redeemed in its proper order of succession, such loan shall be deemed and taken to be redeemed and satisfied. Every part of the system will then fall at once into its proper place; and we shall proceed with the future redemption with all the advantages which could have been derived from the original adoption of the mode of successive instead of simultaneous redemption. Instead of waiting till the purchase of the whole of the debt consolidated in 1802 shall be completed, that part of it which existed previously to 1792, will be considered as already redeemed, and the subsequent loans will follow in succession whenever equal portions of stock shall have been purchased. It is satisfactory to observe, that by a gradual and equable progress we shall still have the power of effecting the complete repayment of the debt more speedily than by the present course. I do not pronounce whether it will be wise to persevere to that extent. It will be for parliament to judge when the proper time arrives, which is yet at a considerable distance; but we are doing our duty to posterity not only scrupulously but liberally, while we not only much more than satisfy the provisions of the act of 1792, which requires the redemption of the debt within 45 years, but actually anticipate that course of redemption which

is now provided. The tables which will be put into the hands of gentlemen, will shew them that means are provided by the proposed plan of effecting the total repayment of the existing debt from four to ten years, and that of the future debt which may be incurred, according to the various suppositions assumed, from 14 to 17 years, sooner than by the laws now in force. This statement is sufficient to shew how amply the proposed plan is capable of satisfying the most sanguine expectations of the nation with respect to the final discharge of its debts, as well as the fair claims of those who look to the execution of the act of 179[illegible], as the means of supporting the value of the public funds. I have mentioned the result of such calculations as are intended to be communicated to the House; other cases may be supposed by which the result may be varied in degree, but not in general effect.

"I have thus far attempted to explain the intended system to the committee, and to recommend it by its general and intrinsic advantages without displaying the immediate benefits of its adoption. Yet they are such as must be highly satisfactory to parliament, and of the greatest importance in the present situation of the country.

"The immediate result of this system, simple as it may appear, and really is, will be equal to a subsidy of above one hundred millions. For four years to come, we may, on the supposition of the continuance of the war, hope to be obliged to impose no other taxes than such as are required to furnish those additions to the sinking fund which I pointed out in the early part of my statement. I need not dwell upon the advantages of such a relief, I need not explain its effects in raising the spirits and animating the exertions of the nation. I need not enlarge on the confidence it must give to our allies, and the despondency it is calculated to impress on our enemies. But that which in my view renders it peculiarly valuable is, that it is so far from being purchased by an accumulation of burdens on the succeeding years, that though its advantages may be very different in degree, according to the different cases supposed, yet it will in all, for several years to come, produce a very considerable diminution of charge.

"Such are the general principles of the plan to which I beg to call the most serious attention of the committee, but not at present to press for its judgment. That it is free from objections I cannot hope, but I trust that parliament will on mature consideration be convinced, as I am myself conscientiously persuaded, that they are such as bear no proportion to its advantages. I can at least acquit myself of having hastily and rashly determined on a measure of this magnitude and importance. It has for many months been the subject of my most anxious meditations, and of repeated and detailed discussions with those whom I thought most capable of guiding my judgment; and I submit it to the committee not without great anxiety, but with the confidence naturally flowing from the most sincere conviction.

"I am fully aware, that in proposing any change in a system so justly revered, and considered as the firmest hope of the nation, I am incurring a great responsibility, but I also feel that I ought not to shrink from it, in the prospect of performing a great public service. Many a gallant and worthy man has laid down his life to atchieve a much less important service to his country, than that of providing at such a moment the supplies necessary, during four years, for the contest in which we are engaged. In the hope

of procuring this benefit to the public, I am willing to risk what many, to whom life is dearer than it is to me, have valued beyond their lives—I mean that reputation and public confidence which they have sought, and in some degree acquired, by a long course of faithful, though imperfect service to the country. I am aware that my reputation is staked upon this plan; but God forbid that my reputation, or that of any man, should be placed for a moment in competition with the great public interests which are concerned. I only wish the House to deliberate maturely, and to decide wisely. Such information as has appeared to me necessary to enable gentlemen to take a complete view of the plan, will be put into their hands, and if any further information should be desired, I shall most readily lend my assistance to furnish it."

This plan was strenuously opposed by many members of the House; and as the subject is of great national importance, it will be proper to give an ample view of the leading arguments.

"By adopting this plan, it was said, we must incur the risk of losing the fruits of all the sacrifices which we have made for the last twenty years;—that we must lay ourselves open, not to the mere possibility, but to the probable and imminent danger (in the event of a long continuance of the war) of undermining, if not destroying altogether, that system of public credit which is the foundation of our present safety and independence, and the last support of that pre-eminent rank which we now maintain among the nations of the world.

"There is another question, (it was said), of a magnitude not inferior to this, which cannot be put out of sight in the examination of these proposals,—the maintenance of public faith, on all occasions so essential to the honour of the country, and in this instance more especially to the honour and character of parliament. The highest considerations of public policy and public justice were therefore equally involved in the present discussion. The edifice of the sinking fund, which was thus to be pulled down, was perhaps the proudest monument which was raised by the virtues and genius of Mr Pitt to his own fair fame. So it was held in his own estimation; so it is held in the estimation of his friends, and not only of his friends, but of those who were his political enemies, and of the whole world.

"When Mr Pitt was called to the head of affairs, and to the management of the finances at the close of the American war, credit was at its lowest ebb, our revenues deplorably deficient, and our resources for improving them apparently exhausted. Yet such at that time were the real resources of the country, when properly called forth and wisely administered, that in the year 1786, Mr Pitt was enabled, after making provision for the interest of the public debt, and for all the expenses of a peace establishment, to set aside and appropriate a surplus of income, amounting to One Million annually, as the foundation of a sinking fund for the redemption of the then existing debt of 238 millions. By the act of parliament which was passed for this purpose, (26. Geo. III. cap. 31.) it was provided, that this sum of One Million should be laid out either in the redemption of stock, if at par, or, if under par, in the purchase of it in the open market at the current price of the day;—that the interest arising from all stock so redeemed should be added to the principal, and be laid out in the same manner, until by their joint accumulation at compound interest they should amount to the annual sum of four millions;—that when this sinking fund had reached that amount, it should continue from thenceforth to be laid out at simple interest only, leaving

the amount of interest annually redeemed at the disposal of parliament. Such is the outline of the original plan devised by Mr Pitt for the reduction of the national debt, which, up to the year 1786, had been allowed to accumulate, without any permanent provision being made for its gradual and ultimate liquidation. But he did not stop here. He wished, in the event of any future war, to guard the country against the evils arising from too rapid an accumulation of debt, and consequent depression of public credit; and to place us beyond the reach of that helplessness, alarm, and despondency, which had brought the finances of the country to the brink of ruin in the American war. Mr Pitt felt at that time, that the greatest difficulty which he had to contend with in framing any permanent system of a sinking fund, was to find the means of protecting it from the danger of future alienation, before it should have accomplished the purpose for which it was formed. The plan which he submitted to parliament in 1792 was framed with the specific view of guarding against this danger, and of holding out to the public a guarantee, that any future debts which the state might have occasion to contract, should, from the moment of their being incurred, be placed in a course of liquidation uniform and unalterable. This plan contained within itself a principle of permanency, which, being applied to every loan at the time of making the contract, could not from that moment be varied or departed from, without a breach of such contract. Under this plan not only the sinking fund, which it provided, but the application and accumulation of that sinking fund were so interwoven and bound up with the contract for the loan, as to remain a condition between the borrower and the lender, until every obligation of that contract should be cancelled by the extinction of the loan itself. That such was Mr Pitt's understanding of the plan which he proposed to parliament in 1792, is placed beyond all doubt (if indeed there could exist a doubt on the subject) by what passed in the House of Commons on that occasion. It was made an objection to the measure, that it would place the reimbursement of all future loans beyond the discretion and controul of parliament;—an objection which was answered by Mr Pitt in such a manner as to show, that, in his judgment, this very objection was the principal merit and recommendation of his plan. Another advantage of the plan was, that by the mode in which it was carried into effect, the power of the sinking fund is always necessarily increased, directly in proportion as public credit is depressed at the time of making the loan to which such sinking fund is annexed.

"These were the principles laid down by Mr Pitt in 1792, as the foundation of a sinking fund, applicable to the liquidation of any new debt. The mode provided by him for carrying these principles into effect is so simple, that for the explanation of it little more can be necessary than to refer to that portion of the act (32 Geo. III. cap. 55.) which provides for this measure.

"The enactment, therefore, applicable to every loan that should be raised after 1792, is simply this; that either some specific provision should be raised, for paying it off within a period which might extend to, but should not exceed, forty-five years; or, in default of such provision, that a sinking fund equal to one per cent., not on the amount of the money borrowed, but of the capital stock created, should "from thenceforth" issue from the exchequer, and be applied at compound interest to the liquidation of such loan. It is therefore obvious, that at the time of making a loan, the government is at liberty to adopt either of

these modes for its gradual redèmption. It may declare to the parties with whom it may be dealing; first, that it will provide for paying off in each year one forty-fifth of the capital to be borrowed; or, secondly, that it will raise money by granting an annuity terminable in forty-five years; or, thirdly, that instead of making provision in one or other of these modes, for paying off any portion of such loan immediately, a sinking fund shall be assigned to begin to operate at some future period, and of such an amount as to ensure the extinction of the loan between the date of the commencement of such sinking fund and the end of the prescribed term of forty-five years. But if no specific provision is made for the redemption of the loan at the time of contracting for it, then the other alternative of the one per cent. sinking fund takes effect as a matter of course.

"The principle upon which the period of forty-five years was fixed upon as the extreme term beyond which the liquidation of any future debt should in no case be protracted, may be collected from this circumstance; that a sinking fund of one per cent. operating at compound interest, and supposing the rate of that interest to be invariably three per cent., will redeem a capital equal to one hundred times its amount, in little more than forty-five years. We are not at liberty to compel the public creditor to accept the repayment of his stock at any price below par,—at par every portion of the public debt is redeemable; but below that price, the state, like any other purchaser, may go into the market and buy at the price of the day. Now the great bulk of our debt, as every body knows, consists of a three per cent. stock; and we have none which has been funded at a lower rate. Consequently the lowest rate of compound interest at which the sinking fund can improve is three per cent. It is the rate at which it would improve, if the three per cent. stock were uniformly paid at par. In proportion as the stock, instead of being paid off, is purchased below par, is that rate of improvement of the sinking fund increased. But as a one per cent. sinking fund constantly operating at three per cent. would redeem the capital of any loan in a period of about forty-five years, it follows, from there being no stock below that rate of interest, that forty-five years is the ultimate term to which the liquidation of any debt, having a sinking fund of one per cent., can by possibility be postponed. It is the maximum of time which the redemption would require, on the supposition of the sinking fund being uniformly restrained, by the most flourishing state of public credit, to the minimum of velocity at which it can proceed. Now it is a fact, not immaterial to the present discussion, that for the last fifty years, the three per cents have never been at par; that within that period they have been below fifty, and that for the last twenty years (that is, since this law of 1792 began to take effect) their average price has not exceeded sixty-seven.

"Now, what has been, and is, the practical application of this law of 1792 to the loans, which since that period have been raised for the public service? When a loan is wanted, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, acting in behalf of the public, signifies to the parties disposed to lend their money, the particular stocks in which he means to fund the loan. If, at the same time, or at any time before the contract, he has it in contemplation to make any provision for the redemption of such other loan than a one per cent. sinking fund, he would of course apprise the parties of the nature of that provision; but if he should remain silent on this point, the law declares to them, without any confirmation from him, (and in point of fact they have on no

occasion ever demanded or received any such confirmation) that a sinking fund of one per cent. will issue of course, and will be employed at compound interest for the gradual redemption of the new stock about to be created. Knowing this, the lenders are well aware that the efficacy of this sinking fund will be in proportion to the depression of the stock which they are to receive in return for their money;—if three per cent. in cash, for instance, be what they are to receive, and the price at which it is taken be 50, the sinking fund will be equal to two per cent. on the money capital borrowed; and the rate in point of time, at which the redemption will then proceed, will be that of about twenty-three instead of forty-five years. Thus, in proportion to the depression existing at the time does this sinking fund operate at once as an improved check to prevent a further fall, and as a powerful lever to produce, at no distant period, a probable rise in the market. What is the consequence? Why, that the lenders are enabled and induced, or, by the competition which exists among them, compelled, to give better terms to the public. These better terms are the advantage which in every past loan the country has derived from a one per cent. sinking fund; but it is an advantage obtained by incurring an obligation from which we are not now at liberty to depart. The advantage and the obligation are reciprocal; they both commence with the commencement of the contract, and from that moment we are not at liberty to keep the one and to disregard the other.

"The foundation of the new system now proposed is this: the Chancellor of the Exchequer construes the act of 1792 as leaving parliament at liberty to regulate and modify according to its discretion, in any manner and at any time, the redemption of the whole debt contracted under the terms of that act, provided the final liquidation of each of those separate loans, which together constitute the aggregate of that debt, is not protracted beyond the full period of forty-five years.

"The question of public faith which arises upon this construction is,—whether, having made our option, at the time of a contract for each loan, in favour of a one per cent. sinking fund, and having received the benefit accruing from that option, the issue of that one per cent. from the Exchequer, and its progressive accumulation and uninterrupted application, be not thenceforth conditions of the contract itself, from which we are not at liberty to deviate, so long as any part of that loan shall continue unredeemed?

"Now, that there is nothing in the clause which has been read to authorise any option subsequent to the time of making the contract, is quite clear. If it had been the intention of the legislature to reserve to itself a subsequent power of reverting to the first alternative of forty-five years, should we not have found, at the end of this clause, some words declaratory of this intention?

"The act does not in terms prescribe any period when the issue on the one per cent. on each separate loan, and its accumulation at compound interest, shall cease and determine; but as by this act each loan is a separate debt, with its own distinct sinking fund, and as that sinking fund can have no other application than the liquidation of the particular loan in respect of which it was originally issued, there can be no doubt that, according to the intent and meaning of the act, the whole charge of such loan, as well for interest as for sinking fund, is set free, and reverts to the consolidated fund as soon as that liquidation is completed. This construction of the law will not be disputed.

"It is impossible that any man

should entertain a serious opinion that the measure can be carried into effect without a departure from the act of 1792, and a consequent violation of the contracts made under that act. If under this statute the legislature can carry its interference to the extent proposed, what is there to prevent its going a step farther, and meddling with the issue of the one per cent. itself? The issue, the application, the accumulation, are all governed by the same enactments, without any proviso or exception to enable it to vary or modify the one more than the other.

"In a case of this nature, it is not immaterial to enquire what has been the general understanding upon the subject. The first report of the committee of finance of the year 1797 relates to the public debt and the sinking fund; and it concludes with these remarkable words: 'The old sinking fund, after reaching the sum of four millions, is no longer made applicable by law to the discharge, at compound interest, of what may then remain of the old debt; but the operation of the new sinking fund is to continue at compound interest till the new debt shall be totally discharged.'

"It is impossible to mistake the object or meaning of this sentence. By marking the difference between the old sinking fund and the new, between the loan of 1786 and that of 1792, it most forcibly delineates the true character of the latter. Respecting the most distinguished committee that made this report, it is only necessary to ask, if it is too much to assume that the public had a right to look to this report for the true construction of the act of 1792, and to rest upon it as a guarantee that that construction would be faithfully adhered to and observed?

"It is an error, which must sooner or later prove fatal to our credit, that we are doing enough if we reserve such a sinking fund as would redeem our debt in forty-five years, without reference to the total amount of that debt. The proportion of the sinking fund to the unredeemed debt is but a secondary consideration; the actual amount of that debt ought to be the first object of our solicitude. It is undeniable in theory, that a debt of 1000 millions would as certainly be liquidated in forty-five years by a sinking fund of ten millions, as that a debt of 100 millions would be liquidated by a sinking fund of one million. But in practice, a debt of 100 millions might be safe, and possibly salutary to the state, even without any sinking fund at all; whilst 1000 millions of unredeemed debt, all liable to be brought into the market, might, under many conceivable circumstances, entirely break down that credit, which the smaller sum would in no degree impair. Comparisons of this nature, in proportion as they are true in arithmetic, are dangerous in the concerns of nations. Whilst they gratify ingenuity in the closet, they may undermine our resources upon the Stock Exchange.

"It may be said, that any proposal which postpones the necessity of adding to our burdens, however pregnant with difficulty and danger that proposal may be in its probable and not distant consequences, cannot fail, especially if those consequences are kept out of its sight, to be favourably received by the public. The plan possesses undoubtedly that claim to favour. If support had been asked upon that claim only, the discussion would have been much simplified. But in the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, this benefit is obscured and lost amidst the blaze of more brilliant advantages and dazzling prospects which have been opened on this occasion.

"These other advantages of the plan amount to four; first, that it provides for a gradual and equable reduction of the national debt; secondly,

that it provides against the evils likely to arise from too rapid a diminution of the rate of interest; thirdly, that it provides an immediate subsidy of 120 millions for carrying on the present war; and, fourthly, that it provides for the accumulation of a treasure of 100 millions in time of peace, as a reserve for any future war.

"With respect to the first of these advantages, astonishment alone can be excited by naming it. 'A gradual and equable reduction of the national debt?' as if that reduction was at this moment too rapid,—as if there was any thing arbitrary and capricious in the present mode of applying the sinking fund! Again, as if we had already done too much in the way of reduction of a debt, which, when the new sinking fund began, was little more than 200 millions, and which now exceeds 600 millions unredeemed,—as if it were necessary, in order to make that reduction more equable, to diminish the amount of the sinking fund of the year in proportion as the amount of the loan is increased,—as if it were particularly wise and pressing to begin to check the growth of the sinking fund in the present year, which will make a greater addition to the debt than all that was added to it in the six preceding years of the war!

"That any one should have spent his time in providing, at this moment, for the second of these advantages, is still more surprising. 'The evils likely to arise from too rapid a diminution of the rate of interest'—when, with all the aid that credit has derived from the present rapidly growing sinking fund,—with all the improvements, wonderful and extensive beyond the hopes of the most sanguine in our situation,—with all the temptations which a nominal capital holds out to the lender in the three per cents. government is not able, even in that favourite fund, to raise a single 100*l*. within the legal rate of interest! With these circumstances before the public,—with a loan to be negociated for the service of the year which cannot be much short of forty millions,—what is the step taken with a view to an immediate practical effect? Why a successive diminution of the sinking fund infinitely more rapid than its growth has ever been, to be accompanied with a series of loans much larger than were ever before raised in this country.

"The other advantages of the plan consist in the accumulation during peace of a fund to enable ministers to undertake new wars, and the postponement of fresh taxes for the next three years. But we should be departing from the example of former parliaments, and of the great men of other and (at least in that respect) better times, we should be losing sight of every sound principle of state policy, and of every established maxim of practical finance, if we were on this occasion to surrender our judgment to our feelings, and to shrink from the duty of a dispassionate enquiry from the dread of its leading us, contrary to our wishes, to a painful conclusion.

"In vindication of the plan this argument has been used;—that, admitting it not to be strictly consistent with justice to the creditor of the state, still, if it promises to operate greatly to the general relief of the public, without being materially prejudicial to the public creditor, it ought to be adopted.

"Without dwelling, it was said, upon such general observations as must occur to every man upon the great danger of attempting to justify by this doctrine of conveniency a violation of the plain letter of an engagement,—without stopping to remind the committee, that in such attempt we are at once party and judge, and judge without appeal, we may confine ourselves to the mere question of probable injury. If not immediately, in the course of no very long period, the plan must

be highly prejudicial to the public creditor. It may not operate immediately, because political circumstances are now very favourable to public credit; and also because, in the first year of this plan, the sinking fund will not be materially, if at all, impaired. But what must be its effect in future years, when the sinking fund will be diminished between seven and eight millions; and when the public mind may possibly not be elated with the same sanguine hopes as are justly entertained at this moment?

"This, it is true, is not the first time that we have had recourse to expedients widely departing from the ordinary and legitimate system of adding to our income by permanent taxes in proportion to the increase of permanent charge created by the loan of the year. In 1807 an expectation was held out to the people, that no new taxes should be imposed for three years. Accordingly the loan of that year was assigned upon the war-taxes. In 1808, the falling in of the short annuities, and an advance by the bank of three millions without interest, enabled parliament to meet the charge of the small loan required for that year, without materially breaking in upon the assurance that taxation should be suspended for three years. In 1809 the charge of the loan was thrown upon the war-taxes. This measure was strongly objected to; and the ground of its defence was not the general policy of the measure, but its particular expediency, and for that year only, as necessary to complete the term of the respite from taxation promised in the year 1807. The war-taxes mortgaged for the charge of this loan amounted to one million. It is obvious that the effect of this mortgage was of course to diminish the disposable revenue, and to increase the loan to the same amount in that and every subsequent year. If instead of the war-taxes, the million be taken from the sinking fund, a difference to that amount is created between the sum borrowed and the sum redeemed. In both cases, the effect for the first year with respect to the public credit and the accumulation of debt is the same; but, prospectively, that credit will be injured in an infinitely greater degree, by the deduction of a million from the sinking fund; because this million would have continued to improve and accumulate at compound interest for the reduction of the debt; which of course is not the case with the million of war-taxes.

"If our resources are not infinite and absolutely inexhaustible; if we have already dipped deep into those resources; surely it the more becomes us well to consider whether the remainder are not now in danger of being dissipated with unnecessary celerity? Whether by mortgaging now at usurious interest that income which we had wisely set aside for the discharge of existing incumbrances, we shall be more at our ease some few years hence? Whether by accumulating debt now upon terms which may oblige us to redeem it at an expense nearly double hereafter, we are compensated for the immediate pressure of usurious interest by the prospect of future relief?

"One great consideration of economy is, that the reduction of interest upon the five and four per cent. stocks, which has always been looked to as one of the advantages that would speedily be realized by the sinking fund on the restoration of peace, and which would produce a saving of nearly three millions a-year, must necessarily be retarded by the proposed system."

Such were the leading arguments for and against this measure. After a very full and able discussion, the plan proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer received the sanction of the legislature.

On the 8th March, Lord Palmerston brought forward the army estimates for the year. His lordship stated, that the first head to which he should direct the attention of the House, was the land forces, which comprehended the whole regular army, with the exception of foreign corps in British pay, the regiments employed in the territorial possessions of the East-India Company, and the embodied militia. In this department there had been an accession of 9600 men, and an additional expense of 299,000*l*.

The second head referred to regiments in the East Indies, but as these were by law declared to be a burden on the revenues of the Company, it was only necessary to mention them, that the whole state of the army of Great Britain might come into one complete view. For the purpose of recruiting for this force, two additional companies of 48 men at an expense of 2000*l*. were now established.

The next head was the embodied militia, in which there was only a difference of two men, and of expense 17,000*l*. in recruiting; but in consequence of the vote of last year, respecting the supernumeraries, there was a diminution in expense of 30,000*l*. on the British, and 12,000*l*. on the Irish establishment.

The next head was that of general staff and garrisons, and in this there was an increase of 41,000*l*., owing to the augmentation of the staff serving abroad, particularly in the medical department, and to the transfer of the sum of 15,000*l*. which had heretofore been charged in the army extraordinaries for the deputy quarter-master general, &c. but which was now placed among the army estimates. This addition also arose from the pay established for a commander-in-chief in the Mauritius, and the appointment to several new commissions in the West Indies. It was customary to allow the commander of the forces 1000*l*. to equip himself, and this sum, with the other items he had enumerated, made up the total increase of 41,000*l*.

The next head was that of full pay to supernumerary officers, which exceeded the estimate of last year 20,000*l*. in consequence of the greater number of those officers whose services deserved so well of their country, having retired.

The next was the public-department allowances, in which the increase was 28,000*l*., arising from a larger sum being necessary to the pay-office for exchequer fees. The salary of the head of that office was also augmented to 2500*l*., and there was also an increase of 600*l*. in the commander-in-chief's office, from his secretary's becoming entitled from his length of service to a larger salary, viz. 3500*l*. The war-office was nearly the same as last year. The adjutant-general's office required 935*l*., from an arrangement being made, that the deputy-adjutant-general should receive the full pay of his rank, the office pay of 19s. per day being considered inadequate. And a similar arrangement had taken place in the quarter-master-general's department, in which, however, there was a diminution of 500*l*. The charge for the depot for military knowledge amounted to 1500*l*., which was paid over to the deputy-quarter-master-general for the purchase of maps, charts, &c. There was nothing more worth notice under this head.

Under the next, that of the in-pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals, there was an addition of 1300*l*. from the pensioners this year receiving full clothing, which they only did every other year.

Under the next head, the out-pensioners of these establishments, there was an additional claim of 38,000*l*. as arrear of pensions of former years in Ireland, but this would be met by sums already rated and unexpended.

The eleventh head was that of widows' pensions; and here there was an increase of 1,250l., as there had been a greater number of deserving applicants put upon the list than could be provided for by the money which had fallen in from deaths or marriages.

Under the next head, the volunteer corps, the expence was 55,000*l.* less than in the former year; and a farther reduction of 8,300*l.* had taken place in the local militia, from a reduction of the numbers, in consequence of the act of last session.

The next head was the foreign corps, and included the supplementary estimate. Here there was an increase of 2,500 men, and 90,000*l.* expence, arising from the additions to the German Legion, and the formation of two foreign veteran battalions, in which we employ these men, worn out in our service, instead of sending them abroad as before. This system had been altered, and the new mode adopted, in consequence of the present state of the continent, which subjected these brave men to danger, such as this country, so well served by them, would not permit them to encounter. The amount was also increased by the formation of seven independent companies, composed of Frenchmen.—At the beginning of hostilities, the desertions from the enemy in Spain had been confined to Germans, but within the last year and a half, the privations to which they were exposed had induced many Frenchmen to come over. These men could not be incorporated with our foreign corps; and in order to obtain useful and military service from them, it was determined to form them into small troops or companies, as the nature of their services might be, rather than embody them altogether into one mass of force. Each individual was placed in the same rank which he had held in the French army.

The next head was the royal military college, in the expence of which there was an increase of 18,200*l.*; but a balance of 8,800*l.* left last year, would reduce this item to 9,400*l.* including 2,800*l.* in the civil department, expended in the purchase of a house at Farnham, rendered necessary by the establishment at Sandhurst, and also including the expence of two new companies of cadets.

Under the next head, the Royal Military Asylum, there was a small increase. In the allowances to retired chaplains, &c., the estimates were nearly the same; and in the medicine and hospital expences, there was a diminution to the extent of 2,500*l.*

The following head was the Compassionate List, under which there was an increase of 4,700*l.*, in consequence of there being a greater number of claimants upon the fund, whose merits demanded compliance with their applications.

Under the next head, the Irish Barrack Department, there was an increase of 9,500*l.*, occasioned by the transfer of an item which had been placed under another head, and by the rise in the price of necessaries for the troops.—The commissariat department of Ireland exceeded the last year's estimate by 28,000*l.*, in consequence of the increase of forage money for the cavalry, and the delivery of great coats and 15,000 pair of shoes to the men.—The last head was that of superannuations; and here there was a diminution of 541*l.*, from the death of the late Mr Lewis, although the retirement of Colonel Paterson from office, with a pension, had added to the charge. The general view, as he had already stated, would give an increased expence of 399,000*l.*, but a deduction of 18,000*l.* from this would leave the correct total amount, 381,000*l.*

With respect to our force, it was satisfactory to state, that the differ-

ence between the effective strength at the end of 1811, and the end of 1812, was very favourable, notwithstanding the extent and magnitude of the services in which our armies were engaged, notwithstanding the casualties of long, active, and harassing campaigns, marches, disease, and losses in battle. Surmounting all these obstacles, we had an actual increase of 10,200 effective men. Of these a considerable number, indeed, were of the foreign corps; but in British alone there was a clear augmentation of 2,000 men, besides 400 Spaniards, who had been incorporated with them in the peninsula.

The Secretary at War then proceeded to notice the success which had attended the recruiting service within the last year, and which, he contended, had not arisen from commercial distress, but was general throughout the country. One cause to which he attributed it, was a change in the recruiting system, by employing officers well calculated for the service, and giving them districts, with the command of all parties therein, though not belonging to their own regiments, instead of employing young officers, who accepted the task rather as a leave of absence than as a service. The experiment had first been tried in the Gloucester district, and had since been extended to four or five other districts, in all of which still proving productive and beneficial, the system would now be generally resorted to. The continuance of the officer in the district depended on his success; and the plan would, in the first instance, have the good effect of disengaging 700 officers, and uniting them to their several regiments. Another of the improvements was to allow a larger share of the reward to the non-commissioned officers, upon whose exertions the success in recruiting must in a great measure depend, however active and diligent their superior officers might be.—The number of recruits raised last year was 14,432, by ordinary recruiting. This was a great increase; in the preceding years it had been rising from 9 and 10, to 11 and 12,000. The volunteers from the militia were nearly equal to the full number allowed, namely, 9,900, making a total to the army of 24,335. The place of the volunteers from the militia was filled up by beat of drum, and therefore the total addition to the regular army might be said to have been gained by the success of the recruiting service. This was a satisfactory reflection, and it must afford to the House great satisfaction to see the ardour and spirit of the people rise in proportion to the demands upon their services.

It might be necessary, the Secretary at War continued, to explain the difference which existed between the number of casualties accounted for, and those which really had happened. In the account of the casualties which had been given, all those which had happened on foreign stations were included. Some persons who knew that the case was so, had expressed their surprise at the small amount of the casualties stated in the returns. The return which had been called for by the House, was that of the casualties for 1812, which necessarily did not include those which had taken place during the latter months of 1811; so that those persons who had professed to feel so much astonishment at the smallness of the number, probably thought that the latter months of the year 1811 were included in the return. On the one hand, the number of men added to the army during 1812, amounted to 37,762, including those raised by regular recruiting—by recruiting from the militia, &c. On the other hand, the casualties of 1812 amounted altoge-

ther to 29,562, of which number 26,775 were accounted for in the return. This left 2,787 unaccounted for. In order to explain why there was such a number unaccounted for, it would be necessary to state, that when a regiment was sent abroad, the commanding officer was accountable for all the men. But when on service, all those men who were so wounded or disabled, as to be rendered unfit for service, were sent home in detachments. Those so sent home were struck off the list of effective men abroad, and not being taken on the effective list at home, (although ultimately accounted for by their commanding officers,) there was a perpetual balance of men, who were included in the lists of effective men neither at home or abroad, and this balance would make up the difference between the number accounted for in the return of casualties, and the number which was actually deficient. Such was the real cause of a difference which appeared at first sight so extraordinary.

The Secretary at War concluded by moving a resolution, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 3,637,501*l*. be granted to his majesty to complete the sum required for defraying the charge of the land-forces at home and abroad, from December 25, 1812, to December 24, 1813." This motion, after some discussion of little interest, was agreed to.

On the 31st March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a committee of ways and means, and after explaining the terms of the loan which had recently been contracted, proceeded to enumerate the taxes which would be necessary to make that provision for the sinking fund, which was involved in the bill in progress through the House. In addition to the 870,000l. which, in the developement of his financial plan, he had shown to be necessary to supply the drain on the sinking fund, it would be recollected, he observed, that, in providing the supplies for the last year, there was one tax,—the auction duty,—which he had calculated at 100,000l., and which having abandoned, it became necessary for him to supply the consequent deficiency in the consolidated fund. The total sum therefore which it became requisite to raise by permanent taxes was nearly a million of money, viz. 870,000*l*. to be applied to the sinking fund, and 100,000*l*. being the deficiency occasioned by the relinquishment last year of the auction duty. For the purpose of providing the last-mentioned sum, it was his intention to propose an additional duty on tobacco equal to that imposed on it last year, which duty he would estimate at 100,000*l*. although probably it would produce more. He was not aware that this new tax would occasion any inconvenience; or at least he was persuaded that it would cause as little as any that could be devised.—With regard to the greater sum of 870,000*l*. the principal tax which he meant to propose to meet it was an increase of the custom duties. He thought this would be infinitely preferable to any augmentation of the assessed taxes, or of the stamp duties, which had lately been so much increased. As the most convenient mode, he proposed to raise the sum of 8 or 900,000*l*. by a general increase of the custom duties with certain exceptions. These exceptions were the duties on tea, sugar, wine, raw silk, and cotton wool. On the other articles which paid custom duties he proposed an increase of 25 per cent. No such general augmentation had occurred since 1804, and only one partial and small increase in 1805. Under the existing circumstances of the conntry this increase

would be comparatively little felt. For the country had until recently been so much excluded from foreign trade, that all foreign articles had come to our markets, what with the difficulty of transmission, the charge of freights, &c. under an augmentation of expence, greatly exceeding the proposed rate of duty. Many circumstances had, however, recently combined to render those articles at the present moment cheaper to the consumer, even with the increased tax, than they were last year without it. He would estimate the amount of the increase of the custom duties at from 850*l.* to 900,000*l.*—In addition to this, however, he meant to propose a slight augmentation of the excise duties in a particular branch. He proposed that this should take place on French wines, an article of mere luxury, entirely confined to the higher orders, and if checked in the importation, or wholly shut out, he should consider the exclusion to be a national advantage. On French wines he proposed to lay an additional excise duty of 13*d.* a bottle, which would be about 18*d.* to the consumer; a tax that could not be considered very burdensome to the country. The produce he estimated at 30,000*l.* no very great sum, and one indeed which it would hardly be worth while so to raise, were not the subject itself one so proper for taxation, that even were the import likely to produce less, or were the cousumption to be so diminished as to impair the existing produce of the duty upon it, he should still feel it to be incumbent upon him to make his present proposition.—The estimated produce, therefore, of the permanent taxes would be 850,000*l.*—from the general increase in the consolidated duties of customs,—100,000*l.* from the duty on tobacco,—and 30,000*l.* from the duty on French wines, making in the whole a sum somewhat short of a million, to answer two objects,—the support of the sinking fund, and to make good the defalcation caused by the abandonment last year of the auction duty.—Although he had thought proper thus to propose a substitute for the auction duty, he by no means lost sight of it. He did not think it would be satisfactory to take it for the purpose of contributing to the immediate supply; but he reserved to himself the liberty of proposing means to prevent fraud, and to regulate the duty, if he should find it necessary so to do.—Those which he had mentioned were permanent taxes. He should next propose to lay some further taxes under the head of war taxes, for the general purpose of assisting the supplies for the year, and for the particular object of providing for the one per cent. sinking fund, or exchequer bills outstanding on the 5th January of each year, to be granted to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt. These war taxes he wished to class under the head of imports and exports. The first that he should propose would be a general increase of duty on the importation of all goods and merchandise the manufacture of the French empire, and of all the countries dependent on France. It was true, that trade licences to France and her dependencies were not now granted by government, but it was obvious that circumstances might render it politic to renew them; and we had an undoubted right to retaliate on the enemy all the oppression in which he had persevered against our commerce. It was proposed to double the war-duty on such articles. Those war-duties were at present equal to one-third of the consolidated duties. He proposed to add to them the amount of the other two-thirds, thus making the whole of the duties in war double the duties in peace on French goods. It was extremely difficult to estimate the probable produce

of this increase. It would vary with the state of our intercourse with France. If he took the average of the last three years, he would say that it might amount to 200,000*l*.—Some articles were wholly prohibited; of others the difficulty of importation was great; but by taking the various articles, and allowing one as it were to support the other, he was confident the produce would not fall short of that which he had just stated. With respect to the exports, the trade about to open would in all probability be so great, that no material inconvenience could, in his opinion, arise from adding a halfper cent. to the present export duties. In peace, such a proposition would be impolitic—not so at the present moment. He calculated that it might produce about 150,000*l*. and on this branch of increased revenue he thought he might confidently rely.

The increased import duties would be on goods coming from all countries dependent on France. It would give him great pleasure to see those duties lessened by the diminution of the number of those countries. They were not to attach to the exports of any countries in amity with his majesty, and the declaration of that amity would immediately cause the cessation of those duties.—The only other additional duty on the exports which he meant to propose, was a duty of a penny a pound on the exportation of foreign hides, which would operate very advantageously on our leather manufactures in foreign markets, and it would have been proper perhaps that ere now this measure should have been adopted, as hides might be considered as in some measure a military store.—The only remaining article of proposed taxation, was one which he was induced to adopt on political as well as on financial principles—it was a duty on importation of American cotton wool. The American government had declared their principal ports to be in a state of blockade, extending from Rhode Island southward; thus endeavouring to deprive our manufacturers of that important raw material. He had every reason to believe, that if proper encouragement were given to the importation of cotton wool from our own colonies, this stoppage on the part of the Americans would be wholly innoxious to this country. It was obvious, however, that to create this encouragement it would be necessary to secure the merchant bringing cotton wool from such a distance against losing by his speculation. If the merchant incurred the danger of having the sale of his cotton injured in our market by the American cotton, he would be in a state of little promise and great uncertainty. Unfortunately such an occurrence had lately taken place:—when the American government imposed the embargo on their ports, which occasioned a temporary stoppage of the importation of cotton-wool from the United States, encouragement was given by government (in order to prevent injury to the British manufacturer) to the importation of large quantities from our own colonies. But unluckily they came too late—the Americans had taken off their embargo; and, unprotected by such a countervailing duty as that which he was about to propose, the British merchant sustained very considerable loss. It was to prevent the occurrence of similar events that he was induced to make his proposition. The object which he had in view was to procure the fine article from the East Indies, by affording a sufficient encouragement to the importers. There was at present a sufficient quantity on hand of every kind; and it was the object of his measure (intended to promote the importation of the finer kind,) to prevent the ruin which would

fall on the importer, by any sudden competition. With this view, he proposed to lay a protecting duty of three halfpence per pound on all American cotton imported in British ships, and a duty of sixpence per pound on all such cotton imported in foreign bottoms.—The whole consumption of cotton in our own manufactures was 80 millions of pounds, of which 30 millions came from America. The deficiency, even if more were now imported from America, would be made up by that imported from the West Indies and Brazil.—There was only one objection to this measure, which was, that it would raise the price of the raw material on the manufacturers in the first instance, and eventually on the consumer. With respect to the home consumer, he thought, however, that it could be hardly felt, and with regard to the export trade, he was of opinion there was no reason to apprehend any rivalry on the continent of Europe, and America was at present out of the question. He apprehended that no fear could be entertained of any competition in France, where the duty on cotton now existing was five shillings per pound, whereas the duty in contemplation here would only amount to nine-pence entirely, which threw at present a sort of monopoly of this article into our hands. As to the other nations of the continent, some of whose territories were the seat of war, and whose general internal insecurity was adverse to commercial enterprise, but little could be apprehended from their competition. He conceived, at the same time, that it would be desirable that government should have the means of varying this measure according to circumstances, and with this view he had it in contemplation to propose that a power should be given to his majesty in council to suspend or reduce any of those war-duties, according to any circumstances which might arise at this important crisis to make it expedient so to do.—He hoped he had provided for the charges required by the public service in the least objectionable manner. It was difficult in these cases to calculate exactly, but he thought he had here made ample provision for all reverses, as the taxes in question would, in the ordinary state of trade, produce three times as much as he had calculated. Any surplus in the present case would go into the war-taxes, in aid of the other resources of the country.—The resolutions arising out of these proposals were carried after a short debate.

On the 11th June, the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland laid before the House his plan for meeting the extraordinary and additional expenditure of this year, which he stated as amounting in round numbers to 600,000*l*. "He was aware," he said, "that it was the opinion of some gentlemen, that the system recently introduced into this country, might apply, in a certain degree, to Ireland; and that recourse might be had to the sinking fund. But, however this might be demanded, by the hope of avoiding fresh burdens, yet, the arguments applied to the state of this country could not be applied to Ireland in an equal extent. It had been his principal object, in the taxes which he had already the honour to propose, several of which had met with the approbation of the House and the sanction of parliament, to press as little as possible on the lower classes of the community, and avoid bearing on those great sources of prosperity which were absolutely necessary to the well being of a rising country. To pursue a different policy in a country deficient in resources, and possessing no great capital, would be the means of defeating her prosperity, and rendering ineffectual those burdens

which were imposed on her.—He had already stated, that the charge for the loans of the present year was 595,839*l.* He would now proceed to explain the means by which it was intended to meet this charge. He had already submitted to the House a proposition for the further increasing the rate of the custom-duties in Ireland; that increase was 25 per cent. which was estimated to produce 77,326*l.* The increased duty of 12*s.* 9*d.* per 100*lbs.* on tobacco, was estimated at 43,722*l.* The additional duty on coffee, 1,900*l.* The increase of one-third of the difference between the British and Irish duties on foreign wines, 40,565*l.* These, with one or two alterations in existing taxes, formed an aggregate of 265,000*l.* The next duty was that which had already been sanctioned by the House, the addition of 3*s.* per barrel on malt; the produce of which was estimated at 115,000*l.* The next duty he had to notice, was one to which, if he could judge from the general sentiments of the House, he could expect no opposition; he alluded to an additional duty of sixpence on each gallon of spirits. It had been justly argued that 3*s.* having been imposed on each barrel of malt, there should be a corresponding duty laid on spirits. He did not think that the addition of sixpence per gallon could materially affect the interests of the distiller; at the same time, he felt confident, that an increase of duty on the distilleries was a measure which parliament ought not, and would not, in the present posture of affairs, be anxious to oppose. The amount of this additional duty on spirits, calculated on 4,400,000 gallons, a less quantity than was ever known to have been distilled in any one year, would be 110,000*l.*—The next duty he had to state was one to which parliament had already acceded, that was the augmentation of the assessed taxes; this augmentation was on the whole of their amount estimated at 25 per cent. It did not however operate generally as a duty of 25 per cent. because persons in the lower ranks of life, and who might be supposed unable to bear it, did not come within its scope to that extent. The principal produce was expected from the rich; taking, therefore, the whole tax, he estimated that it would produce 100,000*l.* The alteration in the postage duties, which had been agreed to by the legislature, he calculated to produce 15,000*l.* and a regulation of the excise duty on leather would take place, which was estimated at only 5,000*l.* The whole amount of these duties would be 610,000, being 15,000 more than the charges created by the loans."

After having thus stated the various sources of taxation, by means of which the Irish government proposed to meet the additional expenditure, the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland made some interesting remarks on the state of that country, with which we shall close the present chapter.

"The general amelioration of the country," he observed, "was evident from the state of the exchange between Great Britain and Ireland, which, notwithstanding the sum annually transmitted to absentees, was now much improved. The rate of exchange was formerly as high as 17; but in the present year it fell to five and one-half. Many objections had been made in former years, when the Irish budget was brought forward; one of these was the high charge on the collection and management of the revenue. He was happy to announce, that a very great improvement had taken place in that respect." He then entered into a statement to shew the saving which had taken place in the collection of the revenue since 181 ;

from which it appeared, that the gross revenue was now collected five per cent. under the rate of that year; and the net revenue eight per cent. In the post office department in particular, the revenue was now collected at a much more moderate rate, and with much greater ease, than formerly; the rate at which the net revenue of that department had been collected, being 20 per cent less than in the preceding year.

He then observed, "that Ireland could not bear, in addition to the taxation already imposed upon her, those heavy direct taxes in the contemplation of some gentlemen, without trenching on those resources which were the foundation of her prosperity. He was favourable to an union of the financial departments of the two countries, from which he conceived most beneficial results would be derived. He was aware that a more efficient controul of the departments would be one of the first consequences; and this would be followed by a diminution of expenditure. He went, however, no farther than to desire to unite the treasuries, and to consolidate the debts. For if gentlemen supposed that Ireland would afford a contribution on the same principles as England, even in the proportion which her growing means and increasing population might induce them to reckon on, they would find themselves greatly mistaken indeed; even those who calculated on a great increase of general receipt by the imposition of those taxes which Great Britain paid, were deceiving the country and themselves. Ireland now paid taxes on her consumption, from which great Britain was exempted—the principal articles of that consumption were of British manufacture, and of British produce,—and besides those articles which were charged with heavier imposts, Ireland paid nearly 300,000*l.* per annum, on the importation of articles, most of them of prime necessity, none of which were liable to any internal duty in Great Britain. It would scarcely be contended by the warmest advocate for what was called rigorous taxation, that if the financial system of the two countries were to be in other respects assimilated, the Irish people were still to be subjected to duties such as these; to preserve them, as protecting duties, would be in his mind the most puerile policy; since it must have the effect of compelling every consumer in Ireland to pay more than the article of his consumption was worth, or than he ought to pay for it.

"Here then there would be a loss of 300,000*l.* per annum in our customs, which the new system of finance must supply. But there was much more. The property-tax payable on the interest of the Irish debt received in this country would surely be considered applicable to the Irish supply, and ought to be carried to the account of that country, which provided with much difficulty for its charge. The same result would arise respecting the property of Irish absentees; at least in equity he was sure it ought, and the deduction on these two last-mentioned grounds be at least half a million from the general resources of the empire. On this he only estimated the remittances to absentees at two millions, which was the amount presumed in the year 1804, when a committee of the House of Commons enquired into the state of the exchanges between Great Britain and Ireland—At the same time he had little doubt that the proportion of absentees was greatly increased—the number who had followed the seat of legislation and of government was necessarily great, and he was sorry to say that many who had not the same excuse daily added to those, who drew the sole resources of

their support from the country which they had deserted. The two heads which he adverted to would altogether diminish the supply of Great Britain by the amount of half a million, while the duties on articles of consumption imported into Ireland, and the produce of the hearth and other duties, which he was prepared to contend we could not, if we introduced, or rather attempted to introduce, the taxes paid in Great Britain, any longer retain, would shew that one million per annum of this expected revenue which was to flow into the imperial treasury, was not in fact any addition or increase to the general resources of the state.

"He wished to apply these illustrations not against any measure which others might recommend, nor wishing to conceal from himself nor from the House the efforts he should in future years be called upon to make. But he advised the sanguine calculators of increased revenue, who, be it observed, were not those persons best acquainted with the means or circumstances of Ireland, to pause before they jumped to their conclusion, and to bear in recollection, that all that might be added to a financial statement was not necessarily added to the revenue of Ireland, or to the general receipt and income of the empire. With respect to the contribution of Ireland of sixteen millions and a half, he, who had to propose measures to parliament to provide for it, could not but contemplate with apprehension such an increase; but, aware, as he must be, of the difficulties which it imposed upon himself, and not disguising from the committee what the pressure of it must ultimately be, it would still be unfair to draw any comparison from the last and the present year of extended military operations and increased expenditure in every part of the world, which had occasioned to us so heavy a charge. He would not advert to what that calculation at the time of the union might have been; the political circumstances which had since occurred could not then have been contemplated by any statesman; but this he would say, that unless the circumstances of the country were exceedingly altered, unless there was a diminution of our expenditure, it was impossible for Ireland to go on at this rate of contribution. Parliament ought not to deceive itself, at least he would not lend himself to the deception. Did any man suppose that a country, the annual revenue of which was only five millions, could go on raising 16 millions per annum? Ireland must borrow to pay this contribution, and he who hoped that she could supply the rest with war-taxes, as in Great Britain, or by supplies raised to any great extent within the year, must be ignorant indeed of the circumstances of the country for which he was undertaking to legislate. He at least would, until every other means of supply were exhausted, warn parliament against what, even in a financial point of view, would be deemed fatal to the growing wealth, and to that which could not grow without wealth, the future productive revenue of the country—and he spoke of a country, of the state of which, limited as his official experience had been, he was yet not uninformed. The exertions of Ireland had been great.—Great Britain was to raise in the present year twelve hundred thousand pounds by new taxes—Ireland was called upon to provide more than half that sum by new duties—Ireland, a country bearing no comparison in point of natural or improved resources. In the year 1785, when Mr Pitt proposed new taxes to the amount of 900,000*l*. per annum, it was deemed after the duration of the American contest, and the exhaustation of the national means, the greatest effort which any country had ever made to redeem the public difficulties. Yet

in less than 30 years, after a war of more protracted length, of at least undiminished sacrifice, and increased expence, Ireland, the whole of whose annual income at that time did not exceed the duties that the British parliament then imposed, has undertaken to provide six hundred thousand pounds, being in the last two years a contribution of fresh taxes, more than her whole income amounted to at the time that the commercial propositions were discussed. Let me not then be told that Ireland withholds herself in this instance, or that those who are responsible as her ministers endeavour to obtain for her a partial remission, which England has not received. We are making fair, and great, and generous exertions in the cause of Great Britain, a cause in the support of which we are not only pledged by compact, but which our country is, I admit, bound to combat for by every principle of mutual interest and of common safety. If that part of the united kingdom is not called upon to struggle beyond her strength, if her means are not outrun, trust me she will yet prove to the empire a source of supply and of succour, such as the most sanguine mind has not perhaps contemplated. Do not attempt to anticipate too rashly her growing powers; if you anticipate you crush them. I wish my right hon. friends may feel with me. Whether I or another may next year fill that situation which now I have the honour to hold, I know not; but the legislature will, I hope, act upon the same principles; and I am confident that Great Britain will yet find in our increasing population, in the improved fertility of our soil, in our extended industry and augmented means, that Ireland will, in point of contribution, be enabled to make not less exertions than in other respects she has already done, or than the empire already owes to the loyalty, the hardihood, and the valour of her people."

CHAP. IV.

The Princess of Wales.—Her Letter to the Prince Regent.—Proceedings of Parliament on this Subject.

THE unfortunate differences which had for some years subsisted betwixt the Prince and Princess of Wales had ceased to attract the notice of the public, until, on the 14th of January in this year, her Royal Highness was advised to address a letter to the Prince Regent, which speedily found its way into the public prints. The letter was, by command of her Royal Highness, transmitted by Lady Charlotte Campbell to the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Liverpool, with a request that it might be laid before the Prince Regent. It was returned the next day by the Earl of Liverpool to Lady Charlotte Campbell, with an intimation, that as all correspondence had ceased for some years, it was his Royal Highness's determination not to renew it. The letter was again sent by the Princess, with an intimation that it contained matter of importance to the state; but was once more returned unopened Some further correspondence took place on the subject, which it is of no importance to recapitulate.

The persons who had advised the Princess to this measure determined on another and more decided step—the publication of this letter; in which her Royal Highness stated, that it was with great reluctance she obtruded upon the Regent to solicit his attention to matters which might at first appear rather of a personal than a public nature. That if she could think them so—if they related merely to herself—she should abstain from proceedings which might give uneasiness, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of his Royal Highness. She should continue, in silence and retirement, to lead the life which had been prescribed to her, and console herself for the loss of that society, and those domestic comforts to which she had so long been a stranger, by the reflection, that it had been deemed proper she should be afflicted without any fault of her own. But there were considerations, she observed, of a higher nature than any regard to her own happiness, which rendered this address a duty to herself and to her daughter, as well as to her husband and the people committed to his care.—There was a point beyond which a guiltless woman could not with safety carry her forbearance If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is

no longer a matter of choice; and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly, or by secret insinuation, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious she deserves no reproach, his Royal Highness had too sound a judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive how much more justly they belonged to the mother of his daughter—the mother of her who is destined to reign over the British empire. That during the continuance of the restrictions upon his royal authority, she purposely refrained from making any representations which might then augment the painful difficulties of his Royal Highness's exalted station. At the expiration of the restrictions she still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that she might owe the redress she sought to his gracious and unsolicited condescension. She had waited in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until to her inexpressible mortification, she found that her unwillingness to complain had only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and she was at length compelled either to abandon all regard for the two dearest objects which she possessed on earth, her own honour, and her beloved child, or to throw herself at the feet of his Royal Highness as the natural protector of both. That the separation which every succeeding month was making wider, of the mother and the daughter, was equally injurious to both. To see herself cut off from one of the very few domestic enjoyments left her—certainly the only one on which she set any value, the society of her child—involved her in such misery as she well knew his Royal Highness could never inflict upon her if he were aware of its bitterness. Their intercourse had been gradually diminished. A single interview, weekly, seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a mother's affections. That, however, was reduced to a meeting once a fortnight; and she had recently learned that even this most rigorous interdiction was to be still more rigorously enforced.—But while she did not venture to intrude her feelings as a mother upon his Royal Highness's notice, she must be allowed to say, that in the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this separation of a daughter from her mother would only admit of one construction—a construction fatal to the mother's reputation. That there was no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. That he who dared advise his Royal Highness to overlook the evidence of her innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced, or was wicked and base enough still to whisper suspicions, betrayed his duty to his Royal Highness, to his daughter, and to his people, if he counselled him to permit a day to pass without a further investigation of her conduct. That no such calumniator would venture to recommend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion. Thus, without the shadow of a charge against her—without even an accuser—after an enquiry that led to her ample vindication—she was yet treated as if she were still more culpable than the perjuries of her suborned traducers represented her, and held up to the world as a mother who might not enjoy the society of her only child.—That the serious, the irreparable injury which her daughter sustained from the plan thus pursued, had done more in overcoming her reluctance to intrude upon his Royal Highness, than any sufferings of her own could accomplish.—The powers with which the constitution vests his Royal High-

ness in the regulation of the royal family, were admitted to be ample and unquestionable. Her appeal was made to his excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of these powers: and she willingly hoped that his paternal feelings would lead him to excuse her anxiety in representing the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon her beloved child.—That the character of the Princess Charlotte would be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections—by the studied care taken to estrange her from the society of her mother, and even to interrupt all communication between them. That all attempts to abate her attachment by forcibly separating the parent and child, if they succeeded, must injure her child's principles—if they failed, must destroy her happiness.—The plan also of excluding her daughter from all intercourse with the world, appeared to her humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to be the sovereign of this great country enjoyed none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson: and it might so happen, that she should be called upon to exercise the powers of government, with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition singularly amiable, frank, and decided, much might be trusted; but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation. Those who advised his Royal Highness to delay so long the period of her daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appeared not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasioned, both by the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journies to town which she must make, unless she were secluded from all intercourse, even with his Royal Highness and the rest of the royal family.—That his daughter had never yet enjoyed the benefit of confirmation, although above a year beyond the age at which all the other branches of the royal family have partaken of that solemnity.—Her Royal Highness concluded by expressing the extreme reluctance with which she had taken this important step.

No sooner was this letter laid before the public, than it became the subject of eager and angry discussion. While many approved of the letter in all its parts, and of the conduct which her Royal Highness had been persuaded to follow, there were others who seemed to entertain very different sentiments.—It was remarked, that many of the complaints made in the letter were extremely frivolous. The Prince and Princess, it is true, live separately, on the worst terms. This state of things can only have arisen, it was said, from causes which the Prince deems sufficient; and were he to give up the government of his child to a person whose conduct he himself impeaches, he would thus confess himself to be highly criminal in living in a state of separation from her mother. Now it is better that his Royal Highness should commit an error under an impression that he is acting rightly, than that he should persevere in misconduct avowedly and deliberately. The most amiable may err, the most profligate alone can persist in acknowledged guilt.—As to the education of the Princess, the letter observed, that at Windsor masters were

not to be had. But it was asked, was the nation so poor, or the Prince so economical, that masters could not be afforded at so great a distance? The young princess must come to London like the daughters of farmers and petty squires for the benefit of masters? And what masters? For music, drawing, dancing, French, and German; that is for accomplishments which divert the mind from solid knowledge and real acquirements; which qualify a girl for a dancing-room, but usually disqualify her for any thing else, and least of all prepare her to govern a great country. Why is she not brought into society? exclaims her mother! May not the father, it was answered, have been taught by experience the evils of society at an early period of life? To personages of such high rank the dangers of general society are great in youth. Princes are surrounded by flattery and adulation. They may indeed see all the world, but they know nothing of it. Truth is not allowed to approach them; and those who minister to their passions probably become their favourites. Who has not heard of the poison of the air of a court? and obviously it is a poison to which youth is chiefly exposed. Queen Elizabeth was educated in seclusion. With respect to the *education* of the Princess, it was asked, is she then such a child that she must remain at her mother's knee to receive the instructions of masters? Is this then the personage who is fit to assume the reins of government in the event of a vacancy, and to rule this great people in these eventful times? She might thus be at once a sovereign and a pupil; unfit to go alone without the help of her mother, the nation being incapable of going on without the direction of the child!

The imputations, (it was also observed,) to which the letter alluded, were made many years before. The investigation had been closed for upwards of six years. During all this period her Royal Highness was pleased to maintain the most profound silence on the subject, though every motive which had been stated in her letter, as the inducement to this last step, equally existed at every former moment.—The only rational explanation of all this was said to be, that her Royal Highness had unfortunately got into the hands of counsellors, who, either from indiscretion, or from bad motives, but certainly not with any regard to their royal client herself, to the royal family, or to the country, were determined to drag the whole of this cause from the obscurity in which, prudence on the one hand, and magnanimity on the other, had buried it, into the broad day of public investigation.—If it were not resolved to bring this matter to an ultimate enquiry, why, it was asked, should the letter have been written, as it was known to have been, by a lawyer? Why was it officially transmitted with copies, duplicates, and all circumstances of solemnity, through the Prince Regent's public servants—the ministers of the country? And why, at last, when the generosity of the Prince and the prudence of his ministers declined to revive these discussions—why was it with so much previous preparation, with such preliminary pomp, ushered into the world?

With respect to the insinuations in the letter, it was remarked, that the advisers of her Royal Highness should have explained to her, that the matter would not end there—that other consequences might and must result from it—that here was not a defiance which could be thrown out with impunity—that the grave charge of subornation of perjury, to destroy her reputation, would not be overlooked—that if the

Prince Regent had studiously maintained a silence of fifteen years, upon all the unhappy differences between the illustrious personages in question, he had now another duty to perform—that silence would be no longer delicacy to any of the parties—That charges and insinuations could not be permitted to be brought against him without reply or refutation—that he must not be accused of improper treatment towards his daughter, both with respect to her education and her intercourse with the world and her mother—and that any attempt which injudicious counsellors might make to weaken the affection of the daughter for the father, must be met and defeated. The advisers of the Princess called for further enquiry. They said "that a day ought not to pass without further investigation of her conduct." If they were so anxious to have an enquiry, said their opponents, there could be no reason for refusing their request.

Her Royal Highness alluded to the result of the enquiry before the noble lords who had formerly investigated her case, and appealed to the "evidence of her innocence" and "the complete acquittal which it produced." Upon the point of "ample vindication" and "complete acquittal," the report, said her opponents, does "*in the clear and unanimous judgment of the commissioners*," acquit her Royal Highness of actual criminality; but her Royal Highness, they added, betrayed great imprudence in calling for a further investigation, not that there existed a shadow of reason for apprehending that a second enquiry would be likely to attach any greater stain to her character than had been occasioned by the first, but because there were other subordinate circumstances, the detail of which should, upon every principle of delicacy, be withheld from the world.

The young Princess, it was remarked, was not seventeen—an age at which her studies must be supposed to be still going forward—But her mother seemed desirous that those studies should be interrupted, in order that her Royal Highness might mix in societies where she might acquire a knowledge of mankind. What societies it was asked? Balls and routs?—Is there much valuable knowledge to be obtained in such quarters—much health for the body or the mind? Would her mother advise her to follow the example of some other ladies, and obtain a knowledge of mankind by attending chemical and anatomical lectures? Would she have had her perfect herself in the accomplishments of dancing and speaking, by passing her nights at the operas or the theatres—or improve her judgment of the powers of harmony, by a nearer intercourse with celebrated singers than from the box to the stage? Was her royal grandfather's education prosecuted in the way now recommended? Assuredly it was not; and yet no monarch ever sat upon the throne with more ability, more judgment, and more knowledge of the constitution and of the laws of the country.

As to the last point urged in the letter, it was remarked, that the rite of confirmation is undoubtedly an impressive and salutary one; but the most rigid divines have never considered it as essential to the welfare of the soul; and in the church of England it is no sacrament. Who, then, can believe that it was really felt by the Princess of Wales as a personal grievance requiring remonstrance, that the princess Charlotte, her daughter, had not yet been confirmed? But the statement, that "all the other branches of the royal family have been confirmed when younger than the Princess Charlotte now is," was not correct. The Prince her father was not confirmed until he was near eighteen

years of age, nor was the king her grandfather. Where then is the justice of complaining because the Princess Charlotte has not been confirmed at an earlier age?

The letter was evidently not the production of the Princess of Wales; and there was a good deal of bad taste, it was remarked, in so much parade and affectation of maternal tenderness and domestic feeling, when every one must have been convinced that it was not a mother who herself expressed her own feelings, but some persons employed to make out a case, and who talked of sympathies and feelings with all the cold and canting commonplace of thorough-bred metaphysicians.—Why should the Prince be the only father in the empire whose management of his child was to be criticised by the public? Why is he not to be permitted to judge how much, or what company she should see; what accomplishments she ought to learn; what preceptors it is proper that she should have—and when her proficiency in her studies may render their further superintendence unnecessary? If it had been alledged that the health, or the character, or the education, of the presumptive heiress of the crown had been neglected, the public would have felt a laudable interest in having such neglect remedied; but it was too much to say that any person had a right to enquire why the young Princess went into company so little or so much—why she had, or had not been confirmed; what progress she made in her education; what visits she should receive and pay; thus attempt- to pry into all those little details of paternal care and domestic duties which the letter of the advisers of the Princess of Wales obtruded on public notice, to the astonishment and disgust of every father and mother in the country.—The paternal kindness of the Prince to his daughter, his care of her health, of her education, and her principles, had long been a theme of applause, not only to those very persons who were now endeavouring to insinuate the contrary, but to the whole nation; and the publication of the letter, lamentable as it was on many other accounts, had, in one respect at least, proved not unsatisfactory; as it brought forth into full view the parental feeling which his Royal Highness the Prince Regent had evinced towards his amiable and illustrious child, and the credit which the cultivated mind and affectionate heart of that child did to the unwearied exertions of her royal father.—Such were the reflections made on the letter which the Princess had been advised to publish.

The insinuations, however, which that letter contained, were of such a nature that further enquiry was held indispensable; and the Prince Regent accordingly referred the whole matter to a commission, composed of the dignitaries of the church, and the high officers of the law, who, after various meetings, and much deliberation, made a formal report on the subject. This report stated, that, after a full examination of the documents, the commissioners were of opinion, that, under all the circumstances of the case, it was highly fit and proper, with a view to the welfare of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, in which were equally involved the happiness of his Royal Highness in his parental and royal character, and the most important interests of the state, the intercourse between her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint.—That the motives by which

his Royal Highness had been actuated in the postponement of the confirmation of the Princess Charlotte were most laudable, as it appeared by a statement under the hand of her Majesty the Queen, that his Royal Highness had conformed in this respect to the declared will of his Majesty, who had been pleased to direct, that such ceremony should not take place till the Princess should have completed her 18th year.—The commissioners also noticed some expressions in the letter of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, which might possibly be construed as implying a charge of too serious a nature to be passed over without observation. They referred to the words, "suborned traducers." As this expression, from the manner in which it was introduced, might perhaps be liable to be misunderstood, (although it might be impossible to suppose that it could have been so intended) to have reference to some part of the conduct of his Royal Highness, they felt it their bounden duty not to omit this opportunity of declaring that the documents laid before them afforded the most ample proof, that there was not the slightest foundation for such an aspersion.

This report was communicated to the Princess by Lord Sidmouth. Her Royal Highness was immediately advised to address herself to the Lord Chancellor, and to the Speaker of the House of Commons. In her letters to these distinguished personages, she stated, that the report which she had just received was of such a nature that her Royal Highness was persuaded no person could read it without considering it as conveying aspersions upon her; and although their vagueness rendered it impossible to discover precisely what was meant, or even what she had been charged with, yet as the Princess felt conscious of no offence whatever, she thought it due to herself, to the illustrious houses with which she was connected by blood, and by marriage, and to the people among whom she held so distinguished a rank, not to acquiesce for a moment under any imputations affecting her honour. That she had not been permitted to know upon what evidence the members of the privy council proceeded, still less to be heard in her defence. She knew only by common rumour of the enquiries which they had been carrying on, until the result of those enquiries was communicated to her, and she had no means of knowing whether the members acted as a body to whom she could appeal for redress, at least for a hearing, or only in their individual capacities, as persons selected to make a report upon her conduct. She was therefore compelled to throw herself upon the wisdom and justice of parliament, and to desire that the fullest investigation might be instituted into her whole conduct during the period of her residence in this country. She feared no scrutiny, however strict, provided she might be tried by impartial judges known to the constitution, and in the fair and open manner which the law of the land prescribes.

When the letter which had been received by the Speaker was read to the House of Commons, Mr Whitbread called on Lord Castlereagh to declare whether it was his intention to submit any proposition to the House on the subject. His lordship answered, that he would be ready, painful as the subject was, to give every proper explanation when a fit opportunity occurred.

On the 5th of March, Mr Cochrane Johnstone made a motion on this subject. He called upon the House to enter into resolutions declaring, that the commission in 1806 to Lords Erskine, Grenville, Spencer, and Ellen-

borough, to enquire into the charges against the Princess of Wales, was illegal—that the acquittal of her Royal Highness by that commission was invalid, because if they had power to acquit, they might also have condemned—that the Princess was therefore not legally acquitted of the charges brought against her, and that this uncertainty might endanger, at some future period, the succession to the crown. He then moved an address to the Prince Regent, that the whole documents connected with the enquiry of 1806 should be laid before the House.

In support of the motion it was observed, that a commission had been granted by the king in 1806, to four noble lords, Grenville, Spencer, Erskine, and Ellenborough, to examine into certain accusations which had been preferred against the Princess of Wales. That the report made by the commissioners contained the most unqualified opinion, that the charge preferred by Sir John and Lady Douglas, against the Princess of Wales, of having been delivered of a child in the year 1802, was utterly destitute of truth. That the birth, and real mother of the child said to have been born of the Princess, had been proved beyond all possibility of doubt. The report concluded with some objections made by the commissioners to the manners of the Princess.—That a letter dictated by Lord Eldon, Mr Perceval and Sir Thomas Palmer, though signed by the Princess of Wales, purporting to be written by her Royal Highness to the king, on the 9th of October 1806, as a protest against the report of the commissioners, contained a formal and elaborate criticism upon the nature of the commission under which her conduct had been reviewed; asserted, in the most unqualified terms her own innocence, and desrcibed the charges of her accusers as originating in a foul conspiracy. In this letter the Princess of Wales threw herself, and the honour of her family, on the justice of the king—her honour and her life being at the mercy of the malice of her accusers.—She complained of the *ex-parte* crimination, and of the manner and way in which the charges were credited.—That after an interval of painful suspence, the duke of Kent announced to her Royal Highness the near approach of two attornies to take away by warrant, half of her family, in order to examine them as witnesses to a charge made against her. The only request she made on this occasion was, that the Duke of Kent should remain in the room with her till her servants were gone, for fear she should be suspected of holding any conversation with them.—That the charge brought against the Princess before that tribunal by Sir John and Lady Douglas was nothing short of treason; that if the commissioners had power to acquit her Royal Highness of the crime charged, they had equally the power to convict her, and what was the state of that country in which such a thing was even possible? That the noble lords had no authority to give a judgment on the occasion—they had no right to pronounce an acquittal, for they had no right to find a verdict of guilty.—As a question of law, the matter was left as the commissioners found it.—But what became of Sir John and Lady Douglas? They still persisted in the same story; but if all they maintained were so notoriously false, why were they not prosecuted?—That no proceedings of the late privy council, except the report, had been transmitted to the Princess of Wales—that copies of all the examinations ought to be given to her; and it was the duty of ministers to communicate to the Princess of Wales the fresh informations

they had taken. That the case ought to be tried by the whole privy council; and after the discussion which the Princess had provoked, if she should then be injured she would have herself alone to blame.

Against the motion it was argued, that the mode of proceeding adopted by its supporters was altogether absurd. The first resolution was, in fact, unsupported by any proof. The second resolution called for those very papers, as matter of information, on which the first resolution was founded. The only object of the information demanded, was to persuade the House that such serious doubts existed as to the succession to the throne, as required the interference of parliament. It were needless to enter into any detailed enquiry as to the powers of the privy council acting as a tribunal in their proceedings on this subject; but it was evident, that they were fully competent to enquire, whether there were, or were not, sufficient grounds of charge for putting the Princess of Wales on her defence. The present motion, however, did not go to the extent of settling the question, whether any such proceedings were, or were not, necessary. But if the commissioners were not competent to decide upon the charges against her Royal Highness, the House of Commons was certainly not the proper tribunal for deciding on such a question. If every shade in the conduct of the Princess of Wales, from the highest degree of guilt down to the lowest levity, were to be considered, that House was not, certainly, the place where such matters should be discussed.—That if any unfortunate disputes existed between the branches of the royal family, a discussion in the House of Commons could serve only to augment the evil and widen the breach. The only solid ground, therefore, on which parliament could proceed, was this,—that doubts were created as to the succession of the crown. But in the present case, there was not the smallest doubt entertained upon that subject. The commissioners in 1806, from their known character and high legal qualifications, were certainly fit persons to decide upon that question; and they had decided; and no doubts remained on their minds that required parliamentary interposition. They did not make an enquiry into the weight of the evidence of Lady Douglas, as compared or contrasted with that of other witnesses; but they had decided, that they had traced the whole history of the child so completely and satisfactorily, that no possible doubt could remain that it was not born of the Princess of Wales, but of another woman, named Sophia Austin. Nor, indeed, did this decision rest only on their report, for the question was afterwards referred to confidential servants of his majesty, who gave a solemn judgment, confirming the report of the first commissioners. The supposed doubt respecting the succession was therefore rebutted by the authority of the commissioners of the first cabinet; and also by that of the subsequent cabinet, to whom the matter was referred, and who confirmed the judgment. If any doubt remained, a case might exist as to the question of succession, which it might be the duty of parliament to examine; but after all these authorities, would it be rational for parliament to interfere? Would not such interference rather serve to create doubts, where no doubts existed, and give countenance to suspicions contrary to the repeated declarations of all parties, that no case whatever had been made out to require any such interference on the part of parliament?—It was perfectly true, that there had been no prosecution entered against Lady Douglas; her evidence was taken by the commissioners in the

discharge of their duty; and it should have been stated, in candour, that the first cabinet recommended that no proceeding should be instituted, unless the crown lawyers deemed it advisable to prosecute Lady Douglas for perjury. A case was laid before them; and though they were satisfied as to the perjury, they nevertheless saw difficulties in the way of establishing it by legal evidence, and therefore they did not advise a prosecution.—The present cabinet had acted deliberately and conscientiously in the business, and had given their opinion, that there were no reasons why her Royal Highness should not be admitted to the presence of the sovereign, agreeeably to the recommendation of the former cabinet.—It had been stated, with a marked emphasis, that Lady Douglas's evidence was given by command of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. In this matter the Prince Regent followed the advice of Lord Thurlow, which was, to have the evidence reduced to writing, for the purpose of submitting it to legal consideration. Then his Royal Highness felt it to be his duty to communicate the circumstance to his royal father, with whom, and with whose cabinet, and not with his Royal Highness himself, the whole affair had from that time remained.—There was no necessity for pursuing the subject of this discussion any further. It could not be properly brought forward, except on the presumption that some doubts existed relative to the succession of the crown. But no such doubts did exist. Parliament, by acceding to such a motion as that now proposed, would become an instrument in gratifying that taste for calumny, which was so prevalent at the present moment.—The motion was negatived without a division.

In consequence of the measures adopted by the Princess of Wales, and of the discussions excited in the House of Commons, the whole proceedings of 1806, including the evidence of the witnesses, soon appeared in the public prints. This result was at once disagreeable and unexpected to herself and to her advisers. Sir John and Lady Douglas, the chief witnesses against her Royal Highness, whose evidence had been entirely discredited by the commissioners of 1806, ventured still to maintain the truth of what they had asserted on oath. They accordingly presented a petition to the House of Commons, praying that they might be again examined before a competent tribunal, that if the falsehood of their evidence were established, they should be punished with the pains of perjury. This circumstance, together with the publications alluded to, and some rumours as to a further examination of Lady Douglas, induced Mr Whitbread to bring the subject once more before the House, in the shape of a motion for an address to the Prince Regent for the punishment of the persons who had contributed towards this insult on the royal family and outrage on the public morals.

The supporters of the motion observed, that her Royal Highness was fully acquitted from every imputation of criminality. In these circumstances, notwithstanding the family divisions and differences, notwithstanding the unhappy transactions which had occurred, notwithstanding all that had been then brought before the public, to the great grief of every thinking man in the land, yet by judicious advice to both parties, by conciliation and submission from the one, and by affection and indulgence from the other, a happy period might have been put to these unpleasant and painful transactions. The malady was not at its crisis till lately; and kindness would have healed both it and the public feeling, so long and so cruelly lacerated. Can it be true then, it was asked, that those persons,

stigmatized in express terms as perjured and degraded witnesses, have been again examined? That from the 13th of February, down to the period when the debate took place, in which Sir John Douglas and his lady were termed perjured and degraded witnesses, examinations had been going forward of Lady Douglas, in the presence of her husband, as a credible and honourable witness? Were the king's ministers thus darkly searching for the discovery of evidence that might destroy the innocent? Was this the mode in which affairs of state of such moment were conducted? Did the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain lend himself to those sinister and obscure proceedings? How anxious soever every one might have been, after the proceedings on a former night, to advise a dignified approach by her Royal Highness to the Regent, under the consciousness of acquitted innocence, in the hope that she would be met by the Prince with feelings of affection and kindness, yet after the disclosure of such proceedings, it was impossible that such advice should be given. Under all these circumstances, and after the lapse of a week from the period of that discussion, wherein it was admitted, on all hands, that the Princess of Wales was completely acquitted of all criminality whatever, in two newspapers, simultaneously, appear the depositions of Sir John and Lady Douglas, whose testimony had been so strongly reprobated. Since this period, and since the deposition of Lady Douglas was delivered, various publications of documents had been made in papers, in the habit of containing expressions not disagreeable to ministers, nor very unwelcome at Carlton-house.—Upon one of these newspapers, called the Morning Herald, the public might fix; for whoever saw at the head of that paper the crest of his royal highness conspicuously displayed,—whoever knew the habits of the reverend proprietor of that paper,—whoever knew that the reverend proprietor had been recently distinguished by honours and by church promotion out of the usual course of appointments of that kind,—whoever knew all this, and read the scandalous publications which had recently appeared in the Morning Herald, must conclude that they were not disagreeable in a certain high quarter. Through this channel, it was said, these disgusting documents, by which the public morals had been tainted, were issued.—That after two cabinets had declared her Royal Highness guiltless, it should be thought necessary to reprint that testimony, which before its publication to the world had been acknowledged to be false and perjured, was surprising. After the evidence of Lady Douglas, followed in a train all the disgusting documents, the falsehood of which was known and acknowledged, and which, abominable as they were, had been put into the shape of a volume, bearing the name of the late Mr Perceval, by whom the press is said to have been corrected. That right honourable gentleman thought the Princess of Wales so grossly and so grievously injured, that for the sake of her vindication it was necessary he should submit these painful details to the people of England and the world; and he consequently prepared a comment upon it, to prove the falsehood of the story, and to expose the villainy by which it had been raised. Now, however, when Mr Perceval was dead,—when her royal highness had no advisers remaining,—when a series of years had elapsed, during which the public had been kept in a state of profound ignorance of facts which they sought to know with eager curiosity,—when the Princess had been declared innocent and blameless by two cabinets, and the witnesses against her were acknowledged to be perjured and degra-

ded, then, and not till then, was the public eye polluted by these unfounded, these indecent statements. What was the object of the late Mr Perceval in wishing to submit these documents to the examination of the public? To prove the innocence of the Princess of Wales. What was the object of their publication now? To prove the guilt of her Royal Highness. After so many declarations of her innocence from all sides, these papers were brought forward to deceive the public, and to lead to a base conclusion of her guilt. Mr Perceval would have given them to the world to protect injured innocence, and now they were adduced in order to calumniate the very woman of whom he was the adviser, defender, and friend. What woman was ever before placed in such a situation? Was it possible for matters to rest here? Was not a decision imperiously called for? The sooner it came the better would it be for the crown and for the people. For how many long years had her Royal Highness suffered under surmises, insinuations, and accusations? It was eleven years since they were commenced, and she had not yet passed through this fiery ordeal. To whom was the delay to be attributed? The Princess of Wales had at all periods loudly claimed public enquiry. In 1806, by the advice of Mr Perceval and Sir Thomas Plomer, she demanded a fair and open trial. It was granted. In 1813 she had again thrown herself upon the Prince Regent and upon parliament, insisting upon her innocence, and demanding to be tried. During all this time she had been deprived of the comforts to which her rank and situation entitle her, and excluded from almost every social intercourse, and from all maternal endearments. She wrote a letter to the House of Commons, claiming—not mercy, not compassion, not protection, but—justice. "Try me," she said, "before a tribunal competent to decide, and let that decision be final." "No," said the ministers, "you shall be tried, not before a public tribunal, but before the tribunal of the public. Every man, woman, and child in the empire shall read the evidence against you." She demanded, "Let me be judged by my peers, and if guilty, let me be condemned and suffer." "No," replied the ministers, "you shall be tried by self-elected juries, not of your peers, in every alehouse in the kingdom. Your judges shall be the most ignorant of mankind, incapable of drawing legal inferences of guilt or innocence. We will expose you, degraded, unprotected, to the view of the curious multitude; you shall be stripped to the eyes of a gazing world." "Good God!" exclaimed a redoubted orator, (Mr Whitbread) in commenting on this subject, "is this the way that justice is administered in England, the country that boasts so much of the purity of its laws, and the excellence of its establishments? Is this the mode in which innocence is maintained against the poisoned shafts of calumny!"—After the decision of the four commissioners appointed by the king to make the necessary enquiries, and report thereon,—after the most unequivocal vindication of the Princess of Wales, as communicated in their report,—it appeared that a fresh examination took place into the evidence which had been completely disregarded and discredited. This new enquiry was managed by a noble person, who seemed desirous to give force to that which had been previously deemed of no validity. When the witness whom he had summoned before him said, "I never believed the report, I treated it as the infamous lie of the day," what was the conduct of that noble person? In a very significant manner, he conveyed a notion to the person examined, that he (the noble lord) still did give credit to the report. He shook his

head most significantly, and appeared to disbelieve the strong testimony of the witness whom he had called before him. If persons who are the most enlightened retain their prejudices, and no means are left for vindication, how is innocence to be maintained? "Does it not become us as men," said the orator already alluded to, "as lovers of justice, as representatives of the people, as supporters of the dignity and stability of the throne, when such crimes are attributed to one so near it, to bring the matter to a decision? Is it not our bounden duty to seek a speedy determination, for the sake of the governing authorities of the country? It is not the Princess of Wales alone who is shocked by such proceedings. Is not the Prince of Wales, her natural protector, shocked? Are not the morality, the virtue, and the loyalty of the people shocked? Is not the monarchy itself interested in the determination? Yes, we are all, both individually and collectively, shocked and affected in the deepest and tenderest points. It is totally impossible that the matter can rest in its present state. It is impossible, whether the rights and interests of the crown or of the subject are considered, that the matter can be deferred any longer. If the sentence of acquittal which has been pronounced, is to be set up as a bar against that crisis which appears absolutely necessary, can it be denied that there are people who, in opposition to the assertion of the innocence of the Princess of Wales, are at all times ready to shake their heads, and who cannot help thinking that there is something in it? It is high time that a thorough scrutiny should be instituted. It is high time that every circumstance, hint, and suggestion should be sifted in every way that human ingenuity can devise, for the purpose of doing justice, not to the Princess of Wales only, but to all who are implicated in the transaction."—In what situation, it was asked, is the succession to the throne placed? Lady Douglas had been again examined as a credible witness, not only by a magistrate, but she had been treated as such by the Lord Chancellor of England. The evidence of Lady Douglas had gone farther than to inferences from what she had heard in her conversations with the Princess of Wales; for she had positively sworn, that, to her knowledge, the Princess of Wales was not only with child, but was delivered of a male child. If so, the Princess of Wales was in imminent danger. If so, the Princess Charlotte was involved in danger. But, what was still more striking, Lady Douglas herself persisted, and offered in her petition to maintain, at every risk, the truth of her depositions. Why had nothing been done to ascertain the truth of this story? For if true, this male child, and not the Princess Charlotte, must inherit the throne, unless it could be proved that he was the offspring of an adulterous intercourse. On what authority did the acquittal of the Princess of Wales stand? On this:—Lord Eldon, as a lawyer, said, the greater part of the evidence was satisfactorily disproved, and as for the remainder, all men utterly discredited it. But these mysterious examinations still continued, and her Royal Highness found, that there was not, even in this country, any tribunal before which her guilt or innocence could be brought to issue. If she resolved to quit this country, she had now no father to go to; nor had she even her father's country to afford her an asylum. Soon after the period when these examinations had been conducted with so much acrimony against his beloved daughter, he had paid the forfeit of his life at the battle of Jena. She had, however, the consolation to know that her father had received all the papers relative to the

investigation of her conduct, and had expressed his dying conviction of his daughter's innocence.—What protection, then, had the Princess of Wales? She had a right to that of her husband, and of the law. Would the House of Commons deprive her of the latter? Her husband had withdrawn from her Royal Highness his protection; and was the House to withhold from her its protection also? She had indeed her noble mother here—she had her bosom to retire to. She had also the countenance and affection of her gallant brother, but he had not the same means of affording her protection. She therefore called on the House of Commons—the representatives of the people of England—to become the protectors of an innocent, traduced, and defenceless stranger—the mother of their future queen.

The whole strain of the harangues made on this occasion, evinced the embarrassment to which, by their own folly, the advisers of her Royal Highness had reduced that illustrious personage. To them, in fact, all her present misfortunes were to be ascribed; with them had originated all the indecent publications of which they so loudly complained; and disappointment and vexation now marked all their proceedings.—In replying to their angry expostulations, it was asked, what was it these champions of the liberty of the press required parliament to do for the purpose of vindicating the Princess of Wales from aspersions which had been cast upon her? Why, truly, at the distance of about a fortnight to punish the proprietors of two newspapers for having published the whole evidence on a matter of such interest to the country. The proposition was to bring two printers to the bar of the House, or to agree to an address, which would occasion their prosecution by the Attorney-General, for having published certain depositions after all the leading documents were already before the public. It was true that these disclosures could not be justified; but those who first began the publication of such papers were the persons to be censured, as every one knew that the other documents were not confined to the recesses of the state, but had found their way into the hands of individuals. If one set of persons disclosed a part of those documents, it was not to be expected that others would suffer the remainder to be concealed. It could never be allowed to one party, in a matter of this description, to publish what would lead to false conclusions affecting public men, without an effort being made to give a more fair view of the subject. The public knew where the disclosures began, and when they were once commenced, a strong necessity arose for going on. But did the pretended friends of the Princess really think they could persuade the House to arrest those printers? Was it not a proof how little the powers of parliament were calculated to meet this subject, when an honourable gentleman having given notice of a grave motion for the prosecution of Lady Douglas for perjury, suddenly abandoned that intention—and after entering into a long argument on the question—after making his own partial comments on the documents, instead of endeavouring to punish Lady Douglas, ended with a motion perfectly ridiculous! The motion was only introduced, in fact, to give an opportunity of making speeches. From the course of the argument it might be supposed, that instead of desiring some proceedings to be taken with respect to the Princess of Wales, the mover was anxious to shew that there was no necessity for any interference of parliament on the subject.—Parliament could not entertain the subject, either with a view to the happiness of the parties concern-

ed, or to the preservation of the tranquillity of the country. It had no right to assume powers unknown to its regular functions, under the specious plea of administering justice. It was incompetent to this duty; and neither the act nor the attempt was calculated to produce peace in the country. By the Portland cabinet there had been no exercise of judgment on the guilt or innocence of the Princess of Wales, but the delivery of an opinion on the documents laid before them. If it had been the opinion of the cabinet, from a consideration of the depositions, that she should be put upon her trial for high treason, that would not have impaired the right which she and every other person in the realm possessed under the law, of being deemed innocent till she was declared guilty. Her conduct was not brought before the council to convict or acquit her; and it was the sentiment of Lord Grenville's cabinet that it was foreign from their duty to exercise such a power. The minute of that cabinet was as follows;—"We are fully convinced that it cannot be your majesty's wish that we should lay before you a detailed account of the proceedings which have been instituted by the legal advisers of the Prince of Wales. And we beg leave, with all due humility, to state, that the laws have not placed us in a situation to decide on the guilt or innocence of any subject of the realm, much less on a person so nearly connected with the royal family." Ministers adhered to the principle laid down in that minute —it was not their duty to try in any judicial sense her Royal Highness. But, looking at all the circumstances before them, it was for them to say whether some proceeding should not be instituted against her; and, in the words of the minute, "it was not deemed expedient that any further proceedings should take place." It had been observed, that this transaction must come to a decisive point one way or other—and what was this decisive point? Why, to hasten that crisis, a prosecution of two newspaper proprietors was the only measure which the wisdom of the mover could devise. What did he mean by this? Did he think it necessary to institute this trial for the purpose of proving the innocence of the Princess of Wales?—The inexpediency of any further proceedings was decided by the cabinets of the Duke of Portland and Lord Grenville; and all the depositions were delivered to her Royal Highness, who made such observations on them as she thought fit. She had affidavits sworn in contradiction of them; and still the subsequent opinion of those cabinets was, that no further proceedings should take place. The mover on the present occasion had not distinctly pointed out what course was to be pursued. He seemed desirous that a fresh examination should be instituted; but no person could be considered as a wise and prudent protector of the honour of the Princess of Wales, who would call on parliament to pursue such a course, even if the legislature were competent to do it, which, however, it was not. If the Princess were placed on her trial, then, of course, she would have the protection of the law for her defence. But parliament ought to take care of those defences which were not according to the law or constitution of the country, but arose from that sort of clamour which was the worst description of defence to which any person could resort. There was no disposition, in any quarter, to deprive the Princess of Wales of all proper protection; on the contrary, there was every desire to afford her the utmost protection of the law. The mover, in this instance, had not been able to state any measure more specific than the prosecution of two printers. Now, when he consented to this sacrifice of the li-

berty of the press, it was to be hoped that he would have acted on a broad and liberal plan; and, instead of making the invidious selection which he had done, that he would have moved for the prosecution of all persons who had published such documents.—The motion, in short, related to a transaction in which parliament could not interfere with advantage to the cause of justice, to the parties concerned, and, above all, to the safety and tranquillity of the country. Parliament would take no step inconsistent with the welfare and peace of the country, and with its own honour and dignity.—The motion of Mr Whitbread was negatived by a great majority.

In the course of the discussions in the House of Commons on this painful subject, Mr Whitbread had referred to an unauthenticated document which had been put into his hands, relating to the testimony of some of the witnesses examined before the commissioners of 1806, and had deduced from it some inferences, which were understood as reflections on the commissioners. The noble lords who formed the commission, took an early opportunity (22d March) of repelling these insinuations, and of vindicating the whole proceedings, which had been so much misrepresented. Lord Ellenborough, with reference to this subject, observed, "Your lordships need scarcely be reminded, that a few years since his majesty was pleased to issue a commission respecting a subject which it is unnecessary for me to name: in that commission I found my name included; but the subject of enquiry, the intention to issue the commission, and the commission itself, were all profound secrets to me, until I was called upon to discharge the high and sacred duty that upon me was thus imposed. I felt that much was due to this command; and it was accompanied with some inward satisfaction, that the integrity and zeal with which I had endeavoured to discharge my public functions had made a favourable impression on the mind of my sovereign; notwithstanding which, the mode in which this command was obeyed has been made the subject of the most unprincipled slanders. It has been said, that after the testimony had been taken in a case where the most important interests were involved, the persons intrusted had thought fit to fabricate an unauthorised document, purporting to relate what was not given, and to suppress what was given in evidence. My lords, I assert that the accusation is false in every part! What is there in the general complexion of my conduct since the commencement of my public career, that should induce any man to venture on an assertion so audacious? That it is destitute of all foundation, would, I trust, be believed even without my contradiction; but where it originated, or how it was circulated, I know not."

Lord Erskine said, "For my own part, my lords, I feel the utmost confidence that my character as a man of honour and humanity, and my professional experience, would be sufficient in themselves to repel such an unsupported accusation; and what principally wounds me, therefore, is, that it should have proceeded from a quarter in which I thought myself sure of the utmost partiality and favour. But, putting aside all favour or partiality, I trusted that I should at least have found credit for common honesty and ordinary correctness in the examination of a witness, until a departure from them had been supported by some kind of proof."

Lord Grenville.—"My lords, after what has been stated by my noble friends, I feel it utterly impossible to remain silent; but I must fairly confess that it is not without reluctance that I address you; it is not so much in conformity with my own feelings as

in deference to the judgment of others, that I have prevailed upon myself, even in the cruel situation in which I am placed, in conjunction with my noble friends, to utter a single word remotely connected with a subject which I fervently pray may never become a matter of discussion in this House. If any man can be so base as to harbour a thought to the prejudice of the proceedings of the commissioners, after what has just been uttered, I am willing to bear my full share of censure. I will not, because I cannot, conscientiously enter into explanations that designing people may be anxious to draw from me. Whatever calumnies may be circulated, however weighty may be the imputations, I will fearlessly do my duty to the country, to parliament, and to the sovereign, and maintain an eternal silence upon the general topics of this question, firmly convinced that nothing more injurious to the nation could be attempted, than would be effected by lending the countenance and authority of this House to the wicked prevalence of discussions, which can lead only to public confusion and anarchy!"

Earl Spencer.—"My lords, after what has been said by my three noble friends, it might perhaps be considered unnecessary for me to add any thing to what has been by them so ably and clearly stated; and although I rise most reluctantly upon such a subject, still, considering the charge which has been made against me, in common with my three noble friends, I feel that I owe it to myself not to remain silent. I could have wished that such a duty had not devolved upon me, fearing, that I may trench upon that line of conduct beyond which I am determined not to pass, and within which my noble friends, from being more practised in the habit of public speaking, have more easily kept. I confess also, at the same time, that I feel humiliated at being called upon to answer such a charge, or its being supposed for an instant, that I could be guilty of the baseness imputed to me. My noble colleagues and myself are charged with nothing less than a foul conspiracy, of which, if we were guilty, not only we could not appear amongst your lordships, but we should be unworthy to associate with any honourable or respectable man in the country. My lords, under these circumstances I feel myself most reluctantly called upon to say a few words, particularly as, in the situation which I held at the period alluded to, I may be said to be more particularly responsible for the correctness of the documents. My lords, to go over again the points so ably urged by my noble friends, would be an idle and unnecessary waste of your lordships' time; I should only weaken, instead of strengthening, what they have advanced. I shall, therefore, confine myself to saying a word upon the point immediately in question, and I do here most solemnly declare upon the honour of a peer and the faith of a gentleman, that every word of what my noble friends have stated, is correctly and exactly true."

Such were the distinct and positive declarations of the eminent persons to whom the enquiry of 1806 had been confided, and such the awkward circumstances to which Mr Whitbread was reduced by his zeal and credulity. The paper on which he founded his accusations was afterwards confessed by himself to be a fabrication.

Mr Whitbread, however, made another attempt to revive these painful discussions. Lord Moira, who was about departing to take upon him the government of India, to which he had recently been appointed, addressed a letter to the grand lodge of free-masons, containing some allusions to the conduct of his lordship in the course

of the investigations into the behaviour of the Princess. In that letter there was the following passage :—" When the Prince did me the honour of relating to me the representation of Lord Eardley's, expressing great uneasiness that the asserted notoriety of the interviews at Belvidere, and the comments of the neighbours, should force him to take any public steps, I suggested the possibility that there might be some misapprehension of the circumstances ; and I entreated, that before any other procedure should be determined upon, I might send for the steward (Kenny,) and the porter (Jonathan Partridge,) to examine them. This was permitted. I sent for the servants and questioned them. My report to the Prince was, that the matter had occasioned very little observation in the house, none at all in the neighbourhood, and that it was entirely unnecessary for his Royal Highness to notice it in any shape. The servants had been desired by me never to talk upon the subject ; Lord Eardley was informed, that his conception of what had been stated by the servants was found to be inaccurate ; no mention was ever made to any one, not even to the lords who conducted the enquiry three years afterwards, of the particulars related by the servants ; and the circumstance never would have been known at all, had not the legal advisers of the Princess, for the sake of putting a false colour on that investigation, indiscreetly brought it forward. The death of Kenny in the interval tempted them to risk this procedure. Jonathan Partridge having been known, at the time when he was questioned, to be devoted to the Princess, from his own declaration to the steward, no one can doubt but that her Royal Highness would the next day be informed by him of his having been examined. The measure was most offensive, if not justified by some uncommon peculiarity of circumstance. Yet absolute silence is preserved upon it for so long a period by her Royal Highness's advisers ; a forbearance only to be solved by their being too cautious to touch upon the point while Kenny was alive."—Mr Whitbread remarked in the House of Commons, " that when he first read the paragraph, he could not avoid putting the same construction upon it, which, he found by the public papers, it had received out of doors. He did conceive it to mean that there was something in the evidence of Kenny, which made the advisers of the Princess afraid to advert to it during his life-time ; and with this impression on his mind, he had intended to have brought the matter before the House earlier, in order that an impression should not go abroad injurious to the Princess, after the Earl of Moira should have left the country, and explanation was impossible. Upon reading the paragraph, however, over and over again, to try whether he could find out another meaning, it did occur to him, that perhaps his lordship only meant, that Kenny, if alive, could have contradicted any person who said that his lordship examined the witnesses in any manner that was improper or unbecoming his dignity. Thinking that this might possibly be the meaning of the noble lord, he did not conceive it necessary to bring the business before the House ; but, finding by some observations in one of the public papers, that the subject was viewed in another light out of doors, and that the public understood that part of the noble lord's letter according to its plain and obvious construction, he thought it now of the greatest importance, that Lord Moira should have an opportunity of explaining his meaning before he left the country. As any assertion which came from a man so high in rank, and so high in character as Lord

Moira, must carry with it great weight, he thought that an impression ought not to be suffered to remain on the public mind, that either the Princess or her advisers were ever afraid that her honour would have been in danger from any evidence Kenny might have given. There was another paragraph, which Lord Moira, and none but he, could explain. When it was stated in the letter, that Partridge, Lord Eardley's porter, was known to be entirely devoted to the Princess, he thought it ought to be explained, what was meant by the devotion of one of Lord Eardley's menial servants to the Princess of Wales? How, or from what reason, it could be supposed that a person in that station of life would communicate to the Princess any examination which he might have undergone, was a matter capable of explanation only by the noble earl, and if not explained by him, how it was possible for any other person to explain it he knew not. Finding that this part of the noble earl's letter, as well as that to which he had first directed the attention of the House, had been commented upon in a public print, and surprise expressed equal to that which he himself felt, he could not be content to suffer the matter to pass without making some observations, or without pointing out the expediency, as well as the absolute necessity, of requiring a full and satisfactory explanation from the noble earl, before he quitted Great Britain. When the exalted rank of the Earl of Moira was considered, and when it was known that every thing which came from him would be received by the country with that degree of weight to which his lordship's opinions and remarks were entitled, he apprehended that a feeling of justice, as well towards the Earl of Moira himself, as towards the Princess of Wales, called for an explicit declaration of the real meaning of the words in the noble lord's letter. He was sure the House would feel a pleasure in putting the noble lord in a situation most congenial to his own heart, that of explaining unequivocally and clearly, a matter which was at present involved in doubt, and which might lead to conclusions and inferences which the noble earl would himself be the first to lament.—He had hoped from time to time, that this most heart-rending subject would have been set at rest. New matter, however, seemed daily to be brought before the public, and he now almost despaired that the subject would ever be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, unless some decided act of recognition was either advised by his majesty's ministers to be adopted, or that the House would place their seal upon the matter, and close it for ever. How this was to be done, could best be pointed out at the proper season. He most sincerely wished, however, that the question might be concluded by any other means than through the medium of that House, and anxiously hoped, that without considerable delay, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's ministers would advise him to give to her Royal Highness an establishment out of his civil list, adequate to the elevated situation which she held in this country. Some mode or other, he was satisfied, must ere long be had recourse to for the purpose of dissipating all conflicting opinions, and he trusted it would be such as to place her Royal Highness in a sphere adequate to her merits. For the present he should content himself by moving, 'That a message be sent to the Lords, requesting their lordships to grant permission to the Earl of Moira to attend at the bar of this House, for the purpose of being examined as to his knowledge of certain

circumstances connected with the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.' "

The Speaker having observed that this motion was unprecedented, Lord Castlereagh said, " he thought the House must feel, that, according to the custom of parliament, the present motion could not be received, and that it would be very improper to take the step proposed by the hon. gentleman. He should, however, not confine himself merely to the forms of the House, but would say upon the substance of it, that he was surprised that the hon. gentleman should (after six times that the subject had been brought forward in different shapes, and the feeling of the House was well known upon it,) think it necessary again to revive the controversy. He could conceive no other purpose which this could answer but to agitate the public mind, and wound the delicacy of the House. This was merely a collateral point of a subject into which the hon. gentleman well knew that the House did not wish to enter. He was also surprised, that at the close of his speech, instead of calling upon them to pronounce upon the question of guilt or innocence, he should merely have suggested an increase of the establishment of her Royal Highness. If no question of form had rendered the motion inadmissible, he should have opposed it in its substance, as he was convinced that no possible good could result from the interference of parliament; and he thought that on the contrary, it might in every quarter prove injurious. In his opinion the hon. gentleman, by his motion, had departed from those principles upon which parliament was bound to act, and he was satisfied that the whole of his conduct was likely to do no public good, but, on the contrary, to do great public mischief."—Mr Canning said, " that having been in the House but a few minutes, he believed at first that this was only one of those irregular conversations which had too frequently of late been introduced, and was not at the beginning aware that there was a motion regularly submitted to the House. If that had been the case, he should not have said a single word upon the subject; but now, feeling it to be a question of some importance, he was anxious to state the grounds on which he should vote for passing to the order of the day. An hon. baronet (Sir Francis Burdett) had referred to that understanding, by which the House had shewn its wish that there should be no further discussions upon this unhappy subject. He believed, that the last debate on the subject ended with the understanding, that no possible good could result from the discussion. He believed, that the House, and every member of it, had felt the most anxious wish that they should not be called upon for any determination on the subject, unless it should come to such an extremity that parliament was obliged to take some step. As he did not think that such an extremity had now arrived, he could not coincide in the expediency of these renewed discussions. He did not imagine that the present proceeding was at all necessary; and although he admitted it was possible that a case might arise, in which the House and the country would find it necessary to come to some substantial conclusion upon this subject, yet he trusted his majesty's ministers would avoid being driven to such an extremity. He admitted, that where the possibility existed of having occasion to recur to such a measure, it was proper to be prepared for the worst; but if he was called upon to state whether such a necessity existed now, he would have no hesitation in answering in the negative. There was another impression, as he

believed, upon the mind of the House as to this subject. They thought that the abstaining from discussions upon it, was the most likely way to bring about that happy termination of it, to which every one anxiously looked. While they abstained from discussion, they conceived that there was one chance left for that species of termination which all good men and all good subjects wished to see.—He believed that those men betrayed a very imperfect knowledge of human nature and human feelings, who could suppose that the continuance or revival of such discussions was the most likely means of procuring that termination which was so much desired. He conceived that if those discussions were revived, the whole period between the first discussion and the last might be considered as so much time lost in the accomplishment of the object in question. It was from these feelings that he, and, as he believed, many other members, deprecated these discussions."

Thus terminated those unhappy controversies, which had so long gratified the malice of faction, fed the vulgar appetite for slander, and disturbed the repose of the country. On an affair of this kind we have been anxious to abstain from minute detail, and have preferred laying before our readers a compendious, but impartial account of the proceedings in parliament, to any other form in which the subject could have been explained. There can be no necessity for reverting to the proceedings of 1806, or for staining our pages with the depositions of the witnesses examined before the commissioners, or the reflections to which such evidence may have given rise. It has been confessed on all hands, that the Princess stands acquitted of criminality; but against the charge of levity, it may seem more difficult wholly to defend her. Such, however, was not the question agitated, in consequence of her letter of January, 1813. From that letter it appears her advisers intended, that she should be enabled to interfere with the unquestionable powers of the Prince Regent, as the natural guardian of his daughter, and the actual chief magistrate of these realms. This attempt, as might have been expected, proved altogether abortive; and the merit, or demerit, as well as the influence and authority of her Royal Highness, remained, after all the tedious and vain discussions—all the ebullitions of party zeal, and all the offensive disclosures which were unfortunately made, precisely as they had been placed before by two successive cabinets—that of Lord Grenville in 1806, and that of the Duke of Portland in 1807. With the unfortunate differences which had occasioned so many painful scenes, neither the legislature nor the country, it would seem, can ever prudently interfere.

CHAP. V.

Affairs of Ireland.—Discussion of the Catholic Question in Parliament.—Conduct of the Irish Catholics.

THIS year seemed to open better prospects to the catholics of Ireland than any which preceded it. The ministers were divided in opinion as to the merits of the catholic question; they had ceased to interest themselves with zeal in the result; and the inclinations of the Prince Regent were understood to be favourable to the claims of the petitioners. The protestants, however, were seized with alarm; petitions against the claims of the Roman catholics were poured in from all quarters, and a respectable association was formed, with the avowed intention of opposing further concessions. But the friends of the catholics were determined to persevere; and on the 25th of February, Mr Grattan moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to prepare a bill for the relief of the Irish catholics. The arguments in support of the motion were powerfully and ably stated, upon this occasion, by many distinguished speakers.

The motion, it was said, proposed to remove the civil disabilities which affect a great portion of our fellow subjects, on account of their religion; offering, at the same time, to accompany the measure with every security which may be required, for the protection of the protestant interest. Much has been said of the question of right. This appears, however, to be a very unnecessary metaphysical discussion, and one which cannot have any practical application in the present instance. In the same sense in which religious toleration is a right, a due share of political power is a right; both must yield to the paramount interests of society, if such interests require it; neither can be justifiably withheld, unless their inconsistency with the public interest is clearly established. But in the present case, the question does not, in any respect, arise; for we have already admitted the Roman catholics to substantial power, and what we seek to exclude them from is honour. The privileges which are withheld are impotent, as protections to the state, but most galling and provoking to the party which is excluded. No candid mind can hesitate to admit, that the exclusions must be severely felt, as a grievance of the most insulting kind. That the man of the first eminence at the bar should be prevented from acting as one of his majesty's counsel, or from sitting on the bench of justice; that the gallant officer, who has distinguished himself in the battles of his

country, when his heart is beating high with the love of honourable fame, should be stopped in his career, and see his companions in arms raised above him, to lead his countrymen to victory and glory, must be felt as deeply humiliating! Does it require argument to shew, that exclusion from parliament must be considered as a privation and indignity? Why are men so desirous of this distinction? From the honest ambition of serving their country, from the pride of abiding by honourable engagements, or from motives, perhaps, of a less elevated description? Whatever they may be, honourable and dignified, or otherwise, they subsist in the minds of the catholics as much as in those of other men; and, though the elective franchise, which has been granted to the Irish catholic, gives him a substantial representation, yet the exclusion from parliament is calculated to operate as a severe and humiliating disability; and the more humiliating, because it is a mark of inferiority put on the catholic, merely for the purpose of marking that inferiority. The topic, that toleration is one thing, and political power another, has little application to this case, even if it were just; for in this instance it seems to be contended that rank, and station, and honour, are not the proper appendages of wealth, and knowledge, and education, and of every thing which constitutes political and moral strength. In every system of human policy, the few must govern the many, but putting military force out of the case, legitimate government must arise from their superiority in wealth and knowledge; if, therefore, you exclude the wealthy and the educated from the government of the state, you throw into the scale of the many, the only weight which could have preserved the balance of the state itself. This is universally true; but when you reject the opulent and the educated, on account of a condition which they have in common with the many, you add the attraction of politics and party to the operations of general and moral causes; and, if the principle of exclusion be a religious one, you organize, not merely the principles of revolution, but of revolution furious and interminable. But by the policy of separating political rank from property and education in any intermediate degree, the conclusion is equally true, that the attempt so to separate establishes a principle, not of government, but of the dissolution of government. So sensible of this truth were our ancestors, that, when they saw, or thought they saw, a necessity for dishonouring the Roman catholic, they adopted, as a necessary consequence, the policy of impoverishing and barbarizing him: When they degraded him, they felt that their only safety was to keep him in poverty and ignorance; their policy, good or bad, was consistent—the means had a diabolical fitness for their end. Is it not a perfect corollary to this proposition, is it not the legitimate converse of this truth, that if you re-admit them to wealth and to knowledge, you must restore them to ambition and to honour? What have we done? We have trod back our steps; we have rescued the catholics from the code, which formed at once their servitude and our safety, and we fancy we can continue the exclusion, from civil station, which superinduced that code. Their's was a necessity, real or fancied, but a consistent system; we pretend no necessity; we have voluntarily abdicated the means of safety, and we wilfully and uselessly continue the causes of danger. The time to have paused was before we heaved, from those sons of earth, the mountains, which the wisdom or the terrors of our ancestors had heaped upon them; but

we have raised them up and placed them erect—are we prepared to hurl them down and bury them again? Where is the madman to propose it? Where is he who imagines that they can remain as they are? The state of the catholics o Ireland is, in this respect, unparalleled by any thing in ancient or modern history. They are not slaves, as some of their absurd advocates call them, but freemen, possessing substantially the same political rights with their protestant brethren, and with all the other subjects of the empire, that is, possessed of all the advantages which can be derived from the best laws, administered in the best manner, of the most free and most highly civilized country in the world. Do you believe that such a body, possessed of such a station, can submit to contumely and exclusion? that they will stand behind your chair and wait upon you at the public banquet? The less valuable, in sordid computation, the privilege, the more marked the insult in refusing it, and the more honourable the anxiety for possessing it! Miserable and unworthy wretches must they be if they ceased to aspire to it; base and dangerous hypocrites if they dissembled their wishes; formidable instruments of domestic or foreign tyranny if they did not entertain them! The liberties of England would not, for half a century, remain proof against the contact and contagion of four millions of opulent and powerful subjects who disregarded the honours of the state, and felt utterly uninterested in the constitution.—In coming forward, therefore, with this claim of honourable ambition, they at once afford the best pledge of their sincerity, and the most satisfactory evidence of their title. They claim the benefit of the ancient vital principle of the constitution, namely, that the honours of the state should be open to the talents and to the virtues of all its members.—The adversaries of the measure invert the order of all civilized society. They have made the catholics an aristocracy, and they would treat them as a mob; they give, to the lowest of the rabble, if he is a protestant, what they refuse to the head of the peerage, if he is a catholic. They shut out my Lord Fingal from the state, and they make his footman a member of it; and this strange confusion of all social order, they dignify with the name of the British constitution; and the proposal to consider the best and most conciliatory mode of correcting it, they cry down as a dangerous and presumptuous innovation.—The catholics propose no innovation. They ask for an equal share, as fellow subjects, in the constitution, as they find it; in that constitution, in whose original stamina they had an undisputed right, before there was a reformation, and before there was a revolution, and before the existence of the abuses, which induced the necessity of either. They desire to bear its burdens, to share its dangers, to participate its glory, and to abide its fate; they bring an offering, their hearts and hands, their lives and fortunes, but they desire also the privilege of bringing with them their consciences, their religion, and their honour, without which they would be worthless and dangerous associates.—The position, therefore, to be maintained by those who say that the first principles of the constitution are in opposition to the claim, is rather a critical one. They must shew why it is that a Roman catholic may vote for a member to sit in parliament, and yet may not himself be a member of it; why he may be the most powerful and wealthy subject in the realm, and the greatest landed proprietor, and yet may not fill the lowest office in the meanest town upon his estates; why he may be the first advocate at the

bar, and be incapable of acting as one of the counsel of his sovereign; why he may be elector, military officer, grand juror, corporator, magistrate, in Ireland, where the danger, if any, is immense, and why none of them in England where the causes of apprehension are comparatively trifling and insignificant. Besides all this, arguing as they do, that the catholic religion necessarily includes hostility to the state, on the very points which, in the oaths taken by the catholics, are solemnly disavowed, they must shew the safety of harbouring in the bosom of the state, and admitting to its essential and substantial benefits, a body of men whose only title to admission has been perjury; that is, a body of men, who, in addition to religious opinions inconsistent with our particular constitutions, have violated the solemn obligations which bind man to man, and therefore are unworthy of being admitted into any society, in which the sacred principles of social intercourse are respected. If these things are so, the petitions of the public should be, not to be protected against the dangers which are to come, but to be rescued from those which have already been incurred; nay more, if oaths are not regarded, we should not rely on the vain securities which our ancestors have resorted to, and which consist of oaths, and only oaths; but we should desire some new means of proving their religion, by the testimony of others, and chaining them down to it, without the possibility of disowning or escaping from it. But let us examine, somewhat more accurately, these supposed principles of public policy, which oppose an insuperable bar to the admission of the Roman catholics. They join issue on this point; so far as concession is inconsistent with the true principles of the constitution, the safety of the established church, and of the protestant throne, they admit that they are entitled to nothing; so far as it is not inconsistent, they claim to be entitled to every thing. Let it be shewn that these great foundations of our liberties and of our civil and ecclesiastical policy are their enemies, and they must yield in silence. They must receive it as the doom of fate; it must be submitted to as part of the mysterious system of Providence, which, whilst it has embarked us in an awful struggle, for the preservation of its choicest blessings, has ordained that, in this struggle, we may not unite the hearts and affections of our people. We must cherish the hope that the same incomprehensible wisdom which at once impels us to this mighty contest, and forbids us to use the means of success, may work out our safety by methods of its own.—If it can be made appear that the imperious interests of our country pronounce, from necessity, this heavy and immitigable sentence upon millions of its subjects, they will learn submission, and not embitter their hopeless exclusion, by the miseries of discontent and of disorder; but, before they bow down to this eternal interdict, before they retire from the threshold of the constitution, to the gloom of hopeless and never-ending exclusion, are they not entitled to have it proved by arguments clear as the light of heaven, that this necessity exists? Let it be stated in some clear intelligible form, what is this fundamental prop of the constitution, what is this overwhelming ruin, which is to tumble upon us by its removal. Let us meet and close upon this argument; but beware of the attempt to outlaw the Irish people by an artificial and interested clamour. Let not those, who have encouraged the Irish people to expect redress, now affect to be bound by this spell of their own raising. This would be to palter with their own

consciences and the public safety, and entail, as the inevitable consequences, calamity and disgrace.—The only obstacles which appear to stand in the way of the Roman catholics, said their advocates, are the oath of supremacy, and the declaration against transubstantiation. The former of these, in its original enactment and application, had a very limited political relation.—The application of the oath, as it was modified by Elizabeth, had chiefly (and with the exception of offices immediately derived from the crown, or concerning the administration of justice) a religious, and not a political, application; subject to these exceptions, it professed not to controul private opinion, nor to make it a ground of exclusion; but it subjected the public profession of non-conformity to penalty; and, accordingly, Roman catholics were admissable to parliament and to corporate offices, for more than one hundred years after the introduction of the oath of supremacy. Then came the laws of Charles II., which, for the first time, superinduced general exclusion from office, as a political consequence of religious opinion.—Here, then, were two principles, the first, that of the Reformation, which proscribed the catholic religion; the second, that of Charles II., which presumed that certain unconstitutional tenets must be held by those who professed that religion, and therefore made civil incapacity the consequence of the religious belief. Here were two principles perfectly distinct, but perfectly consistent—now what have we done? We have, in fact, abrogated the principles of the reformation, for we have repealed the laws against recusancy, and legalized the religion; having done this it was a necessary consequence to say that we could not infer, from a religious tenet which we legalized, a political opinion inconsistent with the safety of the state; otherwise we should have been unjustifiable in legalizing it; we therefore substituted instead of the renunciation of the religious doctrine, from which the political opinion had been formerly inferred, a direct denial, upon oath, of the political opinion itself. If then the Roman catholic may lawfully exercise the religion, and if he will take the political oath, how can we consistently make the objection, either in a religious or political point of view, to his being admitted to the remaining privileges of citizenship? Again, the oath of supremacy extends to a renunciation, as well of the spiritual as of the temporal authority of the Pope; and its object appears to have been two-fold; first, to exclude the interference of the Pope in the temporal concerns of the realm; and, secondly, to secure the protestant hierarchy against the claims of the sect which had been put down: As to the first, the Roman catholic tenders an oath, utterly denying the Pope's right to exercise any kind of temporal jurisdiction in these kingdoms; as to the second, he tenders an oath, abjuring all interference with the protestant establishment and hierarchy. What then remains in difference? The right of the Pope with respect to their clergy? Now to this the oath of supremacy never had any reference, nor could have had: Their clergy were not recognised as having any legal existence when the oath of supremacy was enacted, nor as the subject of any other regulation, than that of heavy punishment if they were discovered; this part of the oath merely looks to the protestant hierarchy, and all this is effectually provided for by the oath.—As to the corporation act, every person acquainted with its history, knows that it was introduced, not with a view to the Roman catholics, but to sectaries of a very different description, who had got into the corporations during

the government of Cromwell, and were supposed to be disaffected to the politics of the court. Part of the oath, as it was originally framed, declared that it was unlawful, under any pretence, to take up arms against the king, or those commissioned by him; and the amendment, which sought to qualify it by adding the word "lawfully" before "commissioned," was thrown out. One of the first acts of William and Mary was to repeal this scandalous and slavish enactment, which was at direct variance with the first principles of the Revolution; and yet we are told, in patriotic petitions, from loyal protestant bodies, that this corporation act was one of the great bulwarks of the Revolution.—It is required, no doubt, by the Bill of Rights, that the new oath of supremacy, thereby substituted for the former one, should be taken by all who were bound to take the former one; but this is not introduced as one of the grievances redressed, or rights declared, but it is merely incidentally mentioned, in consequence of the substitution of the one oath for the other. The declaration against popery is in no respect adverted to; but one fact, most decisive and important on this point, is this, that when this act was passed, the Roman catholics of Ireland were not, by any law or usage, excluded from parliament, or from civil or military offices.—The articles of Limerick (3d October, 1691), stipulated for all such privileges, in the exercise of religion, as were enjoyed in the reign of Charles II., and as were consistent with the laws of Ireland. They required the oath of allegiance, as created in the first year of William and Mary; and the oath to be administered to the Roman catholics, submitting to his majesty's government, was to be that oath and no other; and it was farther stipulated that, so soon as their affairs should permit them to summon a parliament, their majesties should endeavour to procure them such further securities as might preserve them from any disturbance, on account of their religion. At this time, Roman catholics were not excluded from parliament in Ireland, nor were there any test or corporation laws in force against them. On the faith of these articles, all of which were punctually performed on their part, they surrendered the town, and left King William at liberty to apply his arms to the great cause in which he was sustaining the liberties of Europe. The stipulation on the part of government was to protect them against any additional oaths, and to endeavour to procure for them additional securities. What was done? The act of the 3d of William and Mary was passed, giving them no additional securities, but excluding them for the first time from parliament, and from offices civil and military, and from the bar, unless they subscribed the declaration against popery, and swore the oath of supremacy.—The great men who perfected that revolution had deeply studied the laws and constitution of their country; with ardent feelings and sublime conceptions, they made no unnecessary breach on any ancient usage; no wanton encroachment on any rights of the people or of the king; not like our modern improvers, who hold for nothing the wisdom which has gone before them, and set up their own crude conceptions, with an utter contempt for all the sacred lore of their ancestors. They committed no rude outrage on those who had gone before them; they entailed no odious bondage on those who were to succeed them—with the modesty and simplicity which characterize great minds, they declared the essential rights of the constitution. They saw that the system of the Reformation would be incomplete, unless the King, who was

the temporal head of the church, should be in communion with that church; they therefore enacted that he should hold his crown only while he adhered to his religion. They declared the throne unalterably protestant,—they declared the religion of the state unalterably protestant; and having thus laid the firm foundation of civil and religious freedom, they left all other considerations open to the progress of time, and to the wisdom of posterity.

That time has come, and that posterity is now called upon to decide. We are fighting the same battle in which the illustrious deliverer of these countries was engaged,—we are defending the liberties of Europe, and of the world, against the same unchangeable and insatiable ambition which then assailed them,—we are engaged with an enemy far more formidable than Louis the Fourteenth, whether we consider the vastness of his plans, his exhaustless resources, or his remorseless application of them,—but if our dangers are aggravated, our means of safety are increased. William the Third was obliged to watch, with a jealous eye, the movements of one half of his subjects, whilst he employed the energies of the other. We have it in our own power to unite them all, by one great act of national justice. If we do not wantonly and obstinately fling away the means which God's providence has placed within our grasp, we may bring the energies of all our people, with one hand and heart, to strike against the common enemy.

Religion is degraded when it is brandished as a political weapon, and there is no medium in the use of it: either it is justified by holy zeal and fervent piety, or the appeal to it becomes liable to the most suspicious imputation. The safety of the state is essentially interwoven with the integrity of the establishment. The established religion is the child of freedom. The Reformation grew out of the free spirit of bold investigation; in its turn it repaid the obligation with more than filial gratitude, and contributed, with all its force, to raise the fabric of our liberties. Our civil and religious liberties would each of them lose much of their security, if they were not so deeply indented each with the other. The church need not to be apprehensive. It is a plant of the growth of 300 years; it has struck its roots into the centre of the state, and nothing short of a political earthquake can overturn it: while the state is safe, it must be so; but let it not be forgotten, that if the state is endangered, the church cannot be secure. The church is protected by the purity of its doctrines and its discipline; the learning and piety of its ministers; their exemplary discharge of every moral and Christian duty; the dignity of its hierarchy, the extent of its possessions, and the reverence of the public for its ancient and unquestionable rights. To these the catholic adds the mite of his oath, that he does not harbour the chimerical hope, or the unconstitutional wish, to shake or to disturb it; and therefore, all which is requisite, for the security of the church, is that it should remain, in repose, on its own deep and immoveable foundations; and this is the policy which the great body of the church of Ireland, and of the church of England, have now adopted. If any thing could endanger its safety, it would be the conduct of intemperate and officious men, who would erect the church into a political arbiter, to prescribe rules of imperial policy to the throne and to the legislature.

The conduct of the Roman catholics of Ireland has been resorted to, it was remarked, as an argument for abandoning the pledge of the last session; and there have been some proceedings, on

the part of the public bodies who affect to act for them, altogether unjustifiable. Their attempts to dictate to the entire body how they are to act on each particular political occurrence,—their presuming to hold an inquisition on the conduct of individuals in the exercise of their elective franchise, and putting them under the ban of their displeasure because they vote for their private friends, and abide by their plighted engagements; all this is a degree of inquisitorial authority unexampled and insufferable; and this by persons professing themselves the advocates of unbounded freedom and unlimited toleration, at the moment when they are extending their tyranny into the domestic arrangements of every catholic family in the country. The tone of unqualified demand, and haughty rejection of all conditions or accommodation, so confidently announced by them, is not less disgusting; nor can the intemperance of many of their public speeches, the exaggeration and violence of some of their printed publications, be palliated.

But it is most unfair to visit on the Roman catholics, the opinions and the conduct of such public assemblies as profess to act for them; if they labour under a real and a continuing grievance, and one which justifies, on their part, a continued claim, they must act through the medium of popular assemblies, and must, of course, be exposed to all the inconveniences which attend discussions in such assemblies. In all such places, we know that unbounded applause attends the man who occupies the extreme position of opinion, and that the extravagance of his expression of such opinion will not be calculated to diminish it. That there may be many individuals anxious to promote their own consequence, at the expence of the party whose interests they profess to advocate, is an evil inseparable from such a state of things; and, amongst those who sincerely wish to promote the interests of the cause, much may fairly be attributed to the heat naturally generated by long-continued opposition; much to the effects of disappointed hope; much to the resentment excited and justified by insolent and virulent opposition. But the unfortunate state of the public mind in Ireland, is, above all things, imputable to the conduct of government; for that there are persons in Ireland who look to revolution and separation cannot be denied. The separatists are, however, neither numerous, nor, in themselves, formidable; and they tremble at the prospect of the adjustment of the catholic claims, as a measure deadly to their views. Is it a wise policy, is it a course which any government can justify to the country, to recruit for these public enemies, by endeavouring to embody the legitimate claims of the catholics with their wild and pernicious projects? Is it not madness to oppose the same blind and indiscriminate resitsance to the honest objects of the great untainted landed and commercial interests of the catholic people, and to affect to confound them, in a common cause, with those miserable enemies of public freedom and safety?—But this measure, it was admitted, cannot be finally and satisfactorily adjusted, unless some arrangement shall be made with respect to the Roman catholic clergy, and some security afforded to the state against foreign interference. Such security may be afforded, without interfering, in any degree, with the essentials of their religion; and if so, the mere circumstance of its being required is a sufficient reason for conceding it. This is not a struggle for the triumph of one party of the state over another; it is a great national sacrifice of mutual prejudices for the common good; and any opportunity of gratifying the protestant mind should

be eagerly seized by the catholic, even if the conditions required were uncalled for by any real or well-founded apprehension. The state has a right to require some fair security against foreign influence in its domestic concerns. What this security may be, provided it shall be effectual, ought to be left to the option of the catholic body. As a *veto* has been objected to, let it not be required; but let the security be afforded, either by domestic nomination of the clergy, or in any shape or form, which shall exclude the practical effect of foreign interference. Let them be liberally provided for by the state; let them be natives of the country, and educated in the country; and let the full and plenary exercise of spiritual authority by the Pope, which forms an essential part of their religious discipline, remain in all its force. Leave to their choice the mode of reconciling these principles, and stand not upon the manner, if the thing is done. Pursue this course, put this measure into the hands of those in whom the catholics can place confidence, or give them such a parliamentary pledge, that they may see that the accomplishment of their wishes is dependent on their own good sense and moderation, and they will not be wanting to contribute their part of this great national work of strength and union. In all events, parliament will have discharged its duty; it will have given satisfaction to the honest and to the reasonable; it will have separated the sound from the unsound, and left the bigot, or the incendiary, stripped of all his terrors, by depriving him of all his grievances.

Such were the views which were now taken by the advocates of this great question. The opponents of the measure did not distinguish themselves greatly on this occasion; and the motion, after two adjournments, was carried by a majority of 264 to 224. A committee was appointed to arrange and determine the different clauses which were to be introduced into the act. Mr Grattan, who still took the lead, gave, on a subsequent occasion, a general view of the various provisions of which it was intended that this legislative measure should consist. The catholics were to be admitted to sit in both houses of parliament, and to hold all offices, civil and military, except those connected with the great seal, and that of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. They were to be denied, however, the right of presentation to any living in the church, in an university, or public school. The oaths, which the law now requires to be taken by persons in office, were to be dispensed with in the case of Roman Catholics; and, instead of them, a new oath was to be taken, presenting, it was hoped, nothing to which a loyal catholic could object. It contained an engagement to do nothing which could be injurious to the British constitution or to the established church, and a disavowal of certain doctrines of the Romish belief, which appeared inconsistent with the obligations of society. Roman catholic clergymen were to take an oath that they would not recommend, sanction, or concur in the appointment or consecration of any bishop, of whose loyalty they were not well informed. The episcopal functions were to be conferred only upon a natural-born subject, who had been resident in the kingdom five years immediately previous to consecration.—Mr Canning proposed also that no Roman catholic bishop should, in future, be appointed without a certificate of loyalty from five English or Irish catholic peers appointed by the crown. All bulls or briefs received from Rome were to be submitted to the examination of commissioners, consisting of the same catholic peers, two Roman catholic bishops, the Lord Chancellor,

and one of the secretaries of state.—To these propositions it was understood that Mr Grattan and his friends gave their consent.

Every thing had hitherto proceeded in a prosperous train; and the belief became general that the bill would be carried through with little opposition. Its fate, however, was very different. When the committee came to that clause, by which catholic members were to be admitted to sit in both houses of parliament, Mr Abbot, the Speaker, made a long and eloquent oration: He declared his willingness that the professors of this religion should be admitted to offices in the army and navy, and that the soldier should be protected in the exercise of his worship; but he deprecated their admission into parliament, where an able and eloquent leader might acquire the most dangerous ascendency. He warned the House against opening the flood-gates of innovation, which might not be easily closed; and he referred to circumstances, which gave reason to believe that even these ample concessions would give no satisfaction, on account of the conditions with which they were accompanied. This animated speech, from a person seldom accustomed to open his lips, made a strong impression on the House; and the clause was rejected, though by the majority only of 251 against 247.

This result was greatly aided by other important occurrences. The bill, being founded upon certain securities to be given by the Roman catholics, was, of course, nugatory, unless they agreed to give these securities. Their consent ought indeed to have been obtained before the bill was brought into parliament; but no sooner were its provisions made known on the other side of the channel, than they became the object of utter disgust and reprobation. The catholic body immediately assembled, and expressed these feelings in the most decided and unqualified manner. In vain did Mr Grattan insist, that the report of its proceedings was misrepresented, and even forged; that there existed in Ireland no spirit inimical to the bill. Every new arrival brought new proofs of its prevalence. Besides an aggregate meeting, an assembly of bishops was held, which spoke the same sentiments in a manner still less measured. Language seemed unequal to express the dismay and consternation with which the proposals filled them. The result of Mr Abbot's motion was celebrated in Ireland as a triumph. The most bitter enemy to the object of the bill did not feel any exultation at its failure, to be compared to that which was excited in the breasts of those for whose relief and benefit it was solely intended.

It seems impossible to deny the egregious mismanagement of those by whom the bill was drawn up and digested. As the whole was founded upon certain conditions, to which the catholics were to agree, they ought, before any legislative proceedings took place, to have ascertained whether these conditions would meet with general acceptance. There could not be the smallest difficulty or impropriety in doing this. These communications might have been committed to writing; and had the catholic leaders then attempted, from any motive, to retract or deny their consent, Mr Grattan would have been able to produce full proof of its having once been given. Nothing of this kind, however, was done, and Mr Grattan and his friends found themselves placed in the most awkward dilemma.

Such was the result of the proceedings in parliament during the present session for giving relief to the catholics of Ireland. The demagogues in Ireland, however, continued their labours, and made every effort to inflame the minds of the people. Among other

measures adopted by them, they thought fit to come to the following resolution, which excited the utmost astonishment :—" Resolved, That it be an instruction to the catholic board, to consider of the constitutional fitness and propriety of sending an earnest and pressing memorial to the Spanish Cortes, stating to them the enslaved and depressed state of their fellow-catholics in Ireland, with respect to their exclusion, on the score of their religion, from the benefits of the British constitution, and imploring their favourable intercession with their ally, our most gracious sovereign."—It is needless to add, that this resolution was viewed in England with contempt and indignation.

The public prints, in the service of the board, teemed with the wildest rhapsodies. In one of them it was hinted that Lord Wellington had designs on the crown of Spain, and was ready to become a catholic. The obvious tendency of this article was to sow dissension between the British and Spanish nations. In another of these vile performances, all men belonging to orange lodges were menaced with ruin in their different trades, and a plan to this effect was openly avowed. In a third, a supposed intention of the orangemen (men attached to the protestant constitution of the country) to parade round the statue of King William, was stigmatised in the most odious language. The Irish were often told that they alone atchieved every triumph of our arms,—that the English and Scots had little to do with them. Because the frigate which took the Chesapeake is named from an Irish river, her crew, it was pompously announced, had been chiefly collected from the banks of the Shannon.—Such were the mischievous absurdities which these patriots addressed to the prejudices and credulity of the vulgar.

The transactions of the catholic board had great influence in alienating from the petitioners many of their best friends; for, notwithstanding the ingenious apologies which were made for the conduct of this strange association, no man could hesitate, while "the Board" spoke, without contradiction, as the organ of the catholic body, to comprehend both in the same censure and condemnation. "It is not enough (it was justly observed) that the catholics should have their representative body, their congress and convention, and thus erect a kind of distinct government within this realm; but this convention must also send out its foreign ambassadors,—form foreign alliances,—and fulfil all the acts of an independent government. Is it nothing that the catholics of Ireland have delegated their influence to a body of men systematically organized, not to convey their wishes to parliament by petition, but to fill the functions of government, to act in the name, and by the authority, of the catholics of Ireland; to be the depository of their complaints, and the avenger of their wrongs; and so to represent them as that through the Board the whole body of catholics may be treated with either by a foreign power, or a parliamentary party? Is it nothing that a body exists, which can wield both the passions and the physical force of the catholic part of Ireland against the government at pleasure; which can fawn upon a prince when supposed to be favourable to their views, and offer him unconstitutional assistance; or when opposed to their claims can menace his government, and turn the whole tide of popular prejudice against him? And, to complete the whole, is it nothing, that a body should exist, which, having given plan and system to the whole mass of religious discontent in Ireland, shall at length stretch forth its arms to

foreign states that they may espouse its cause, recognise its existence, and support it against its own sovereign?"

It was impossible to resist the force of such reflections. The alarming spirit manifested by the catholics made a deep impression on the minds of all good men; and the plan of catholic emancipation, which had already attained such maturity, thus miscarried, chiefly by the folly and violence of those for whose relief it was intended.

CHAP. VI.

American Affairs. Declaration by the British Government of the Causes and Origin of the War with America. Discussions in Parliament on the Subject. Events of the War.

THE British government had unwillingly embarked in the war with America, and was still desirous of bringing the contest to a speedy and amicable conclusion. With this view negociations had been opened during the last year; but such were the pretensions of the American government, that every attempt at conciliation was frustrated. The British ministers were anxious to justify their conduct, on this occasion, in the face of the world; and to exhibit a fair account of the origin and causes of the war. On the 9th of January, therefore, they issued a Declaration on this subject, which contained an excellent summary of the whole of our transactions with America, and an ample vindication of the conduct of Great Britain.

The Declaration stated, that no desire of conquest could be imputed to Great Britain; that her commercial interests were on the side of peace, if war could have been avoided; that she had throughout acted towards the United States of America with a spirit of amity, forbearance, and conciliation. That it had been the invariable object of the ruler of France to destroy the power and independence of the British empire, as the chief obstacle to the accomplishment of his ambitious designs; that he first contemplated the possibility of assembling such a naval force in the channel, as, combined with a numerous flotilla, should enable him to disembark in England an army sufficient, in his conception, to subjugate this country; but by the adoption of an enlarged and provident system of internal defence, and by the valour of his majesty's fleets and armies, this design was entirely frustrated, and the naval force of France, after the most signal defeats, was compelled to retire from the ocean. That an attempt was then made to effectuate the same purpose by other means; a system was brought forward, by which the ruler of France hoped to annihilate the commerce of Great Britain, to shake her public credit, and to destroy her revenue; to render useless her maritime superiority, and so to avail himself of his continental ascendancy, as to constitute himself, in a great measure, the arbiter of the ocean, notwithstanding the destruction of his fleets.

That with this view, by the decree of Berlin, followed by that of Milan, he declared the British territories to be in a state of blockade; and all commerce, or even correspondence, with Great Britain was prohibited. He decreed that every vessel and cargo which had entered, or was found proceeding to a British port, or which, under any circumstances, had been visited by a British ship of war, should be lawful prize. He declared all British goods and produce, wherever found, and however acquired, subject to confiscation. He further denationalized the flag of all neutral ships which should be found offending against these his decrees; and he gave to this project of universal tyranny, the name of "the Continental System."

That under circumstances of unparalleled provocation, his majesty had abstained from any measure which the ordinary rules of the law of nations did not fully warrant. Never was the maritime superiority of a belligerent over the enemy more complete and decided than was that of Great Britain; and France had already trampled so openly and systematically on the most sacred rights of neutral powers, as might well have justified the placing her out of the pale of civilized nations. Yet, in this extreme case, Great Britain had so used her naval ascendancy, that her enemy could find no just cause of complaint; and in order to give to these lawless decrees the appearance of retaliation, the ruler of France was obliged to advance principles of maritime law, unsanctioned by any other authority than his own arbitrary will.

That against these decrees his majesty protested and appealed; he called upon the United States to assert their own rights, and to vindicate their independence, thus menaced and attacked. The order of January 1807, was then issued, as an act of mitigated retaliation, after which followed the order of the 11th November, of the same year. At the same time his majesty intimated his readiness to repeal the orders in council, so soon as France should rescind her decrees, and return to the accustomed principles of maritime warfare; and afterwards, the operation of the orders in council was, by an order issued in April 1809, limited to a blockade of France, and of the countries subjected to her immediate dominion.—That systems of violence, oppression, and tyranny, can never be suppressed, if the power against which such injustice is exercised, be debarred from the right of full and adequate retaliation.—That the government of the United States did not fail to remonstrate against the orders in council of Great Britain. Applying most unjustly the same measure of resentment to the aggressor, and to the party aggrieved, it adopted measures of commercial resistance against both—a system of resistance which, however varied in the successive acts of embargo, non-intercourse, or non-importation, was evidently unequal in its operation, and principally levelled against the superior commerce and maritime power of Great Britain.

That the same partiality towards France was observable in negociation as in the measures of alleged resistance.—Application was made to both belligerents for a revocation of their respective edicts; but the terms in which these applications were made were widely different.—Of France was required a revocation only of the Berlin and Milan decrees, although many other edicts, grossly violating the neutral commerce of the United States, had been promulgated by that power. No security was demanded, that the Berlin and Milan decrees, even if revoked, should not, under some other form, be re-established; and a direct engagement was offered, that upon

such revocation the American government would take part in the war against Great Britain, if Great Britain did not immediately rescind her orders. No corresponding engagement was offered to Great Britain, of whom it was required, not only that the orders in council should be repealed, but that no others of a similar nature should be issued, and that the blockade of May 1806 should be also abandoned. This blockade, established and enforced according to accustomed practice, had not been objected to by the United States at the time it was issued. Its provisions were on the contrary represented by the American minister resident in London at the time, to have been so framed, as to afford, in his judgment, a proof of the friendly disposition of the British cabinet towards the United States.—Great Britain was thus called upon to abandon one of her most important maritime rights, by acknowledging the order of blockade in question to be one of the edicts which violated the commerce of the United States, although it had never been so considered in the previous negociations, and although the president of the United States had recently consented to abrogate the non-intercourse act, on the sole condition of the orders in council being revoked, thereby distinctly admitting these orders to be the only edicts, which fell within the contemplation of the law, under which he acted.—That a proposition so hostile to Great Britain could not but be encouraging to the pretensions of the enemy; as, by thus alledging that the blockade of May 1806 was illegal, the American government virtually justified, so far as depended on them, the French decrees.

That after this proposition had been made, the French minister for foreign affairs, if not in concert with the American government, at least in conformity with its views, in a dispatch dated the 5th of August 1810, and addressed to the American minister resident at Paris, stated that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, and that their operation would cease from the 1st day of November following, provided his majesty would revoke his orders in council, and renounce the new principles of blockade; or that the United States would cause their rights to be respected; meaning thereby, that they would resist the retaliatory measures of Great Britain.—That although the repeal of the French decrees thus announced was evidently contingent, either on concessions to be made by Great Britain, (concessions to which it was obvious Great Britain could not submit) or on measures to be adopted by the United States of America, the American President at once considered the repeal as absolute. Under that pretence the non-importation act was strictly enforced against Great Britain, whilst the ships of war and merchant ships of the enemy were received into the harbours of America.—The American government assuming the repeal of the French decrees to be absolute and effectual, most unjustly required Great Britain, in conformity to her declarations, to revoke her orders in council. The British government denied that the repeal, which was announced in the letter of the French minister for foreign affairs, was such as ought to satisfy Great Britain; and in order to ascertain the true character of the measure adopted by France, the government of the United States was called upon to produce the instrument, by which the alledged repeal of the French decrees had been effected. If these decrees were really revoked, such an instrument must exist, and no satisfactory reason could be given for withholding it.

That at length, on the 21st of May 1812, and not before, the American minister in London did produce a copy, or at least what purported to be a copy, of such an instrument. It professed to bear date the 28th of April 1811, long subsequent to the dispatch of the French minister for foreign affairs of the 5th of August 1810, or even the day named therein, viz. the 1st November following, when the operation of the French decrees was to cease. This instrument expressly declared that these French decrees were repealed in consequence of the American legislature having, by their act of the 1st of March 1811, provided that British ships and merchandize should be excluded from the ports and harbours of the United States.

That by this instrument, (the only document produced by America as a repeal of the French decrees,) it appeared beyond a possibility of doubt or cavil, that the alledged repeal of the French decrees was conditional, as Great Britain had asserted; and not absolute or final, as had been maintained by America; that they were not repealed at the time they were stated to be repealed by the American government; that they were not repealed in conformity with a proposition simultaneously made to both belligerents, but in consequence of a previous act on the part of the American government in favour of one belligerent to the prejudice of the other. That the American government having adopted measures restrictive upon the commerce of both belligerents, in consequence of edicts issued by both, rescinded these measures as they affected that power which was the aggressor, whilst it put them in full operation against the party aggrieved, although the edicts of both powers continued in force; and, lastly, that they excluded the ships of war belonging to one belligerent, whilst they admitted into their ports and harbours the ships of war belonging to the other, in violation of one of the plainest and most essential duties of a neutral nation.

That although the instrument thus produced was liable to the strongest suspicions, yet as it was presented by the American minister, the British government conditionally revoked the orders in council; and in order to provide for the contingency of a declaration of war on the part of the United States, previous to the arrival in America of the said order of revocation, instructions were sent to his majesty's minister plenipotentiary accredited to the United States (the execution of which instructions, in consequence of the discontinuance of Mr Foster's functions, was at a subsequent period entrusted to admiral Sir John Borlase Warren) directing him to propose a cessation of hostilities should they have commenced; and further to offer a simultaneous repeal of the orders in council on one side, and of the restrictive laws on British ships and commerce on the other. They were also respectively empowered to acquaint the American government, in reply to any enquiries with respect to the blockade of May 1806, that whilst the British government must continue to maintain its legality, yet in point of fact this particular blockade had been discontinued for a length of time, and that his majesty's government had no intention of recurring to this, or to any other of the blockades of the enemy's ports, without a new notice to neutral powers in the usual form.

That the American government, before receiving intimation of the course adopted by Great Britain, had in fact proceeded to the extreme measure of declaring war, and issuing letters of marque, notwithstanding they

were previously in possession of the report of the French minister for foreign affairs of the 12th of March 1812, promulgating anew the Berlin and Milan decrees, as fundamental laws of the French empire. That in a manifesto, accompanying their declaration of hostilities, in addition to the former complaints against the orders of council, a long list of grievances was brought forward; some trivial in themselves, others which had been mutually adjusted, but none of them such as were ever before alledged by the American government to be grounds for war. And that, as if to throw additional obstacles in the way of peace, the American congress at the same time passed a law, prohibiting all intercourse with Great Britain, and this law was declared unalterable until congress should reassemble.

That the president of the United States did indeed propose to Great Britain an armistice, but on the most extravagant conditions, viz. that the right of search to take from American merchant vessels, British seamen, the natural born subjects of his majesty, should be abandoned, and that indemnity should be given for all captures under such blockades as the American government was pleased to describe as illegal.—That the proposal of an armistice, and of a simultaneous repeal of the restrictive measures on both sides subsequently made by the commanding officer of his majesty's naval forces on the American coast, was received in the same hostile spirit by the government of the United States. The right of search on the part of Great Britain, a right which she acknowledges on the part of America, was to be abandoned as a preliminary, although America had never explained the nature of the regulations which she proposed to substitute in its place. That while this proposition, transmitted through the British admiral, was under discussion in America, another communication on the subject of an armistice was unofficially made to the British government in this country, by an agent who had no authority to bind the government of the United States, and whose proposition was of course declined.

That Great Britain now felt herself called upon to declare the leading principles by which her conduct had been regulated in the transactions connected with these discussions.

That she can never acknowledge any blockade to be illegal, which has been duly notified, and is supported by an adequate force, merely upon the ground of its extent, or because the ports or coasts blockaded are not at the same time invested by land. She can never admit, that neutral trade with Great Britain can be constituted a public crime, the commission of which can expose the ships of any power to be denationalized. She can never admit, that she can be debarred of her right of just and necessary retaliation, through the fear of eventually affecting the interest of a neutral. Or that, in the exercise of the undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching neutral merchant vessels in time of war, the impressment of British seamen, when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag.

That there is no right more clearly established, than that which a sovereign has to the allegiance of his subjects, more especially in time of war. If a similarity of language and manners may make the exercise of this right more liable to partial mistakes, and occasional abuse, when practised towards vessels of the United States, the same circumstances make it also a right, with the exercise of which, in regard to such vessels, it is more difficult to dispense. But, if to the practice of the United States to harbour British seamen, be added their assumed right

to transfer the allegiance of British subjects, and thus to cancel the jurisdiction of their legitimate sovereign, by acts of naturalization and certificates of citizenship, which they pretend to be as valid out of their own territory as within it, it is obvious that to abandon this ancient right of Great Britain, and to admit these novel pretensions of the United States, would be to expose to danger the very foundations of our maritime strength.

That whatever the declaration of the United States may have asserted, Great Britain never did demand that neutrals should force British manufactures into France; and she formally declared her willingness to forego, or modify, in concert with the United States, the system, by which a commercial intercourse with the enemy had been allowed, under the protection of licences, provided the United States would act towards her, and towards France, with real impartiality.

That the government of America, if the differences between states are not interminable, had no right to notice the affair of the Chesapeake. The aggression in this instance, on the part of a British officer, was acknowledged, his conduct was disapproved, and a reparation was regularly tendered by Mr Foster, on the part of his majesty, and accepted by the government of the United States.—That the American government was not less unwarranted in its allusion to the mission of Mr Henry; a mission undertaken without the authority, or even knowledge, of his majesty's government, and which Mr Foster was authorised formally and officially to disavow.—That the charge of exciting the Indians to offensive measures against the United States was equally void of foundation. Before the war began, a policy the most opposite had been uniformly pursued, and a proof of this was tendered by Mr Foster to the American government.

That although such were the causes of the war put forward by the government of America, yet the real origin of the contest would be found in that spirit which had long unhappily actuated the councils of the United States; their marked partiality in palliating and assisting the aggressive tyranny of France; their systematic endeavour to inflame the people against the defensive measures of Great Britain; their ungenerous conduct towards Spain, the intimate ally of Great Britain; and their unworthy desertion of the cause of other neutral nations, for which America had been so justly condemned in the eyes of the world. It was through the prevalence of such councils that America had been associated in policy with France, and committed in war against Great Britain.—And under what conduct on the part of France had the government of the United States thus lent itself to the enemy? The contemptuous violation of the commercial treaty of the year 1800, between France and the United States; the treacherous seizure of all American vessels and cargoes in every harbour subject to the controul of France; the tyrannical principles of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the confiscations under them; the subsequent condemnations under the Rambouillet decree, antedated or concealed to render it the more effectual; the French commercial regulations which rendered the traffic of the United States with France almost illusory; the burning of their merchant ships at sea, long after the alleged repeal of the French decrees—these, and many similar outrages, were the inducements which France held out to conciliate the friendship of America. All these acts of violence on the part of France produced from the government of the

United States, only such complaints as ended in acquiescence and submission, or were accompanied by suggestions for enabling France to give the semblance of a legal form to her usurpations by converting them into municipal regulations.—That this disposition of the government of the United States—this complete subserviency to the ruler of France—this hostile temper towards Great Britain, were evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French government.

Against this course of conduct, the real cause of the war, Great Britain solemnly protested. While contending against France, in defence not only of her own liberties, but of those of the world, she was entitled to look for a far different result. Disappointed in this expectation however, Great Britain declared her unalterable resolution to pursue the policy which she had so long maintained, in repelling injustice and in supporting the general rights of nations.

This declaration having been laid before parliament, an address was moved to the Prince Regent, approving of its principles, and expressing a determination to support the executive government in the conduct of the war. There was but little difference of opinion on this point; the principles avowed by government could neither be mistaken nor impeached; but the want of vigour which had been discovered in the conduct of the war was severely arraigned, even by some eminent persons not unfriendly to the administration.—One thousand soldiers, it was observed, four or five frigates to guard an extent of coast of 1500 miles, and a revenue of two millions and a half of dollars have been described as the means physical and pecuniary of which the United States were in possession when they declared war against this country. Undoubtedly no man could hear the statement without exclaiming, "And could a nation so circumstanced venture upon a war with the mighty empire of Great Britain with the most distant prospect of success?" Unluckily it did. The unwelcome truth could not be concealed. Two of these four or five frigates had captured two frigates from the British navy. Vigorous measures becoming this great nation might have averted disasters which must have the effect of prolonging hostilities. It was no answer to say that our navy was immense, but that it was proportionably extended on the different stations. The nation complained not of the naval department, but of the policy which controuled its operations. It complained that the arm which should have launched the thunderbolt was occupied in guiding the pen; that admiral Warren was busied in negociating, when he ought to have been burning, sinking, and destroying. Admiral Warren sailed from this country in the middle of August, and on the 27th of September he reached Halifax with his squadron, where he employed himself in writing dispatches to the American government; while Commodore Rogers on the 10th of October sailed unmolested from Boston. But we waited, it seems, to be quite sure that we were actually at war. Granting, for argument's sake, that in the first instance there might not be full conviction of the certainty of war, yet even after the American declaration was received in the end of July, no hostile measure was resorted to by this country, till the 14th of October, when letters of marque were issued, upon the receipt of the intelligence (and, as might be not unfairly suspected, in consequence of that intelligence) that the Guerriere frigate had been captured by the Americans.—What was the next advance towards actual blockade? The blockade of the Chesapeak was

determined upon, and the order in council announcing that blokade was issued; when?—the day after the arrival of the intelligence that the Macedonian, another of our frigates, had fallen into the power of the republic. The loss of these two fine vessels produced a sensation in the country scarcely to be equalled by the most violent convulsion of nature. No one could attribute the slightest blame to our gallant sailors; they always do their duty; but neither was it possible to agree with those who complained that the consternation throughout Great Britain was greater than the occasion justified. Who could represent the losses as insignificant, and the feelings of indignation occasioned by them as exaggerated and extravagant? That indignation was a wholesome feeling which ought to be cherished and maintained. It could not be too deeply felt that the sacred spell of the invincibility of the British navy was broken by those unfortunate captures; and however speedily we might all wish the war to terminate, the desire could not be considered as sanguinary and unfeeling, that it might not be concluded before we had re-established the character of our naval superiority, and smothered in victories the disasters which we had now to lament, and to which we were so little habituated.—If it be true, in general, that indecision and delay are the parents of failure; that they take every possible chance of detriment to the cause in which they are employed, and afford every advantage and encouragement to the adversary; it was peculiarly true, in the present instance, that promptitude and vigour afforded the surest pledge of success in the war. If, while the elections were pending, the result of which was to place Mr Madison, the arch-enemy of this country, in the president's chair, a decisive blow had been struck by this country, the tide of popular opinion in America might have been turned, and the consequences of a long and ruinous war might have been avoided. It was to be lamented, for the general happiness of mankind, that no such vigorous exertion was attempted; for if some signal act of vengeance had been inflicted on any part of the United States, exposed to maritime attack, but particularly on any portion of their territory where there prevailed the greatest attachment to the interests of France, it would have at least been a useful warning, and might have prevented the continuance of the contest, if it had not prevented its commencement. Forbearance in war is wholly impolitic, and where vigour has a tendency to decide the contest, hesitation is cruelty.—Hostilities were, however, continued, although upon such a small scale as suited the resources of America. The American frigates were still distinguished by activity and success; and the British were to be again astonished by the advantage which one of these was to gain over their own navy, so long deemed invincible. The British frigate Java, of 38 guns, sailed from Spithead early in November of the preceding year, for the purpose of conveying Lieut.-General Hislop to Bombay. She was met off the coast of Brazil by the Constitution; and after a furious action, in which Captain Lambert and many of his officers and men were killed, she was set on fire and blown up. To the superior weight of metal of the Constitution, and the enterprize of the Americans in pushing out on such distant and unexpected attempts, was to be attributed this melancholy event. Yet it did seem extraordinary, that, with so great a British force on the American coast, the frigates of the latter power should have had the good fortune of so frequently sailing from and returning into their own ports, without being met by any of the cruisers on that station.

Such were the reflections very generally made on the subject of the naval war with America.—Of the military events of the year, a very brief summary will be sufficient.

The Americans made extraordinary efforts to retrieve the overwhelming and shameful disasters of the former campaign; and they were soon able, from a numerous though scattered population, to re-assemble an army which greatly outnumbered that ranged under the British standard. A large force, collected from the back settlements, again approached Detroit, in the hope of wiping off that signal dishonour which had been there sustained. Colonel Proctor, who commanded the British, judged it inexpedient to delay his operations till the whole of the enemy's troops could be brought forward. Making a vigorous forward movement, he, on the 22d of January, attacked the American advanced-guard, under General Winchester, amounting to upwards of 1000 men, which was posted at French Town, on the river Raisin. The Americans, though they found in the houses and inclosures of the village an advantageous defensive position, were yet unable to withstand the impetuosity of British valour. They were not only defeated, but entirely cut off. All who were not killed or wounded in the action were taken prisoners; and in this number was General Winchester himself. This brilliant exploit placed the Detroit frontier for the present in a state of security.

The Americans, in the mean time, maintained also a force upon the branch of the St Lawrence which connects the Lakes Ontario and Erie; and a large detachment, posted at Ogdenburgh, availed itself of the frozen state of the river to make incursions on the opposite bank. In order to put a stop to these inroads, Sir George Prevost directed Major Macdonell, of the Glengary fencibles, to dislodge them from that post. His instructions were executed in the most gallant and successful manner; the enemy were driven from their position, and were enabled only by the accidental absence of the Indian auxiliaries to effect their escape into the woods. This action was distinguished by the heroic valour of Captain Jenkins, who, after having an arm shot off, continued still to rush forward and cheer his men to the attack; and even when he had received another severe wound, did not desist till exhaustion and loss of blood rendered him unable to move.—The Americans after this check did not repeat their inroads.

As the season advanced, however, forces accumulated from the different states, and their numbers again became decidedly superior to those of the British. General Dearborn, in the end of April, set sail on Lake Ontario with 5000 men, and baffling the vigilance of the British flotilla, landed his forces in the vicinity of York, near the head of the lake, being the place of greatest importance in that part of Canada. General Sheaffe, who had not a thousand men, was compelled, after a gallant resistance, to evacuate the place; and the Americans thus at last obtained a firm footing on the north bank of the St Lawrence.—About the same time, General Vincent was obliged, by a still greater superiority of force, to abandon Fort St George, which formed the main point of defence on the Niagara frontier. To these disasters was added the failure of an attempt made by Colonel Baynes to obtain possession of Sackett's Harbour. The detachment was landed, and the enemy were driven with loss into their block-houses and batteries; but these were found so strong, that it would have been an useless waste of men to attempt storming them. The British force was therefore re-embarked.

Even under this overwhelming pressure, however, British valour and enterprize soon produced a reaction. The enemy having advanced beyond Forty Mile Creek to attack General Vincent, who was posted at Burlington, the latter came upon them by surprise on the night of the 5th June, totally defeated them, and forced them to retire with precipitation. As the Indians and the squadron under Sir James Yeo now operated on their rear, they were compelled to fall back upon Niagara, and had to maintain in their retreat a series of unsuccessful actions, in which they lost a great part of their army, with almost all their artillery and baggage. The British force advanced, and held them nearly in a state of blockade. Landings were effected by the British at Sodus, at the Genessee river, and at Plattsburgh; the stores and provisions at these places were destroyed or carried off. Hopes were now entertained that the troops occupying Niagara might be cut off, and compelled to surrender.

A change of fortune, however, immediately followed. It began with the army on the Detroit frontier, which till now had been uniformly victorious. Colonel Proctor having been almost compelled by the solicitations of the Indians, and of some ill-disciplined militia, to make an attempt on the fort of Sundusky, was repulsed with loss. The troops were disheartened by this unwonted reverse; and the American general, Harrison, pressing on at the head of 10,000 men, forced them to retreat in confusion. The country being unfavourable to this movement, he overtook, surrounded, and made them prisoners; the general, with a few attendants, only escaping.

This disaster was followed by another, still more unexpected and mortifying. Whatever might be the numerical superiority of the Americans on land, it seemed reasonable to expect that on another element Great Britain would always maintain the predominance. On Lake Erie, however, the case was reversed. This unpropitious circumstance is said to have been occasioned by a delay in the transmission of a dispatch from Sir G. Prevost to Admiral Warren, demanding a reinforcement of shipping. The consequence was, that nine American vessels were, on the 10th September, met only by six British. The unequal contest was gallantly maintained: the Lawrence, the American commander's vessel, at one time struck, but the British were not able to take possession of her; relieved by the other ships, she again came into action; and the result was, that the British squadron, after being reduced to a state of almost complete wreck, fell entirely into the hands of the enemy. This success gave to the Americans the complete command of Lake Erie; combined with the defeat of Col. Proctor, it rendered them masters of Upper Canada. They were seized with that excess of exultation, to which popular governments are liable; they already considered all Canada as their own, and publicly announced their intention of taking Montreal, as their winter quarters.

The preparations by which these magnificent promises were to be supported, appeared not altogether inadequate to their fulfilment. Three armies, each amounting to nearly 10,000 men, marched in the end of October, from different points, upon Lower Canada. While General Harrison proceeded along Lake Erie, General Wilkinson embarked his division upon Lake Ontario, and General Hampton marched to Montreal. These troops, however, were formidable only in number, and possessed no qualities which could enable them to stand the shock of troops under British discipline. Hampton's whole corps was arrested for a day by

300 Canadian militia; and additional forces coming up, he immediately fell back, and evacuated the province. Wilkinson succeeded in effecting a landing near Kingston. But Lieut.-Colonel Morrison, who was stationed at that place with a small detachment, immediately followed him, and an action took place near Chrystler's Farm, twenty miles above Cornwall. The American army, six times superior in numbers, was totally routed, with the loss of 1000 men. The enemy precipitately crossed the St Lawrence, and, abandoning his boats, retreated by a difficult country to Plattsburg.

The disasters of the enemy did not stop here. On the 25th December, a British and Indian force having surprised Fort Niagara, destroyed or made prisoners the whole garrison. The British then crossed the river, attacked General Hull, who had collected about 2000 men on the other side, and put him totally to the rout.—The present year, therefore, terminated in a manner as brilliant for the British arms as the preceding.

Thus, amid partial reverses, the campaign by land was, on the whole, glorious and fortunate for Great Britain. At sea, too, she regained that ascendancy which naturally belonged to her. The first instance in which this superiority was established, was attended with circumstances particularly gratifying. Captain Broke, of the Shannon frigate, with another small vessel attending him, had been cruising for some time near the harbour of Boston, where the Chesapeake frigate then lay. The latter, though much superior, particularly in men, did not venture to come out. Captain Broke, however, was anxious to make a fair trial of the valour of the combatants. On the 1st of June he dismissed the vessel which accompanied him, and, with the Shannon alone, drew up before the harbour of Boston, in a posture of defiance. The Chesapeake accepted the challenge; she came out to decide, as it were, by single combat, this contest between the two nations in maritime prowess. The coast was entirely lined by the inhabitants, who could observe with ease all the vicissitudes of a combat so interesting. The issue remained not long in suspense. The two vessels came almost immediately in contact, and Captain Broke, observing that the enemy at this critical moment flinched from their guns, gave immediate orders for boarding. In less than ten minutes the whole of the British crew were on the decks of the Chesapeake. In two minutes more, the enemy, after a desperate but disorderly resistance, was driven from every post, and the Americans from the shore beheld the British colours flying over the vessel, which had just left their harbour in full assurance of victory.

The arrival of Admiral Warren at Bermuda had now established the naval superiority of Britain in these seas; and the question was, how the Americans might be best made to feel it? With this view a squadron of light vessels was sent up the Chesapeake, the grand inlet of the North American States. This squadron made successful descents at various havens along its coasts, and upon the rivers at its head. Wherever the British landed, they took possession of the vessels and all public property, without doing any further injury to the inhabitants. An attempt upon Carney Island did not succeed; but Kent and Swan Islands were taken and fortified, and establishments were thus formed at the very head of the bay.—Upon the whole, considerable injury was done to the enemy by these operations, and great alarm excited; but no vital point was reached, nor were any of the grand objects of the war materially promoted. This desultory and

coasting warfare, though a favourite with the British public, is never likely to lead to any important result. Its successes are superficial and transient, while, though the suffering and alarm inflicted may tend in some measure to dispose the minds of the people to peace, this effect must be greatly counteracted by the irritation which is excited. No very beneficial effect has ever attended its adoption, either on the old or new continent.

Such is a brief sketch of the military and naval events of the year, connected with the American continent, which it seemed proper to record without interruption. It becomes necessary now to advert to some proceedings which took place in England, and in America, relating to this unhappy contest.

On the 14th of May, Lord Darnley made a motion in the House of Lords, for a select committee to enquire into the state of the war with America, and into the naval administration of the country, against which some of the accidental triumphs of the Americans had raised a very general outcry. In support of the motion, it was maintained, that "ministers must have been aware that war could not fail, at no distant period, to be the result of their own measures, combined with the hostile feeling of the ruling party in the United States. This being the case, how were they prepared to meet it? With respect to Canada, the events which had happened there had greatly added to the reputation of our arms. But with regard to our naval force, how were we prepared? It appeared, that in the months of April, May, June, and July last year, during a part of which period there must have been every expectation of the near approach of war, and during the latter part of which the war had actually commenced, there were under Admiral Sawyer, on the Halifax station, (exclusive of smaller vessels,) one ship of the line and five frigates. That so small a force only should have been stationed there, when a timely reinforcement might have achieved the most important objects, loudly called for enquiry. If a force of five ships of the line, seventeen frigates, and an adequate number of smaller vessels, had been on the Halifax station at the time the war broke out, the whole coast of the United States might have been immediately blockaded. Had this been done, the American frigates in port must have remained there—those which had sailed must have been captured in their return—the American commerce would have been destroyed—their customs, upon which they relied for their revenue, would have failed, and with this succession of disasters, the ruling party in the United States would have been forced out of power, and by this time we should have had peace. It might be said, that the amount of the force on the Halifax station was equal to that of the American navy, and, judging from what had formerly occurred, five of our frigates might be deemed equal to five of our enemy's frigates; but was the quality of our force in this instance equal to that with which it had to contend? Had it not, on the contrary, long since been a matter of notoriety, that the American frigates were greatly superior to ours in size and weight of metal?—"War," continued the supporters of the motion, "was declared against Great Britain by the United States, on the 18th of June; the official intelligence of this fact reached government on the 30th of July, and notwithstanding the incalculable importance of this event, parliament was prorogued on that very day. War then having been declared on the 18th of June, what was done by way of instant retaliation? Nothing; and it was not until the 13th of October that letters of marque and

reprisal were issued; how the interval was employed the country required an explanation. Still, however, the same dilatory system was pursued, and more than two months elapsed before the Chesapeake and Delaware were declared to be blockaded, the notification being dated the 26th of December. Although ministers were made acquainted with the quality of the American naval force, they took no steps to place our shipping upon an equal footing, by giving them additional guns upon deck; and the vessels upon a new construction, that were built expressly to cope with the American frigates, were not to be launched until October. In pursuance of the feeble and indecisive plan which had been observed since the commencement of hostilities, on the 13th of March, 1813, certain other ports of the United States were declared to be blockaded, but Rhode Island and Newport yet remained open, and in the the latter, the American frigate, after the capture of the Macedonian, actually refitted. Was this the mode in which the affairs of Great Britain, at a crisis like the present, ought to be conducted? Every thing which bravery could accomplish had been done by the officers and seamen; our disasters were solely attributable to the ministers. On a reference to the London Gazette, it would be found that many of the circumstances attending the capture of all our frigates were similar; they were all crippled in their rigging, and dismasted early in the action, disasters arising partly from the commanding height of the ships of the enemy, and partly from their greater weight of metal, while the shot from our smaller guns produced comparatively little effect upon the masts of our antagonists. To ascertain satisfactorily the causes of this superiority, was surely of great importance. If it were urged, that we had not seamen to man new frigates to contend with America, it might be replied, that many small vessels were now uselessly employed upon various stations, the crews of which might be turned over to our larger vessels, and might thus be rendered useful to their country, instead of wasting their years in inglorious idleness. If proper measures had been adopted at an early period, the enemy's privateers and ships of war would have been confined within their ports, and the list of our captured vessels could not have been swelled to the present enormous and melancholy amount. From the returns, it appeared, that 382 of our valuable merchantmen had been captured, only 80 of which had been retaken. The chief cause of these losses was the deficiency of force on the various stations at Jamaica and the Leeward Islands; for instance, the national flag of the British empire had been lately known to wave upon a vessel of less than forty tons burden. While ministers were thus negligent of our external commerce, they were not more vigilant in the protection and support of our domestic manufactures. American cotton, by a system of policy that could not be too severely reprobated, had, until lately, been allowed to be imported, to the great detriment of our own colonies, and to the great advantage of the territory of our enemies.

"Another part of the subject, of not less importance than those already noticed, and upon which detailed enquiries were absolutely necessary, was the management of our dock-yards, and the general system pursued with regard to the construction of our ships. Several men of war recently built had, after one voyage, been laid up as unfit for further service, in consequence of the badness of the materials.—All these were matters that demanded enquiry, as well indeed as the whole

conduct of the Navy Board, which was principally distinguished for an obstinate adherence to old systems, long exploded in every other country of Europe, and for a determined opposition to all kinds of improvement."

To these charges it was answered, "that it would indeed be a circumstance tending to criminate the administration of the country, if, while they were apprised that war was inevitable, they had not kept a sufficient force on the coasts of the American states. For some time before the war, the government of the United States, indeed, indicated any thing but a spirit of friendship towards this country. Such, however, was not the general opinion, and it was at that time confidently asserted, that the revocation of the orders in council would prove sufficient to pacify America. In this hope we had been disappointed, for, although the pretext which was once rested upon as a sufficient ground for hostilities, had been taken away, the Americans still maintained a furious opposition to those naval rights, on the integrity of which our safety as a nation depends. That it was the duty of government to have been always ready with a fleet sufficient to blockade all the ports of America, would hardly be maintained. It was its duty, no doubt, to keep on the American station at all times a sufficient force to check the navy of America, and to protect the trade of his majesty's subjects. But it was at the same time the duty of government, as far as was consistent with the security of the country, to abridge the naval force, and to give all the efficiency possible to another branch of the service, of which the exertions were now of such eminent importance. It had been said, that ships ought to have been taken from other quarters at the commencement of the war, and applied to the stations in question. But this could not be done, unless the force on other stations had been more than sufficient for its object, which never had been the case. At Toulon the enemy had been fitting out 20 ships of the line; and in this as well as many other places the blockading force was less than the force blockaded. The season of the year, it might be also observed, at which the Americans, with a view to their own advantage, had declared war, was such that all our vessels had been previously dispatched to their several stations, whence they could not be speedily recalled. • Now, under all these circumstances, had the events of the war been such as to warrant enquiry? It had been said, that the force on the American station at the commencement of the war was inadequate. The Americans did not think it so; for, before declaring war, their vessels escaped from the Chesapeake, which was a port liable to be blockaded. They did not attempt to fight our squadron, but wished to go after the trading vessels; they went after the Jamaica squadron, but found it sufficiently guarded, and were chased by the British ships. They had never dared to attack the British squadron when united, but they took advantage of its dispersion.—The Guerriere, one of the frigates alluded to, had but a few days before been in company with the other ships, but being separated by a gale, was, after an action of which no one could speak too highly, taken by a vessel of superior force. This might have happened whatever had been the force of the British vessels. It was absurd to talk of blockading the American ports. What had passed within the last 20 years might have been sufficient to dissuade us from such an attempt, since we had seen, notwithstanding the endeavours of our blockading squadrons, vessels taken on our very

coasts. If the government had before the war sent, as it was now contended they ought to have done, a force sufficient to blockade the ports of America, while they were doing every thing consistent with national honour to accommodate the differences between this country, how eagerly would this circumstance have been laid hold of as the symptom of a hostile spirit?—Because the crew of the Java had been composed in a great degree of young men, this circumstance could not be adduced as a proof that there was not among them many experienced seamen.—Was it contended, that we should alter the classes of ships in the British navy, merely because there were three American vessels of unusual dimensions? If there was a subject on which all naval officers were agreed, it was this—that it was improper to multiply the classes of vessels. It was far better to send out 74's on the station, than to set about building ships which would be fit to cope only with the American navy. As to the advice to diminish the number of small vessels, no experienced person could adopt it. At this time small craft were in great demand, to protect our trade from the privateers and other small vessels of the enemy.—As to the assertion, that the balance of captures since the declaration of war was in favour of the Americans, the fact was directly the reverse. On this part of the question a most satisfactory argument might be deduced from the rates of insurance. The rate for ships convoyed was but one per cent. higher than it was a year ago. The number of this description of ships captured had been unusually small, and it was not to be wondered at, that of those which ran from their convoy some should be taken, or that when the convoy was dispersed by gales of wind, the enemy should sometimes pick up a few stragglers.—It had been made a charge against the ministers, that the letters of marque and reprisal were not issued till October, although intelligence of the war was received in July. But by this delay, which was allowed to take place with the view of ascertaining the reception given to propositions of amity from the British government, no detriment had been occasioned; for so soon as the intelligence of the declaration of war had reached this country, orders were issued to detain all American vessels, thus insuring all the advantages which could be obtained by letters of marque.—As to the military force again, it had not indeed conquered the United States; but it was not intended for conquest,—it was intended for the defence of his majesty's dominions there, and this object it had effected.—It was not fair to infer that, because the blockade of the American ports was not notified in the London Gazette, armed vessels could go out and in without danger.—As to the loss of the Java, the court-martial which met in consequence of that event, would, if it had been attended with circumstances of neglect of any kind, have reported to that effect.—In the construction of our vessels we had been represented as very deficient, and the public offices were said to be so wedded to old customs, that no good could ever be effected. The truth is, that in the modelling of vessels the French and other nations were superior to us; but in the execution we were as superior to them. But in pursuance of a report of the commissioners of revision, measures had been taken which would remedy the defect even in the scientific part. To build ships hastily was in ordinary times ruinous, although when the enemy made unusual exertions in this way, we were obliged, in order to meet them, to follow his example. The decay of some of our ships had indeed been very rapid; but a plan

for preventing it had been submitted to the judgment of those whose duty it was to enquire into the subject. As to the most convenient weight of guns, there were very different opinions among the officers of the navy. Some officers extolled heavy metal very much, while nine out of ten of the commanders would rather go to sea without guns of that kind.—Upon the whole it was contended that the motion was altogether unnecessary." The motion was accordingly negatived.

On opening the American congress, Mr Madison, as usual, presented a very elaborate philippic against this country, which contained among others the following passage: "The British cabinet must be sensible, that with respect to the important question of impressment, on which the war so essentially turns, a search for, or seizure of, British persons or property, on board neutral vessels on the high seas, *is not a belligerent right*, derived from the law of nations; and it is obvious, that no visit, or search, or use of force for any purpose, on board the vessel of an independent power on the high seas, can in war or peace be sanctioned by the laws or authority of another power."

Thus Buonaparte and Mr Madison professed the same principles, and pursued the same object. Both would have deprived Great Britain of the right of search, by establishing the principle, that free bottoms should make free goods—the maxim extending to the persons as well as to the property on board. But a nation engaged in hostilities with another nation has a right to the support of all her subjects, and to take them where-ever she can find them. The declaration of opposite principles, by the American government, precluded of course all hopes of an amicable arrangement.

Yet, although such was the spirit displayed by the general government of the United States, a considerable proportion of the people continued hostile to the war. Their burdens were increasing—their disasters had been severe—the advantages gained by their arms comparatively unimportant; and Mr Madison's partizans had some difficulty in managing them. To animate their zeal various devices were resorted to: Among others the appointment of a committee of congress to report in formal array the alleged outrages committed by this country. Even this expedient, however, failed of effect: And the Americans at last applied to the Emperor of Russia to interfere as a mediator betwixt them and Great Britain. But the British government had wisely determined never to submit to the judgment of any neutral power the important questions in dispute with America; and the mediation of the Russian emperor was accordingly declined. An offer was at the same time made to enter into direct negociation with America, which, however, led to no immediate result; and the unhappy contest was still protracted.

CHAP. VII.

Affairs of India.—General View of the Reasons for restricting the Monopoly enjoyed by the East India Company.—Sketch of the Limitations under which the Charter was renewed by Parliament.

THE first thing which must strike every one who reflects on the merits of our Indian policy, is the mysterious style in which most persons are accustomed to speak upon the subject, as if, when examining any question relating to India, there existed a necessity for laying aside all the received principles of commercial and political science, and for abandoning even the most familiar maxims of common sense and sound reasoning. The affairs of India, we are told by those who profess to be particularly conversant in them, are quite different from the affairs of all other countries, and must be regulated by a separate and distinct set of maxims. There is something, it is pretended, in the climate of Asia—in the physical constitution of the eastern nations, as well as in their laws, manners, and religion, which must for ever baffle those European politicians who may presume to interfere in the legislation of the Asiatics. So successful indeed have the politicians who are supposed to have a peculiar and official knowledge of India affairs, been in imposing this singular delusion on the public, that even the statesmen, to whom we are accustomed on all other subjects to listen with respect, are heard with distrust, when they come to deliver their sentiments on the complicated and mysterious subject of Indian policy.

Yet it were absurd to doubt that in Asia as well as in Europe, *that* is the best system of government which most effectually promotes the great ends of liberty and protection to its subjects, at the least possible expense of their lives and fortunes; and *that* the best plan of commercial intercourse for India, as well as for England, which ensures the perfect freedom of individual industry, while it offers the most splendid rewards to the successful exertion of individual talent, and the most promising hopes to the fortunate issue of individual enterprise and speculation. It is impossible to believe, that there is any thing either in the climate of Asia, or in the condition of its inhabitants, which should prescribe a system of government for them materially different in its principles from those which are recognized in Europe; or that an upright and vigorous administration of justice, a

powerful establishment for defence, a system of prudent economy on the part of the administration, and a free and unrestrained intercourse of trade, should be of equivocal or dangerous influence in India.

It is scarcely necessary, therefore, to mention, that, notwithstanding the clamour which has been raised by the zeal of an interested faction, the whole question as to our Indian policy must be brought to issue on the hypothesis, that such a book as the Wealth of Nations really contains principles which do not altogether lose their force when applied to the affairs of India. In spite of all sophistry and declamation the leading doctrines of moral and political science possess a significance and application wherever men are found,—an application, whose limits are confined only by those of human society.

In conformity with the most obvious principles, it must be pronounced a preposterous thing, that an association of merchants should be vested with the sovereignty of an empire far more populous and extensive than that of which they themselves form but a small and comparatively insignificant portion. The causes, in a great measure accidental, of this singular phenomenon in politics, to which neither ancient nor modern times can afford any thing like a parallel, are well known as matter of history. But whatever these causes may have been, it deserves always to be remembered, that the East India Company, which has no higher rank than what belongs to the greatest mercantile society in the world, is in the actual possession of one of the largest and most fertile empires, and recently claimed the full and unqualified monopoly of a trade, which, estimating its value by the fertility of the soil, and the number of the people to whom it extends, ought to leave the trade of all other countries far behind it in extent and importance. It must be superfluous to urge against such an arrangement the ordinary topics of censure—to declaim on the utter unfitness of such a society at once to play the parts of sovereign and merchant—or to dwell at length on the striking impropriety of bending under the yoke of such masters, a territory of almost boundless extent and fertility.—It must be equally superfluous to mention that the government of the Company, like that established in all the other oriental states, is a pure despotism; and that under such a government there exists no security for the happiness of the governed, except in the wisdom and benevolence of the administration.—It must be unnecessary also to state, that the interest in the welfare of India, which may be expected from the proprietors and directors of the Company, is really the most feeble and unsteady that can possibly be imagined; and that of course every thing might be expected from their administration, rather than a regard to the comfort and happiness of their subjects. From the very nature of the association, the interest of individual proprietors must be feeble and transient, because their great object in connecting themselves with the society at all, is to secure a certain share of influence and patronage; the exercise of which, to the fullest extent, is not by any means compatible with a disinterested regard to the prosperity of the governed. It seems quite natural to expect from such a government nothing but avarice, rapacity, and oppression towards its subjects. But all this is very apparent, and has already been frequently pressed on the consideration of the legislature and of the country.

But if the natural, and apparently incurable, defects of the Company's administration of the government of a great empire be thus apparent, the ob-

jections which, at first view, present themselves to the commercial monopoly, by which the political rights of the company were at one time fortified, seem to be infinitely more formidable. There is no feature, perhaps, of the policy of an enlightened age, which is more strikingly incompatible with the fair enjoyment of individual rights, or the rapid progress of general prosperity, than this system of monopolies, and none, certainly, whose absolute incongruity with the notions of an advanced period is more palpable. What can be more unjust than the selection of a few favoured individuals, for the exclusive enjoyment of all the commercial benefits to be derived from an intercourse with distant nations, while the rest of their fellow-citizens, whose pretensions are in every respect as favourable, remain the idle and discontented spectators of the advantages secured to their more fortunate rivals? It is essential to the prosperity of commerce, that it should be free and unconstrained; that the adventurer should be left to the exercise of a discretion the most unerring, because supported by the steadiest and most powerful motives, and that he should receive from government the most ample protection for his rights, in order that he may be enabled to proceed without timidity or hesitation. But can any invasion of his rights be more gross or insulting than that which is accomplished in the shape of a monopoly, excluding him from a participation in the profits of a lucrative trade, which opens the most promising field for his skill and enterprise? Every grant of monopoly is a gift out of the great commercial patrimony of the state; and while it is the duty of a wise government, like a kind and affectionate parent, to consult the welfare of all its subjects, it is no wonder that much murmuring and discontent should be excited by a capricious preference in the distribution of the common inheritance. This ungenerous partiality, and unfair abridgment of natural right, are implied, however, in every establishment of commercial monopoly, and afford, independently of all other considerations, a strong inducement to the immediate discontinuance of such of them as still triumph over the good sense and liberality of the present age.

These general arguments applied with a force which was irresistible to the monopoly of the East India Company, as it existed before the renewal of the charter in the present year. But the directors, who could not encounter, endeavoured to elude their force by maintaining, that the trade to British India would, from circumstances which they were not very careful to explain, admit of no extension from the utmost freedom of private enterprise; that the competition of private adventurers would, in India, enhance so much the price of every article, that the Company would be unable to buy, and in Europe reduce the price so much that the Company would be ruined by selling; and that there was something in the constitution of the Hindoos which would prevent them from raising the supply, so as to meet an increased demand for their commodities. Such were the strange arguments by which the cause of the Company was supported.

Even if it could be proved that monopolies tend to promote industry and opulence, and give a better direction to capital than it would take without the aid of law, one might still have some scruples as to the equity of the principle, which, for the sake of such advantages, would authorize so arbitrary a restraint on the common rights of society. But it can be established, that the inexpediency of such a system is not more manifest than its injustice.

It has been often proved, that a trade not supported by the profits which it

is calculated to yield, but remaining dependent for its continuance on extraordinary immunities and privileges, secured at the expence of those who do not participate in its gains, is necessarily a losing trade to the public, whatever may be its result to the individuals by whom it is conducted. No man will persist in devoting a portion of his funds to an employment which does not yield him an ordinary return, without assistance from other sources, or the sacrifice of other advantages; and it may be assumed, that the same maxims which an individual will find prudent in the management of his private affairs, will not prove of doubtful application when applied to the wealth of nations. The trade, therefore, which requires a monopoly for its support, is in itself a losing trade, and should never receive the countenance of the legislature, unless it be found subservient to higher interests, which could not in any other shape be so effectually consulted.

Where a monopoly of colonial trade, such as that of the East India Company, is established, it is quite obvious that one of two consequences must follow,—either the monopolists will be fully qualified to conduct the whole trade in the very best manner, or they will not be able to do this, and could not stand the competition of the private merchant. If the first hypothesis be admitted, then the grant of exclusive privileges is a very unnecessary measure, since the grantees are, in truth, the very persons into whose hands the whole trade would inevitably fall in the natural course of things; and the monopoly can serve no other purpose than to excite murmurs among those who may be apt to entertain the erroneous notion, that they themselves could successfully compete with the monopolists, were all restraints withdrawn. But this hypothesis is never admissible in any case of monopoly; for it is so obviously beyond the power of human foresight and wisdom to establish prospective regulations for the complicated affairs of a great and increasing branch of trade, that the exact adaptation of the means to the end will never be credited by any man of common understanding. There remains, therefore, but one alternative, that the monopolists are really unfit for the beneficial discharge of the trust reposed in them—that they are without the vigilance, capital, and talents, which are required to the best management of their concerns; or, in other words, that the affairs of their trade are necessarily and inevitably conducted by them to the great loss and inconvenience of the public.

Nor is it a matter of any difficulty to point out the precise way in which the loss is sustained by the country, which is unhappily led to sanction so preposterous an arrangement. The industry of the parent state can be promoted only by a demand for its manufactures; and this demand can be increased in no other way but by competition among the buyers. The same obvious maxims of political science apply also to the case of the colony, whose progressive improvement in industry and opulence forms the only lawful object of the policy of the parent state. But when you grant a monopoly you destroy this competition; you make the monopolists the only buyers both at home and abroad; you make them also the only sellers; in short, you destroy, in so far as it is possible for a narrow and misguided policy to do so, all the great springs on which the prosperity of nations must for ever depend.

Every man buys as cheap and sells as dear as possible; but the monopolist alone is enabled to do this with effect. There exists no competition to restrain the unbounded avarice of his nature; and in the free indulgence of the most selfish of passions, he is en-

abled with one hand to check the industry of the poor, and with the other to narrow the enjoyments of the rich. There is but one way of promoting industry with effect—to increase the demand for its productions; and there is also but one way to extend consumption—by lowering the price of the articles consumed. Under these two heads may be ranged almost every proposition in the science of political economy, as well as every rational scheme for accelerating the progress of opulence; and yet it is not a little singular, that the attainment of both these great ends forms the very objection which the East India Company were pleased to state to the abolition of their commercial monopoly. They complained that private competition would enhance the price of Indian commodities;—in other words, that it would encourage industry among the subjects of the British government in India; and, with perfect consistency, they complained also that the same private competition would lower, in the home market, the value of Indian produce, that is, would greatly extend the consumption.

What has been already stated is, with some limitations, true of all monopolies; even of those which leave scope for the enterprize and vigilance of the private traders of a particular province or state. But the argument applies with tenfold force to a monopoly so very narrow as to include only a single commercial association, so constituted as to forfeit entirely all the benefits derived from the powerful stimulus of private interest, and the control of private inspection. Such an association as this, while it deprives industry of all the advantages derived from a free competition, and sacrifices the interests of the community to the prejudices of a few individuals, is so ingeniously contrived as to forfeit, even for the grantees, all the commercial benefits which they might otherwise promise themselves from the partiality of government. The strong stimulus of individual interest, and the benefits of private vigilance, being lost by the very constitution of the society, the inference is no less inevitable in theory, than we have found it invariably justified by the event, that such an association, with all its privileges and immunities, could not for a single day sustain the competition of the private merchant; nay, that even when secured against this competition, such are the negligence and waste inseparable from its plan of administration, that it cannot, with any rational prospect of success, hope to continue its commercial undertakings.

But there was still another circumstance connected with the state of the East India Company since its immense territorial acquisitions had been made in India, by which it was most unfavourably distinguished from almost every other monopoly, and aspired to a pre-eminence over every other impolitic establishment, viz. the combination of the incompatible functions of merchant and sovereign, which must for ever preclude advances in commercial improvement. If the sovereign of any European state had an entire monopoly of its foreign trade, what are the consequences which every man of common understanding would anticipate from so preposterous an union of different, or rather opposite characters? Would he not expect, with the most perfect confidence, either that the trade would be rendered quite subservient to the fluctuating schemes of administration, and of course would sink quickly into insignificance, or that the paternal interest, which is natural even to the worst of governments, in the prosperity of its subjects, would be shamelessly abandoned for the pursuits of unlawful gain, at the hazard of committing the greatest oppressions in the

industrious classes of the people? The case was precisely the same with India: the Company, as sovereigns, ought to have felt an interest in extending the manufactures and trade of India; but, as monopolists, it was clearly their business to compress them within the narrow limits which were found suitable to their own circumstances and resources.

The accuracy of these general views has been well illustrated in the history of this great establishment. In the year 1784, the attention of the legislature and the country was imperiously called to Indian affairs, by the profligacy and mismanagement which seemed to mark the whole of the Company's proceedings. It had at this period become notorious, that the oppression exercised by the Company's servants abroad over the independent princes of India,—princes in alliance with the Company—as well as over the provinces which had submitted to the British government,—were such as to endanger the very existence of the British in India. So very critical and alarming was the state of British India then deemed by the legislature, that after elaborate and voluminous reports by committees of the House of Commons, in which every species of misgovernment was brought home to the Company, the most violent remedies alone were pronounced suitable to the disease. Mr Fox and his friends did not hesitate about proposing a measure which involved the temporary forfeiture of the most valuable privileges belonging to the Company; while Mr Pitt, with less precipitation, and more tenderness for the Company's rights, could discover no cure for the disorder short of a participation by the executive government in the conduct of the Company's political affairs.

During the anxious discussions of that memorable period, it seems to have been conceded on all sides, that there were vices inherent to the very constitution of the Company, which disqualified it for the exercise of the functions with which it was entrusted; that the greater number of the proprietors must always be much more disposed to intrigue for political influence, than to speculate for the sake of commercial wealth; and that the court of directors, being a representative body, must of necessity be supposed to participate in the vices and prejudices of their constituents. It was but too obvious, from the whole scene of iniquity which was unveiled, that the more bustling and ambitious of the proprietors were naturally so much interested in the welfare of the Company's servants in India, who were of their own selection, as to aim at securing certain impunity for all classes of delinquents; and it was at once perceived, that the irregular and undefined controul then exerted by ministers over the proceedings of the directors, must for ever be found inadequate to the remedy of such grievances. It availed not the Company to pretend, that the instructions dispatched by them to their servants in India had in general been wise and politic, because it had been remarked with astonishment, that every breach of these instructions had been ultimately rewarded with the Company's approbation. Of the disposition natural to a set of men like the proprietors of India stock, a very good specimen was at this time given, in the confirmation of the power of Mr Hastings, after his recal had been determined upon by the House of Commons; and, in short, it was, in the whole circumstances of the case, quite manifest, that no remedy could be found for the defects inherent to the constitution of the Company, but in the exercise of a powerful and efficient controul over the selection of their servants, as well as their plans of policy. A most important revolution

in the government of British India was of course determined on, and a great share of that power which the Company had shewn itself so ill qualified to exercise, was transferred to the crown, which was thus enabled to controul the proceedings of the directors, by the power of appointing to offices of trust in India,—of imposing a negative on the appointments made by the Company, and of removing improper and unworthy servants from the situations to which they had been nominated. A direct influence over the policy pursued in India was bestowed on a body of commissioners, created for the purpose, who have since been known under the appellation of the Board of Controul. Thus did the Company's acknowledged incapacity to manage its affairs prescribe a change of system to the legislature, which amounted to a direct and serious encroachment on the rights then claimed, even under an existing charter, which had received the sanction of parliament.

By far the most solid and important of the advantages which England may derive from her vast empire in India, is that of a great and extended commercial intercourse with the immense regions included in the Company's charter. The splendid acquisition of extended empire is but of doubtful advantage—the surplus of revenue after defraying the expences of local government is but precarious and uncertain at the best, while the lawful gains of an honourable commerce form an important and substantial addition to the power and resources of the parent state. Few persons would have been disposed to challenge the Company's administration, even if it had secured for the mother country no advantages except those which are of the most unequivocal character, by the increase of her manufacturing industry and the extension of her commerce. Had the Company done this to any extent worth mentioning—had it fulfilled the expectations even of those who estimate on the most moderate principles the commercial value, to such a country as Great Britain, of the exclusive influence which it had, by a series of fortunate events, been enabled to acquire among the nations of Asia—or had it not rather kept down the enterprise and baffled the hopes of the British people? Every one knows what answer must be given to these questions.

But had the Company's transactions been profitable to itself? It is true, indeed, that so long as the manufactures of India found no rival in those of Great Britain—while the Company was in the undisturbed enjoyment of all its exclusive privileges, with the advantage of a ready market, to which no competitor could venture on approaching—and while there yet remained some faint traces of the mercantile origin of the establishment, in the habits of vigilance and economy which correspond with that character—they did contrive to make a profit on their mercantile adventures, although even then the profit was as narrow as a very careless management of their affairs would permit. But of late years the scene had been quite changed—the admission of America, in the year 1797, to that share in the trade both of India and China, which was denied to the British merchant, appeared to have altered entirely the form of the Company's commercial concerns, and since that fatal year the general balance on their mercantile transactions had, with hardly a single exception, been against the Company. The year 1797 was the first in which a total loss on the mercantile transactions of the Company was fairly admitted. In 1798 the same discouraging result was presented; in 1799 there was a great loss on the exports to India; and in 1800 a serious loss was again sus-

tained on the exports to India, for which no compensation could be found in the sales in Europe. From 1801 downwards, the accounts present nothing but a repetition of the same disasters in India—of heavy losses sustained on the Company's exports from Great Britain, which are scarcely ever compensated by the profits on their imports. The trade of the Company for the last fifteen years has therefore exhibited nothing but a series of very heavy losses, as well as various other symptoms of decay, from which there seemed to be no chance of rescuing the commercial intercourse betwixt Great Britain and India so long as the system of exclusion was pursued.

When the great question as to the renewal of the Company's charter was under discussion, the private merchants laid claims to a participation in the trade exclusively enjoyed by the Company—that is, to a free trade both with India and China, together with such a right of residence in the territorial possessions of the Company, as might be found necessary for enabling them to manage their concerns, free of arbitrary conditions and restraints of every description.

Against this demand the Company alledged the natural and necessary limitation of the trade to India, and from this they inferred the expediency of continuing the monopoly. But even if the public had been satisfied that there was no chance of an increase of the trade, there would still have been great propriety in acceding to the demands of the petitioners. Whether the trade should, after it was thrown open, prove susceptible of great improvement in point of extent, this at least was certain, that it might admit of much amelioration in the mode of management—and this seemed quite a sufficient reason for acceding to the propositions of the merchants. But the sentiments of the Company on this head were liable to the strongest suspicions. Their own failure, in extending the trade to India and China, afforded no proof whatever that the trade was not susceptible of improvement—and even the scanty introduction of British manufactures which had already been effected among the people of Asia, afforded evidence that under better management the trade might admit of indefinite increase. It was obvious, at all events, that things could not be worse than they were, but that they might become much better; and this consideration seemed sufficient of itself to justify and even to prescribe a change of system.

It could not escape observation, that the apparent contempt with which the trade of India was spoken of, and the instant ruin with which private adventurers were threatened, were not quite consistent with the serious remonstrances of the Company against the removal of the restrictions. If the trade were really so narrow and unprosperous as they would have had the public to believe, the surrender of their exclusive right to it could not be so very serious; and if it were to be fraught with ruin to those who might dare to embark in it, the Company might have safely left it to the intelligence of the private trader to have made the discovery, and to his prudence to retire from utter destruction, should his sanguine hopes seduce him into a perilous undertaking. In short, the future extent of the trade to India could never be estimated by any calculations of its amount while under the management of the Company; nor could the warm remonstrances of the directors against the admission of private adventurers be readily ascribed to their disinterested apprehensions about the safety of their rivals.

But the most decisive and satisfactory assurance on this branch of the

subject was derived from the vast progress which America had unaccountably been permitted to make in the trade of India. In a trade which should have admitted of no increase from private interference, the mercantile adventurers of America had been allowed to participate so largely, that they had the supply, not only of their own market, as well as that of South America, but had actually competed, to good purpose, with the Company itself, in the general market of Europe. These facts, which were quite notorious, threw considerable suspicions on the prophecies, which, in the abolition of a baneful system of exclusion, foreboded the ruin of an extensive trade, and the subversion of an empire.

It was maintained by the Company, that the capital of the private merchants would be found inadequate to the proper encouragement of the trade with India, because the native manufacturers are so poor that large advances must be made to them long before the fruits of their labour can be realized. But those who urged this absurd plea forgot, that the concerns of an extensive commerce naturally give rise to many subdivisions in the employment of capital, and that while with the benefits of a free trade, the capital of one class of merchants might be devoted to the purchase in India, and the transmission to Europe of Indian manufactures, that of another class would naturally seek employment in furnishing for the native workmen the means of enabling them to prepare and bring forward their commodities.

It was alledged besides for the Company, that the Hindoos, and indeed the whole people of Asia, are of a very timorous and suspecting character—that they are very unwilling to hold any intercourse with strangers—that a long experience of the Company's transactions had however inspired universal confidence in their honour and good faith, but that the private merchants would find the difficulties of trade with the whole race quite insurmountable. It was even maintained, that the progress made in the introduction of British manufactures into China, had been the result of the talents and address displayed by the agents and supercargoes of the honourable Company, who had dexterously resorted to artifices of various kinds, for the purpose of seducing the Chinese into a taste for these productions, whose value they would never otherwise have been able to appreciate. But these pretences were too flimsy to require a moment's consideration.

It is well known that the trade betwixt Europe and India was contemplated with much jealousy and apprehension by the advocates of the commercial system, as it was called, whose tenets are not yet entirely abandoned. The constant exportation of bullion in return for commodities, was calculated to alarm those persons who considered the increase of the precious metals as comprehending every thing which it was the object of a wise policy to accumulate, and who pretended to discover, in the constant drain of these objects of fond attachment, the downfall of the commercial prosperity of the European states. It was to be expected, that the defenders of monopoly, to whom every part of the same commercial system is naturally so dear, would avail themselves of the popular prejudices on this subject, and endeavour to raise an alarm about the ruin which must in this way ensue, from the extension of our commercial intercourse with India. It can hardly be worth while to expose so pitiful a prejudice; but if the argument applied in favour of the Company, it struck with equal force against it. If it would be dangerous

to extend the trade to India, for fear of losing all the gold and silver which we can collect, it must be impolitic to continue any trade with it at all, and the Company ought instantly, and for ever, to have abandoned all its commercial undertakings.

It was stated with great confidence, that the private merchants would be unable to conduct their trade in India without the assistance of a military force at the various factories, which they might find it convenient to establish; because, forsooth, it is impossible to conduct trade of any kind in India but at the point of the bayonet. The experience which suggested this piece of reasoning did not seem very honourable to the commercial character of the East India Company.

The dangers of colonization were strongly insisted upon by those who wished to perpetuate the monopoly. From colonization was anticipated the introduction of the European spirit; the discussion of popular rights; and, finally, the subversion of the local government. All the weaker passions were set in motion; all the most absurd prejudices were alarmed on this branch of the subject.

But if there be any country in the world to which there is but little chance of a considerable emigration from Great Britain, that country is India; and every person of common understanding must be inevitably led to this conclusion by a variety of considerations. First of all, India contains a population which may fairly be considered as having for a period, beyond which we have no record, been absolutely redundant, and, of course, must for ever continue to afford the most slender temptations to emigrants of all classes. What could induce the laborious population of England to select India as a place of exile, where there is no room either for their skill or industry? 2dly, The natural consequence of an overflowing population is quite perceptible in the very insignificant value which labour bears in that country, compared with the price which it will bring in the market of Europe: and this circumstance must for ever remain a complete bar to the emigration of the lower orders, that is, to an emigration of any importance. 3dly, The climate, language, laws, religion, and manners, of the Hindoos, are as utterly unlike those of the people of this country as it is possible to conceive; and this again must add prodigious strength to the barrier by which the inhabitants of the two countries must remain separated. 4thly, The immense distance of India from England, and the consequent expense of emigration, would effectually prevent the lower orders from emigrating to India, even if no other obstacle opposed itself to such a project. 5thly, Without large and constant emigrations of the lower orders, on whose co-operation their more active and turbulent leaders must ever depend for the success of their projects, it is extremely improbable that there should be numerous emigrations even of the latter class, whose removal to India was the object of affected dread. 6thly, But even on the supposition that all the preceding views were erroneous, and that emigration were gradually and slowly to take place, an indefinite period must elapse before the European settlers could bear an assignable proportion to the natives, over whom it was assumed that they were speedily to exercise a degree of influence, which, in spite of all the respect naturally paid to government, and in defiance of all the power which that government could employ for repressing it, was, with rapid progress, to drive the natives into a state of insubordination and rebellion.

An obstinate, and unfortunately a successful, resistance was made to the opening of the China trade. The old

story was repeated about the imprudence of private traders, who were, of course, to exasperate the Chinese, a singular and irritable race of men. But it was justly remarked, that if we were actually to be excluded from the ports of China, we should not be deprived of an intercourse with that country so long as we have numerous stations, whither the Chinese would most willingly repair to carry on their trade with us. The Americans never insulted and exasperated the Chinese so as to forfeit the benefits of the China trade; and the private traders of America carried on their trade to China to such purpose, that they were enabled to sell their teas at Boston and New York for less than one-half of the prices charged by the company to the people of England.

Such were the views which were generally taken of the commercial branch of this great question; and, it may be added, that these views, to a great extent, received the sanction of government. It will now be proper to give some account of the measures adopted by parliament, and of the more important limitations under which the charter of the Company was renewed.

The resolutions respecting the renewal of the East India Company's charter, originally proposed by Lord Castlereagh, were, after long examination and discussion, ultimately agreed to, with little alteration. The plan thus adopted continued to the company the sovereignty of India. The influence of the crown, in regard to the nomination of governors-general, received an increase, though it may be doubted if full provision be yet made to obviate the embarrassment arising from the exercise of so high a function. But if, in regard to political power, the Company obtained nearly all that they could demand, the same favour was not shewn to their pretensions still to monopolise the commerce of India. The trade, however, was opened to competition only in those branches from which the Company always declared that no profit, but a sensible loss, accrued to them. These branches, therefore, they had no motive to carry on, other than that of public spirit, and their financial condition ought to be improved by the transference of them to other hands. The trade to China, by which the Company still gained considerably, was preserved to them.

The consideration of this affair occupied a greater portion of the time and attention of parliament, than any other subject which was agitated during the present session. A great part of that labour was very idly employed. Long examinations took place to ascertain whether the situation and accommodation of the out-ports would admit of India goods being imported into them with perfect security to the revenue. The most decided protest ought to have been offered against entering into any such enquiry. It is a most alarming circumstance, that the principle should at all be admitted of subjecting commerce to restraint and monopoly for the purpose of rendering it more easy to collect the taxes. If we begin on such principles, where are we to stop? If India goods are to be confined to particular ports, why are not wines and sugar to be confined for the same reason? There is no doubt, that if all articles subject to taxation were to be introduced at one single port only, the revenue upon them would be collected much more easily, more efficaciously, and more cheaply; nor would any bad consequence follow, except the rapid decay of all these branches of trade. There is, in fact, much less pretence for such a measure in the case of India than of almost any other goods. The length of the voyage, and the tempestuous seas through which it is made, render necessary the employment of very large vessels, much

larger than are requisite for carrying on the European or American trade. The large size of vessels materially obstructs any illicit traffic, because such vessels cannot approach sufficiently near to the the coast for such traffic, and because their motions are much more easily observed. Besides, as tea was already excepted, none of the other articles afford a revenue so considerable as that any such violent measures should be necessary to prevent a small defalcation. Better would it be if any trifling loss is sustained, to compensate it by an increased duty on the same, or on any other articles, than thus to cramp the sinews of national industry. Why should piece-goods be introduced only into the port of London? and why should the rest of the trade be confined to certain of the out-ports? these, too, to be fixed by an arbitrary decision of the privy council.—The nature of the trade secured the employment of large vessels; the regulation, then, which requires them to be 350 tons is superfluous, and may become oppressive. Why, in short, when the East India trade is less exposed to smuggling than any other, should it be made liable to restrictions, from which every other is exempted? Since it was determined that the trade should be laid open, there was surely no reason why it should not be placed on the very same footing with all other trades.

In the course of these debates, a new and important proposal was made—that the Company should not only be deprived of the exclusive trade to their Indian territories, but that they should be prohibited from carrying on any trade whatever. If it be an obvious principle, it was remarked, that commerce ought to be free, it is no less certain that it can never, with any advantage, be carried on by a sovereign. Sovereigns, however, have not always been sensible of this truth; and it may often be necessary for an enlightened legislature to interfere, in order to prevent them from acting in opposition to it. Should the executive government of this country think proper to employ any part of the public funds for commercial purposes, it would be the indispensable duty of parliament to interfere, and put a stop to any such chimerical speculation. The same course may, with equal propriety, be held towards a company, the sovereign of an empire, far more extensive than that of the British islands. It is impossible that the Company should suffer by such a prohibition. Since the trade was a losing one to them when they enjoyed the monopoly of it, what must it be when they have to maintain it against the active and watchful competition of private interest?

Much as the attention of the public was attracted by the political and commercial arrangements, an interest no less deep was excited by the ecclesiastical regulations which were adopted for British India. The present age is remarkably distinguished by the extraordinary concern felt for the case of those nations who have not yet received the light of the gospel. It is of high importance to give this propensity a just direction, and to restrain its exuberance. The measures which were adopted on the present occasion, may be considered in two lights,—as they furnished a provision for religious worship to the European residents in India, and as they had in view the conversion of the natives.

It was now proposed, for the first time, to found an ecclesiastical establishment for British subjects resident in India. There can scarcely be a doubt as to the high expediency of such a measure. It has universally been considered as a duty of government to provide gratuitously for its subjects some kind of religious instruction, and to give to the establishments for that purpose the lustre and support which they

may derive from the sanction of public authority. No reason appears why this common privilege should be denied to a class of men now become so numerous, and who must often stand in need both of instruction and consolation. Care is doubtless to be taken not to excite jealousy or irritation in the natives; but provided they are left to follow their own religious observances without molestation, it were too much to expect that the British should not also exercise the same privilege. But the natives of India are, as is well known, scrupulously observant of all the ceremonies of their own religion. They do not expect or wish that this religion should be ours; they consider it as an inheritance of their own; the difference awakens no enmity or disappointment. Yet they are struck with horror when they see the British observing no forms whatever; living the life of absolute atheists, which is that led by almost all the military, and by many of the civil servants of the crown. It will raise us in their estimation when they see us observing some form of religion, even though it were one much less pure than that which will actually be established.

Government, however, had not this object alone to attend to. They had also to consider how they should act in reference to that ardent zeal with which numerous bodies of Christians in this country are animated, to communicate to the Indian world the blessings of revelation. Thus a question arose, which the circumstances of India, and the character of its inhabitants, rendered one of peculiar delicacy, and which, therefore, merited an attentive consideration.

To preach the gospel to the heathen world cannot be considered as a duty binding upon Christians at all times, and in all circumstances. The same power which at first bestowed Christianity on the world, now withholds that blessing from a large portion of the human race; and since that power does it, it is done certainly for wise purposes. Instructions to preach the gospel are, in scripture, given only to the chosen instruments; no such exhortations are addressed to Christians in general. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Providence, to accomplish its beneficent purposes, makes use of human means; and when a fair opportunity presents itself of spreading the light of Christianity, it is laudable, and even incumbent, on Christians to avail themselves of it. The question is, whether the present state of India can be considered as affording such an opportunity?

There is a wide difference between the preaching of the apostles, and that of those who now attempt by the same means to effect the conversion of the heathen world. The former, endowed by Heaven with supernatural powers, could present to every unbiassed mind an incontestable proof of the authority under which they acted; but the modern missionary, who goes into a remote country, with only his solitary voice to raise in behalf of the doctrine which he teaches, has no means of producing a rational conviction. He can work no miracles himself; and he cannot carry along with him that chain of historical evidence, by which we are assured that miracles were once wrought. From these considerations, reasonable and sober-minded men are seldom disposed to engage in such undertakings; not to mention that they are generally attached to a more regular and established life. Hence it is only by the emissaries of fanatical sects that conversions have been made. The Jesuits, of all missionaries the most successful, obtained their end partly by the pomp of their worship, and partly by pretending to the power of working miracles, which they never scrupled to claim. Among protestants, the Bap-

tists and Moravians have taken the lead in the pious work of converting the heathen; few of the soberer classes, even of dissenters, have thought of interfering. The effects produced by exertions of this description have seldom been great; they have never been durable. Of the wonderful labours of the Jesuits scarcely does a vestige now remain; they have been driven from China, from Japan, from all the kingdoms of the East. The same fate has attended them among the natives of America, with the exception of the missions of Paraguay, which are preserved merely because a species of empire, of which they were the sovereigns, had been established in that region. Such a mode of conversion, however, could not be admitted in the present instance; and little good can therefore be expected from missionary preaching. The religion of India, firmly rooted in the habits, ideas, and observances of the people, and which has resisted every change for thousands of years, will not form an exception to a rule hitherto found universal. The number of Indian conversions accordingly appears to be exceedingly small; many persons had spent a life-time in India without hearing of a single instance. The few which took place were of the most disgraceful character, the converts having, in periods of dearth, embraced Christianity on condition of receiving a supply of the necessaries of life, and, on the return of plenty, having immediately relapsed into their former idolatry. The propagators of Christianity ought to be reminded not only that such conversions have no merit, but that a man who thus quits a religion which he believes, to profess another which he does not believe, commits a crime, the guilt of which is little diminished by the circumstance that the former is a false, and the latter the true religion.

The inefficacy of missionary preaching in past times would be a minor consideration, if there were no dangers attending it, for there could then be no objection to making a fair trial of what it might effect in future. But it seems impossible to deny, that the danger is very considerable. The empire of force, exercised by twenty or thirty thousand men over an hundred millions, must always be somewhat precarious. Not only are the natives to be kept in subjection, but they are to be kept in subjection by the Indians; for the Sepoy force, it is well known, constitutes the greater part of that which is maintained in the colonies by the British government. Great Britain, therefore, can never expect to maintain her ground without much accommodation to the ideas, and prejudices, and even to the groundless apprehensions, of this numerous people, who seem to dread that compulsory measures may be employed to make them embrace Christianity. The catastrophe at Vellore, may not, as was at first reported, have arisen from the misconduct of the commander-in-chief, or from any measures shocking the religious prejudices of the people; but it seems unquestionable, that the dread of such measures excited them to such direful extremities. The Brahmins, who form the first class in the nation, and who possess over the minds of the people an influence almost supreme, cannot fail to view with the utmost jealousy, both the missionaries, and the government under whose auspices they are introduced.—As it thus appears that little good and much evil may arise from missionary preaching, and as government retains in its own hands the power of granting licences, it should be very cautious in selecting the persons to whom such licences are granted. It is still more important, that in India, government should avoid all

intercourse, and withhold all encouragement, from the persons so employed. The natives should be made to understand that the missionaries act entirely from the impulse of their own minds

Not that there is reason to despair of seeing the light of Christianity diffused through the Eastern world; it would seem, on the contrary, that the same Power which at first planted our holy religion, has made visible and ample provision for its general diffusion, at perhaps no very distant period. This provision consists in the decisive superiority in arts and knowledge to which European or Christian nations have attained, and in the intimate communication which the instrumentality of these arts has enabled European nations to form with the most distant parts of the globe. America belongs entirely to Europe; every port of Asia is crowded with her vessels, and even the wilds of Africa are beginning to feel her influence. Her knowledge cannot fail in time to become universal; for there are natural desires in the human mind which it tends to gratify. In imbibing the science and philosophy of Europe, more barbarous nations will insensibly imbibe her religion also; and an acquaintance with her literature and history will enable them to appreciate on what that religion rests. Here then is opened a vast field for the philanthropic exertions of those who have at heart the higher interests of their species. If the funds which are lavished in useless missions were employed in forming establishments for instruction, the most beneficial and lasting effects might be produced The Indians would receive with pleasure and gratitude the fruits of such institutions, even from hands which they might judge unhallowed. The manner in which so grand an object is to be accomplished must of course be determined by a view of the actual circumstances of India. European teachers could not be supplied in any proportion to the number required; but there might be formed, at convenient stations throughout British India, seminaries for the instruction of native teachers, who might afterwards diffuse among their countrymen the knowledge which they had acquired.—Much good may be done by the wise liberality of government; nothing but mischief can be expected from the zeal of fanatics.

CHAP. VIII.

Spanish Affairs.—Preparations made for opening the Campaign.—Rapid Progress of the Allied Armies.—Battle of Vittoria.

THE obstinate and strenuous resistance first offered in the peninsula to the ambition of France, has given to the events which occurred in this part of the world, an interest beyond even that excited by the great efforts of other nations to support their independence. An eager curiosity has been employed to discover the causes of that heroic spirit which burst forth in a country where its existence was little suspected. Why did Spain, after its government had been dissolved, and its army annihilated, refuse that obedience to the conqueror so long yielded by the states of Germany? Why, in spite of all their outrages and triumphs, were the French unable to subdue the spirit of the Spanish nation, although they had ensured the temporary subjection of the most considerable states of the continent? The Spanish authorities were indeed without those powers of combination by which the invaders of their country might at once have been overwhelmed; yet neither flattery nor menace, neither suffering nor reward, could degrade the rude peasant of Spain to submission, or make him for a moment forget the wrongs, or betray the independence, of his country. Whence this virtue which triumphed over every temptation—this patriotic courage which encountered every danger? Whence that noble spirit which declared eternal resistance to the invader—baffled his plans, and rendered vain his calculations—prevented him from consolidating his power, and profiting by his conquests—and, finally, opened a way for the torrent, by which, in the course of this memorable year, the hordes of the invader were swept from this fine country?

The causes which produced results to the ambition of France, while contending amid the mountains of Spain, so different from those which had attended its efforts in Germany and other countries, are imperfectly but judiciously assigned by one of the invaders, who was himself the victim of Spanish patriotism. "We were called," says M. de Rocca, a French officer of hussars, "from the sandy plains of the north of Germany, where we had to do with people, subject, for the most part, to governments whose forms were entirely military. The different sovereigns who made up the parts of the Germanic body had, for more than a century, turned all their views towards perfecting those military institutions which might secure their authority, and serve their personal ambition; but in accustoming their subjects to a minutely punctual obedience, they

had weakened the nationa character, the only invincible bulwark which nations can oppose to foreign invaders.

"When a province of Germany was conquered by the French, and could no longer receive the orders of its sovereign, the inferior classes, unaccustomed to the exercise of their own free will, dared not to act without the commands of their governments or of their liege lords: These governments became, by the very act of conquest, subordinate to the conquerors; and the liege lords, long accustomed to witness the hourly vexation which the people experienced from the soldiery, resigned themselves the more easily to the evils which war brings in her train.

"The clergy in Prussia had but little ascendency over the people; the Reformation has destroyed among the protestants that power which the priests preserve, even in our days, in some catholic countries, and especially in Spain.—The men of letters, who might have influenced public opinion, and made their wisdom subservient to the cause of their country, were but rarely called to take an active part in public affairs. Literary reputation was the only end of their ambition, and they rarely addicted themselves to occupations or studies applicable to existing circumstances. The real power of several states in Germany rested on their military systems, and their political existence could not but depend entirely on the strength or weakness of their governments.

"In the plains of Germany, the local circumstances of the country did not permit the people to escape so easily from the yoke of their conquerors as in some other countries of a different nature. Small bodies of troops kept a great extent of conquered country in awe, and assured the French armies of subsistence. The citizens could have found no secure retreats if they had tried partial revolts against the invaders; besides, the Germans, accustomed to a quiet and regular life, are only roused to make a desperate effort by the complete breaking up of all their former habits.

"The French had nothing to fear from the inhabitants of the countries conquered by their arms, and the war of Germany had been carried on solely by armies of regulars, between whom their exists rather rivalry than hatred. The success of a campaign depended on the aggregate of the military operations, on the activity and perseverance of the commanders, and their skill in discovering and preventing the plans of each other, and in bringing with skill and celerity great masses down on the points of attack. All these little partial actions were avoided, which, in war, only increase the miseries of individuals, without contributing to any important advantage; and the talents of the generals were never baffled by the exertions of individuals, or by the spontaneous movements of the people.

"In Germany the French had only to subdue governments and armies; in the Spanish peninsula, the government and the army were already annihilated. Buonaparte had invaded Portugal and Spain, put to flight, or reduced to captivity, the sovereigns of those two countries, and dispersed their military forces. The French were not called to fight against troops of the line, but against a people insulated from all other continental nations, by their manners, their prejudices, and even the nature of their country. The Spaniards were to oppose to them a resistance so much the more obstinate, as they believed it to be the object of the French government to make the peninsula a secondary state, irrevocably subject to the dominion of France.

"With regard to knowledge and the progress of social habits, Spain was at least a century behind the other nations of the continent. The distant

and almost insular situation of the country, and the severity of its religious institutions, had prevented the Spaniards from taking part in the disputes and controversies which had agitated and enlightened Europe during the sixteenth century. They scarcely thought, even in the eighteenth, of the philosophical spirit which had been one of the causes of the revolution in France.

"Although the Spaniards were extremely indolent, and there were found in their administration, that disorder and corruption which are the inevitable consequences of a long despotism, their national character had not been sullied. Their government, arbitrary as it was, bore no resemblance to the absolute military power existing in Germany, where the constant submission of all to the orders of one, continually pressed down the springs of individual character. Ferdinand the Catholic, Charles V. and Philip II. had, it is true, usurped almost all the privileges of the grandees and of the Cortes, and they had annihilated Spanish liberty; but the weakness of government, under their successors, had always left to the people, notwithstanding the despotism of the sovereign, a practical freedom, which was often carried even to insubordination.

"In the annals of the German states, no names had hitherto been heard, but those of the sovereign and his armies. But since Ferdinand the Catholic had united the different kingdoms of Spain, scarcely a single reign had passed in which the people had not given sensible proofs of their existence and power by imposing conditions on their masters, or by expelling the ministers or favourites. When the inhabitants of Madrid revolted, and demanded from Charles III. the dismissal of his minister Squilaci, the king himself was obliged to appear, in order to compound with the people, and to employ the intervention of a monk, bearing a crucifix in his hand. The court, which had fled to Aranjuez, attempted afterwards to send the Walloon guards against Madrid: the people killed several, and the cry was, "If the Walloons enter, the Bourbons shall not reign." The Walloons did not enter,—Squilaci was dismissed, and order was restored.—At Berlin and throughout Prussia again, the inhabitants respected the soldiers of their king, as the soldiers themselves respected their military commanders; at Madrid, the sentinels placed on guard, to attend to the execution of the orders of their sovereign, yielded the precedence to the meanest burgess.

"The revenues of the Spanish crown were very scanty, and consequently could maintain but a very limited number of troops. The regiments of the line, with the exception of some privileged corps, were incomplete, ill paid, and ill disciplined. The priests were the only powerful executive militia whom the kings of Spain could command; it was by the exhortations of the ministers from their altars, and the presentation of pontifical ornaments and relics, that they repressed and dissipated popular tumults.

"The Spanish priests hated the French from patriotism and from interest; for they well knew that the intention was to abolish their privileges, and to deprive them of their riches and temporal power. Their opinion swayed that of the greater part of the nation. Every Spaniard regarded the public cause as his own private quarrel, and the French had, in short, almost as many individual enemies to fight as the Spanish peninsula contained inhabitants.

"The high and barren mountains which surround and intersect Spain, were peopled by warlike tribes, always armed, for the purpose of smuggling, and accustomed to baffle the

regular troops of their own country, which were frequently sent in pursuit of them. The untamed character of the inhabitants of the peninsula—the mildness of the climate, which admits of living in the open air almost all the year; the inaccessible retreats of the inland mountains; the sea, which washes such extensive shores; all the great circumstances arising from the national character, the climate, and local situation, could not fail of securing for the Spaniards numberless facilities for escaping from the oppression of their conquerors, and for multiplying their own forces, whether by transporting them rapidly to those points on which the French were weak, or in securing their escape from pursuit."

These observations may account in some measure for the unexpected difficulties which the French encountered in their attempt to subdue the peninsula. But even French vanity will find it difficult to ascribe to such circumstances the overwhelming disasters which, in the course of the year 1813, drove their conquered armies from this fine country. The splendid and decisive triumphs of this year belong to England alone; and a rapid sketch of the circumstances which enabled her thus to put forth her energies, will be no unsuitable preface to the account of this memorable campaign.

The important changes which had taken place in the affairs of Europe, since the beginning of the last year, prescribed an alteration in the politics of this country towards Spain, and rendered it an imperious duty on the ministers to make the most signal effort for the liberation of the peninsula. Many statesmen of great eminence thought that there were grounds for such a change of policy even during the last campaign. We shall briefly recapitulate the circumstances on which this opinion was founded.

So early as April 1811, it was known in this country, at least to government, that Russia was laying the foundation of that great effort which she afterwards made for securing her independence. It was known also to be her object to establish such a system of resistance, as that, if the French should persevere in their plans of conquest and aggression, they might not only be expelled from Russia, but followed by her victorious legions into other countries. As the known character of the French government promised an obstinate perseverance in its aggressive policy, so there was every reason to look for the most important consequences from the new system adopted by Russia. It was the duty therefore of the British ministers to prepare for the crisis which was approaching; and as the efforts of Russia terminated not only in the expulsion of the French from her own territories, but in the revival of the independence of Prussia, while an opportunity was at the same time afforded to Austria to assert her rank among the nations of the continent, the moment seemed the most favourable which had ever occurred for the liberation of Europe. The successes of the last campaign in the peninsula besides were such as to encourage the most sanguine hopes in future; and even the circumstances in the situation of the French which had so greatly contributed to these successes were still farther calculated to excite expectation.

While the efforts of the British in the peninsula had been thus vigorous and successful, an unaccountable failure in the means of the French had become apparent. The French government in Spain, under Joseph Buonaparte, was remarkable for imbecility, and the efforts of the army were of course without unity either of council or action. The central government under the intrusive king seemed

to be without power, without authority, without talents to create respect, or to command obedience. The French armies in Spain, instead of concentrating under Joseph's orders, had been dispersed every day more and more over the Peninsula—Weak on every point, they exhausted themselves even by their victories over the Spaniards; and in Galicia, Portugal, and the Asturias, they had lost, even among the insurgent peasants, their wonted reputation of invincibility.

As the dynasty of the wretched intruder was closed by the successes of this year—as he was present in person at the battle of Vittoria, and as the French ascribe much of their misfortunes to his weakness and impolicy, the sketch of his character and proceedings which they have given us may not be uninteresting.

Joseph fancied, we are told, that he might attach the people of Spain to his sway by the well-known mildness of his character, in the same manner as he had gained the Neapolitans; and he had allowed the French troops to advance from all sides into the peninsula, with the intention of gaining provinces, that he might reign over a greater extent of country. He had contracted habits of indolence upon the peaceful throne of Naples. Instead of following his armies he remained in the capital, plunged in dissipation, and regretting the delights of Italy. He wanted to sleep and reign at Madrid as he had done at Naples, even before his armies had conquered for him, supposing the conquest possible, a kingdom at the price of their blood.

He filled the columns of his state journal with decrees which were never executed, and scarcely read; he gave to one church the wax and sacred vases of another, pillaged long before by the French, or stripped by the Spaniards themselves. He lavished the decorations of his royal order on his courtiers, who did not dare to wear them in any place which was not occupied by the French, for fear of being murdered by the Spanish peasants. He made several promotions in his Spanish army, which, however, was not as yet in existence; he gave away places in reversion, governments, and administrations, in the most distant provinces of the kingdom in both hemispheres, while he dared not sleep even a few leagues from Madrid in one of his country houses. Like his brother at Paris, he pulled down old buildings to beautify his capital, but he had no money to raise a single new edifice, and the extent of his munificence was the removal of rubbish.

In order to please the people, he endeavoured to imitate the solemn pomp and grave ceremony of his predecessors. He marched on foot at the head of processions through the streets of Madrid, making the officers of his staff, and the soldiers of his body guard, follow him with lighted tapers in their hands. All these pretensions to sanctity, this affectation of munificence, and absurd prodigality, only made him an object of ridicule and contempt.

The Spaniards had amused themselves with spreading a report that King Joseph was a one-eyed drunkard, which made a profound impression on the imagination of the country people. It was in vain that he endeavoured to overcome the popular prejudice by shewing himself often in public; the people never lost the conceit that he was one-eyed. We are told that even on the day of his coronation, at one of the theatres, a farce, called Harlequin Emperor of the Moon, was played several times. During the representation, the people made applications to the ephemeral situation of Joseph at Madrid. Devotees, who were accustomed to mingle in all their conversations the ejaculation *Jesus, Maria, y Joseph*, stopped short when they had

pronounced the two first names, and, pausing, would use the paraphrase, *Y el Padre de nuestro senor*, lest they might draw down a benediction on Joseph, by naming the saint who was his supposed patron in Heaven.

The good nature of Joseph came afterwards to be considered as weakness, even by the French themselves. After battles had been won over the Spaniards, he would go himself to the prisoners sent from the army to the Retiro, and receive their oaths of fidelity, telling them that they had been deceived by traitors, and that he, as their king, wished only for their happiness and that of their country. The prisoners, who expected nothing less than to be shot, immediately made no scruple of taking the oaths of submission required of them, but the moment they were armed and equipped they deserted and returned to their own armies; so that the French soldiers called King Joseph the administrator in chief of the military depots of the supreme junta. Even French marshals and generals, we are told, were very unwilling to obey a man whom they did not consider a Frenchman, since he had been acknowledged King of Spain; and they often contradicted him, and sought to disgust him, that they might be sent back into Germany. They would have been happy, at any price, to have quitted an irregular war, which had become unpopular even in the army. Joseph had neither enough of military talent and authority, nor sufficient confidence in himself, to venture to command such operations as the changes in the general situation of affairs imperiously required. He dared not issue any new order without consulting his brother. The plans sent from Paris, or from Germany, frequently arrived too late, and they could never be otherwise than imperfectly executed by one who had not conceived them.

Such was the character of Joseph as drawn by his own countrymen; but the circumstances which had recently occurred so favourable to the cause of the allies, although they were in some measure the result of the weak and insignificant character of the head of the central government, were also to a great degree inseparable from the nature of the enterprise which the French had undertaken. When the ruler of France confined himself to one object, which, however impossible the attainment of it might be, was interesting to the French, his army seconded his views, and was ready to sacrifice itself in his service; but when his ambition led him to distant enterprises—when he embarked in projects which were carried into effect at the same time in distant parts of the world, and when, instead of directing the execution himself, he left it to a government more weak and imbecile than any which had disgraced Europe, then, as might have been expected, his views of aggrandizement received a check, which, in the issue, proved decisive and fatal.—Such was the state of affairs at the beginning of this year. The French were not in a condition to act offensively; and, so long as the war in the north continued, could have no other object in view but to maintain the ground which they occupied. On the part of the allies, however, this interval was spent in preparations for an active and glorious campaign.

Much had already been done for Spain. A large and fertile district of the kingdom had been finally recovered, and an opportunity had been afforded to the Spaniards to embody a considerable army. The Spanish government, indeed, was still weak and inefficient; yet experience had taught them to correct some of the grosser errors of their policy. An excellent symptom of this amendment was shewn in the appointment of Lord Welling-

ton to the chief command of the Spanish armies.—The cortes, on the suggestion of the regency, passed a decree, investing his lordship with extraordinary powers as generalissimo of the Spanish land forces. A portion of the Spanish general staff was appointed to attend him, and to them all the communications from the different armies were to be addressed: on the other hand, all orders relative to the armies were to emanate from his lordship through the channel of the Spanish staff near his person.—General Castanos, who was much in the confidence of Marquis Wellington, arrived at Seville early in the present year, to prepare the Spanish army for active operations; and it was understood that a great and determined effort would be made by the Spaniards themselves in the course of the approaching spring. The cortes agreed to furnish Lord Wellington with an army of 50,000 men for the ensuing campaign; and for these troops his lordship had the power of appointing officers. A corps of reserve was also formed in Andalusia, and another in Gallicia, in order to maintain the more prominent force in a condition of permanent efficiency.

Yet were the discontents of the Spaniards, and their distrust of the British, by no means removed. The abolition of the Inquisition, the suppression of the convents, and the establishment of persons not noble by birth in the departments formerly occupied by nobles alone, appear to have excited about this time murmurings among the clergy and nobility of the ancient regime; some of whom, in conjunction with the partizans of Joseph Buonaparte, published libels upon the regency, and against British influence. Three or four of this faction were arrested in Seville. The regency, on this occasion, demanded of the cortes a temporary suspension of the laws relating to personal liberty, that they might arrest a greater number of the traitors, but were refused by the cortes, who did not think the affair of sufficient importance to require so strong a measure. One of the libels was in the following terms:—"The streets of Seville present to the Spanish people, to that people ever pious and friendly to the monks, a spectacle which must excite the most painful sentiments.—Priests, who never could have believed that the smallest opposition could be made to their assembling, present themselves; the intendant commands them in the name of the government not to assemble, and prohibits their entrance into the monasteries; they entreat, they supplicate, but they are not heard; they are abandoned, they are repulsed; and to avoid dying with hunger, these wretches disperse themselves through the streets, and beg their bread from door to door, clad in their sacred habits; they stop in the churches, and there implore the pity of the populace. What have these ministers of God done? what crime have they committed?" &c.—Such were the artifices of traitors, who sought to disunite and enslave the country.

The Spanish troops meanwhile had been slowly acquiring discipline and experience.—The British army had received a strong reinforcement of 20,000 men after the battle of Salamanca, and discipline had been restored by strict regulations, and enforced during the period of repose. The disposable troops at the opening of the campaign were estimated at about 80,000 British and Portuguese, with 40 or 50,000 Spanish regulars, besides a considerable guerilla force, which was hourly increasing.—The French force in Spain was still however very numerous; and Buonaparte, notwithstanding the signal reverses he had sustained in the north, was unwilling to reduce his army in the peninsula, or to hazard the

loss of so great a country. He had been compelled, however, to make numerous drafts to supply officers for the immense levies which he was then raising; but the deficiencies thus occasioned were replaced from the new conscription. No sooner, however, did he suspect the intentions of Austria, than he found it necessary to relax for a time his exertions in Spain; and considerable detachments were withdrawn to reinforce the grand army on the Elbe. Soult, who had long possessed the chief direction of the war in Spain, was called to the assistance of his master in Germany; and as the enemy's force had been thus considerably reduced, Lord Wellington hoped, by one grand effort, to liberate the peninsula, and drive the French beyond the Pyrenees.

The allied forces, before the opening of the campaign, were spread over a very extensive line. Lord Wellington, with the main body of the British and Portuguese, occupied cantonments along the northern frontier of Portugal, while General Hill, with a part of the army, and with the Spanish forces under Murillo, was posted in Estremadura. The second and third Spanish armies, commanded by the Duc del Parque and General Ellio, were stationed, the one in La Mancha, and the other on the frontiers of Murcia and Valencia. The force recently levied in Andalusia, which was denominated the army of reserve, had set out from Seville, under the command of General O'Donnel, who, on account of his exploits in Catalonia, had received the title of Conde de Abisbal. The army of Gallicia, under the command of General Castanos, was stationed on the frontiers of the province of that name. This officer was devoted to Lord Wellington, and the army of Gallicia was, of course, very much in the same situation as if it had been under the immediate command of his lordship. The whole forces of the north of Spain, therefore, which, besides the regular troops, comprehended numerous bands of guerillas, were completely under the controul of the British commander.

Such was the situation of the allied armies. The enemy again, enlightened by the reverses of the last year, occupied a more concentrated situation. The three French armies of Portugal, the centre and the south, were united in Castile, under Joseph Buonaparte, whose head-quarters were at Madrid. The army of Portugal was under the immediate command of General Reille, who had his head-quarters at Valladolid; that of the centre obeyed the orders of Count d'Erlon, whose head-quarters were in the vicinity of Madrid, while the army of the south had its head-quarters at Toledo. The position of the allies thus formed a very extensive semicircle round that which the enemy occupied in the centre of Spain. On this circumstance, perhaps, the French founded their hopes of a successful resistance, conceiving that by the rapid movement of their concentrated forces they might baffle attacks made from so many different points. The plan of the campaign, however, which Lord Wellington had formed was profound and judicious. General Hill at first threatened Madrid; but so soon as the season for action arrived, he turned to the left, marched through the Puerto de Banos, and joined the main army, which was assembling in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo. General O'Donnel, at the same time, marched through Estremadura, and the whole force of the allied army directed its course northward on the line of the Douro. That river, the largest in Spain, had, in the preceding campaign, proved an important barrier; and the French, who possessed along its northern bank a series of fortified positions, hoped, for a time at least, to dispute the pas-

sage. Lord Wellington, however, by a very able arrangement, completely provided against this obstacle. His force, as already mentioned, was divided into three parts, of which the centre, composed chiefly of light troops, was commanded by his lordship in person. With these he pushed on to Salamanca, and once more delivered that famous city from the modern Vandals. The French general, Villat, had scarcely time to evacuate it with the loss of 300 of his rear guard; the British entered the town at full gallop. The right, commanded by Sir Rowland Hill, including only one division of British, moved in a parallel direction with the centre on the left bank of the Douro. But the grand feature of the plan consisted in the passage of the main body of the army to the north of the Douro at Braganza; whence, under the command of Sir Thomas Graham, it proceeded along the right bank of the river, thus superseding the necessity of forcing a passage in the face of the enemy. The right of the Douro, throughout this part of its course, is rugged and precipitous, and completely commands the opposite bank; and the French had confidently reckoned on advantages, which this fine plan entirely defeated.—Such were the admirable arrangements made for opening the campaign, and they were executed with ability scarcely inferior to that by which they had been planned.

These successive dispositions baffled at once the provisions made by the enemy for arresting the victorious progress of the allies. Their detachments on both sides of the Douro retired precipitately, and Lord Wellington advanced without any obstacle besides those which nature presented.

The British commander, attended by his staff, and several British and Spanish generals, remained a few days in Salamanca. The morning after the French had been driven away, *Te Deum* was performed at the cathedral, and the service was attended by Lord Wellington.—This cathedral is considered as one of the finest in Spain. It is built of a white freestone, is surmounted with elegant turrets, bastions, arches, and a large dome, and adorned with a profusion of carved work in a rich and elaborate style. It is a very lofty and spacious edifice, standing in an open square. The grand altar is very magnificent; opposite to which stands the chancel, greatly resembling those of the English cathedrals The altar and chancel are surrounded by a screen of stone-work, exquisitely carved. The edifice contains two organs in the gallery, one of which is remarkable for its size and superior tone. The church also, from its munificent endowments, is able to maintain a very superior band of singers from Italy. Yet neither the magnificence nor the sanctity of this fine building would have restrained the licentious fury of the invaders; for shortly before the arrival of the British it had been doomed to destruction. A large contribution could not (from a total deficiency of means) be discharged; and the French general, in consequence, threatened to destroy the cathedral, unless his unreasonable demands were complied with. The reply returned was, that as the cathedral was public property, its destruction would not affect the personal interests of individuals, and that no one would interfere. The arrival, however, of the English prevented the accomplishment of this barbarous resolution.

The situation of Salamanca commands many advantages; the natural position is strong, and pains have been taken to secure it by a substantial wall, which, in its most exposed situation, is flanked by a strong bastion. The appearance of the town since the invasion of the French, excites many melancholy reflections to those who have

heard the accounts of its former magnificence, and high reputation as a seat of learning. The remains of nineteen splendid colleges, built of a handsome white stone, most elaborately and classically ornamented, are still visible. Several of these colleges were dedicated entirely to Irish students, numbers of whom are to be met with in the church, the army, and various other departments of the state. They have now become naturalised, and are said to constitute the best informed part of the community.

During the advance of the army through Spain, a marked difference was observed in the policy which the French had pursued towards this country from that which they appear to have adopted towards Portugal. Their chief aim, during their residence in Spain, was to introduce an alteration in the manners and customs of the people, and to render them more congenial with their own views; but as they could scarcely ever hope to reign with unlimited sway over Portugal, that country was treated more in the light of a conquered kingdom, and rapine and devastation were universally committed. In Spain, indeed, every establishment was destroyed; and the invaders, while they secured the king, and frightened the government into obedience, annihilated the influence of the priests, and abolished all religious and learned institutions with remorseless rigour. Those walls, which, during the prosperous days of Spain, contained all that is estimable in science and literature, were now converted into receptacles for the passing armies, which alternately preyed upon the vitals of the country.

The British army, which had thus rapidly penetrated into Spain, was in the finest condition; it was exceedingly healthy, and had enjoyed a long repose, while the check which it met with last year only redoubled its ardour and enthusiasm. The infantry were well provided with tents in this campaign, which ensured the health and comfort of the soldier, and proved a powerful assistance in preserving the regiments, which, in former campaigns, were so greatly reduced by sickness, fatigue, and extreme exposure to the weather. The Portuguese troops had also a fine appearance; but the equipment of the Spaniards was more defective. The following account has been given by an eye-witness of their appearance at a review. "The generalissimo (Castanos) gorgeously arrayed, was mounted upon a black Andalusian horse, in a full suit of white laced regimentals, surrounded by his staff, in blue uniforms, and escorted by a troop of royal lancers, clothed in yellow. There were from 5 to 6000 men upon the ground. An inspection of necessaries formed one part of the ceremony, of which, from motives of curiosity alone, I wished to be a spectator Had the men all been marched through Monmouth street, in order that every one might suit himself according to his taste, it is hardly possible to suppose a selection more ridiculously happy than the assemblage I then witnessed, as to shape, colour, and quality.—Notwithstanding the great deficiency of appointment and discipline in this army, the men are naturally fine looking; and if well organized, clothed, and officered, would no doubt prove a formidable force. The officers, in general," adds the same writer, "are wretched and miserable in their appearance; their dress is not often better than that of the men, and equally irregular and unmilitary. I have often seen them eating and drinking, and conversing familiarly, with the privates; and it is not unusual to meet an officer riding in good fellowship with one of them upon the same mule, the animal bearing the personal baggage of both his riders." Notwithstanding the whimsical appear-

ance of the Spanish army, it was destined very soon to take a part in transactions of the greatest moment, and to prove itself not unworthy of the task confided to it.

Lord Wellington left the command of the centre and right of the army to Sir Rowland Hill, and joined the left under Sir Thomas Graham at Carvelejos. On the 31st of May this wing crossed the Ezla, and, passing through Zamora, arrived on the 2d of June at Toro, the French having evacuated both these places on the approach of the allies.—The most interesting military movement which occurred upon the march was the fording of the river Douro under the walls of Toro. This place is, to all appearance, impregnably fortified by nature on the western side, and certainly not wanting in defence on every other, the whole being surrounded by an exceedingly strong high wall. The enemy, a few days before the arrival of the British, destroyed the bridge, to secure themselves from pursuit; and their astonishment must have been great to find that the advantages which the city possessed formed no obstacle to the progress of the allied forces. The enemy's right and left being quickly turned in succession, he was compelled instantly to retire before the combined army. The river, at this place, is very deep, and flows with a rapid stream. A little below the bridge there is a fordable passage for cavalry; yet the cavalry of the allied army, although passing in an immense body at one time, were forced to pursue a diagonal, rather than a direct course. A small proportion only of the horses could keep their legs, the rest having been forced absolutely to swim through the torrent. Other portions of the army crossed the Ezla; the fordings proved fatal to many, though not perhaps to the extent which might reasonably have been expected, from the difficulties attending the passage.

The city of Toro, of which the English had now got possession, is small, but handsome and compact; and its appearance, when viewed from a distance, is very imposing. From the spot, on which the bridge destroyed by the French stood, a wide and excellent road runs in a serpentine course to the summit of a very lofty precipice, which forms the scite of the town; in front is a fine, verdant, and level country, abounding in villages; while on the opposite side, the view is beyond conception rich and extensive.

The division of Sir Thomas Graham had now effected a junction with the Gallician army, which formed its extreme left.—During the 3d of June, Lord Wellington halted at Toro, in order that the rear, which had been detained by the difficulty of crossing the Ezla, might have time to close in. On the 4th the whole army marched on Valladolid.—Thus had Lord Wellington, by advancing against the enemy along the northern bank of the Douro, entirely deprived him of the protection which he might have derived from having that river in his front, and compelled him to evacuate his strong positions.

The French force on the Douro being unable to arrest the rapid advance of the allies, their army at Madrid was placed in a very critical situation. By remaining there it might have been cut off from the other army, and from the high road leading to the French frontier. It was therefore determined to abandon the capital without a struggle;—on the 27th of May all the troops in Madrid and on the Tagus began their retreat, and on the 3d crossed the Douro. Although the different French armies were thus united, they did not attempt to defend Valladolid, or the passage of the Pisu-

erga, but continued their retreat without intermission till they arrived at Burgos. The allied armies advanced to Palencia. A large force of the enemy had recently occupied this town, where their head quarters were established.—Joseph Buonaparte had taken flight the evening before the allies entered The people were rejoiced at their arrival, as the enemy, during his stay, treated them with great severity.—The three great divisions of the army concentrated around this town, part of the cavalry and the staff being quartered within its walls, and the rest encamped on the plains around.

The town is large, but has an air of poverty, though when viewed from a distance it assumes a fine appearance. It has a large cathedral church, which, though plain in its external appearance, is handsomely and elaborately ornamented in the interior. The city contains also several convents; these buildings are spacious, but their establishments are very poor.—In the environs of the town, and occupying a space scarcely less than that of the town itself, stand the remains of the once magnificent and wealthy convent of Saint Francisco, which some years ago attracted the cupidity of Buonaparte, who was unwilling to suffer an order so rich and powerful to exist. Not contented with ruining this splendid establishment, he caused eighteen unfortunate friars to be surrounded and put to death in the cloisters. A lay brother, a venerable old man, who was under librarian to the house, and who still remained in charge of the little property left by the plunderers, related to a British officer, with tears in his eyes, and a just expression of indignation, the account of this cruel murder, of which he himself was a melancholy witness.—Much of the building of this monastery still remains notwithstanding the devastation it has sustained. The establishment appears formerly to have included an extensive library, many of the books belonging to which have been recently carried away. The offices are spacious and convenient, and bespeak the former splendour of the institution.—The country round Palencia is well peopled, and numerous villages are seen in all directions. The inhabitants stated that the French officers abandoned the place in full confidence of a speedy return, little expecting the decisive events which were so soon to overwhelm them.

At Burgos the whole of the enemy's armies of the centre—of Portugal—and of the north, were assembled; and as this strong-hold formed the key of the north of Spain, and the last before reaching the Ebro, it seemed that here the great stand must be made. Lord Wellington gave his army a short repose, which had been rendered necessary by the unparalleled rapidity of the march, and then pushed forward with the cavalry and light troops to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and drive them to some decisive measure. They were found covering Burgos in a strong position, but a charge of British cavalry soon turned both their flanks, and obliged them to fall back behind the river Urbelar. In the course of the following night they withdrew their whole force through the town of Burgos, having first destroyed the works of the castle; and on the following day all their troops were in full retreat towards the Ebro.

Lord Wellington did not pursue the enemy along the main road, where the passage of the river might have been disputed, and his progress obstructed by the strong fortress and defiles of Pancorbo. As soon as he saw that Burgos had been abandoned, he ordered the allied army to make a movement on its left, with the view of pass-

ing the Ebro near its source. The enemy, by whom this measure seems to have been unexpected, had made no provision for guarding the passage; and Lord Wellington crossed the river without opposition. He had now not only overcome the barrier of the Ebro, but was in a condition to threaten the rear of the enemy, and his communications with France.

Every step the army now advanced brought it into a more mountainous region; the roads, however, for the most part, were good, and the country generally fertile.—The inhabitants regarded the approach of the British with a greater degree of enthusiasm and curiosity than had been displayed in more southern districts. In the course of the march the people assembled in crowds, and hailed their allies with shouts of joy; they spoke much of the tyranny and oppression of the French army, and acquainted the British officers with many anecdotes respecting the enemy, which evinced his disregard of all feeling and principle.

It was on the 15th of June that part of the army crossed the Ebro by the pass of Saint Martino, and entered that district of Spain which Buonaparte had dared to annex for ever to France, the river Ebro, instead of the Pyrenees, having been declared the boundary between the two countries.—There is something very striking in this pass. After a long march, the army arrived at a tremendous precipice, extending right and left beyond the reach of sight, and which, rising a little in front, prevents the deep and wide chasm through which the river flows from being seen, till the traveller comes immediately upon it, when a prospect suddenly bursts upon the view of the richest and most interesting character, and greatly heightened by the contrast with the region so recently traversed.—The Ebro is here very narrow, though deep; and meanders in a serpentine form through fertile vallies, while each side is flanked by stupendous chains of mountains, partly rocky and barren, and partly cultivated, and affording walks for the sheep and goats, which brouze upon their steepest summits. A few leagues northward, near the source of the river, the loftiest rocks rise perpendicularly above each other, forming deep ravines and stupendous cataracts, and constituting altogether an assemblage of grand and sublime objects, probably not surpassed in any part of the globe.—Two divisions of the army crossed the Ebro at this place; where, on account of the difficulties to be overcome, in traversing the steep descents, only one horse or mule could pass at a time. The progress of the artillery and baggage was in this manner greatly impeded.—Throughout the whole of this part of the march the army seemed to traverse the land of romance; extensive ravines every where intersect this country; while the mountains rear their barren and rocky heads to the clouds, attracting vast masses of snow, which, when melted by the sun, flow in torrents down the rocks.—This wild and romantic scenery is finely varied by the appearance of rich corn fields, vineyards, and olive-groves, among which the Ebro irregularly winds its majestic course through some of the most fertile parts of Spain, and passing by Zaragoza, empties itself into the Mediterranean at a small distance below Tortosa.

The passage of the Ebro having been thus fortunately accomplished, the British general directed his march on Vittoria, which the French had made their central depot in the frontier provinces. To oppose his progress they hastily collected such troops as were in the neighbourhood, or could be thrown across from Pancorbo.—These troops

advanced to meet the allies, but although for the moment superior in number they were quickly repulsed. The enemy, however, still remained at Pancorbo, and seemed determined to maintain themselves, if possible, in that strong position. When they observed, however, that the allied army threatened their rear, they abandoned Pancorbo on the night of the 18th, and hastened to take up a position in front of Vittoria, which they effected on the following day. Lord Wellington spent the 20th in collecting his divisions which had been scattered by a hasty march over a rugged and difficult country, and in reconnoitring the position of the enemy.

The enemy's army, commanded by Joseph Buonaparte, having Marshal Jourdan as the major-general, had taken up a position in front of Vittoria, the left of which rested upon the heights which terminate at Puebla de Arlanzon, and extended from thence across the valley of Gadora, in front of the village of Arunez. They occupied, with the right of the centre, a height which commands the valley of Zadora; their right was stationed near Vittoria, and destined to defend the passages of the river Zadora. From these positions the British general determined to drive them; and accordingly made the necessary preparations for attacking them the next day, (the 21st June) when he obtained a great and decisive victory in the neighbourhood of that city.

The operations of the day commenced by a successful movement of Sir R. Hill, to obtain possession of the heights of Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested; these heights the French had not occupied in great strength. Sir R. Hill detached on this service one brigade of the Spanish division under General Murillo, the other being employed in keeping open the communication between his main body, on the high road from Miranda to Vittoria, and the troops detached to the heights. The enemy, however, soon discovered the importance of the heights, and reinforced his troops there to such an extent, that Sir R. Hill was obliged to detach the 71st regiment, and the light infantry battalion of General Walker's brigade, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Cadogan, and successively other troops to the same point. The allies, however, not only gained, but maintained, possession of these important heights throughout their operations, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to retake them. The contest, at this point, however, was very severe, and the loss sustained considerable. General Murillo was wounded, but remained in the field; Colonel Cadogan died of a wound which he received. "In him," said Lord Wellington, "the service lost an officer of great zeal and tried gallantry, who had already acquired the respect and regard of the whole profession, and of whom it might have been expected, that if he had lived, he would have rendered the most important services to his country."

Under cover of these heights, Sir R. Hill passed the Zadora at La Puebla, and the defile formed by the heights and the river Zadora. He attacked and gained possession of the village of Sabijana de Alava, in front of the enemy's line, which the latter made repeated attempts to regain. The difficult nature of the country prevented the communication from being formed between the different columns moving to the attack from their station on the river Bayas, at as early an hour as Lord Wellington had expected; and it was late before he knew that the column composed of the 3d and 7th divisions, under the command of the Earl of Dalhousie, had arrived at the

station appointed for them. The fourth and light division, however, passed the Zadora immediately after Sir R. Hill had possession of Sabijana de Alava; and almost as soon as these divisions had crossed, the column under the Earl of Dalhousie arrived at Mendonza, and the third division under Sir T. Picton crossed at the bridge higher up, followed by the 7th division. These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while Sir R. Hill moved forward from Sabijana de Alava to attack the left. The enemy, however, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachment in the hills, abandoned his position in the valley as soon as he saw the disposition of the allied army to attack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vittoria. The British troops continued to advance in admirable order, notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground.

In the mean time Sir T. Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the 1st and 5th divisions,—of Generals Pack and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and Generals Bock's and Anson's cavalry, and who had moved on the 20th to Margina, advanced thence on Vittoria, by the high road from that town to Bilboa. He had with him also the Spanish division under Colonel Longa. General Giron, who had been detached to the left, under a different view of the state of affairs, having afterwards been recalled, had arrived on the 20th at Ordima, and marched thence on the morning of the 21st, so as to be in the field in readiness to support Sir Thomas Graham, if his support had been required. The enemy had a division of infantry, and some cavalry advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, their right resting on some strong heights which cover the village of Gamarro Major. Both Gamarro and Abechinco were strongly occupied, as tetes-du-pont to the bridges over the Zadora at these places. General Pack, with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa, with the Spanish division, supported by General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry under the command of General Oswald, who was desired to take the command of all these troops, were directed to turn and gain the heights. So soon as the heights were in possession of the allies, the village of Gamarro Major was most gallantly stormed and carried by General Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which advanced in columns of battalion, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot. The enemy suffered severely at this point, and lost three pieces of cannon. The Lieutenant-General then proceeded to attack the village of Abechinco with the first division, by forming a strong battery against it; under cover of the fire, Colonel Walkett's brigade advanced to the attack, and carried the village, the light battalion having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge.

During the operations at Abechinco, the enemy made the greatest efforts to repossess themselves of the village of Gamarro Major; but were gallantly repulsed by the troops of the 5th division under General Oswald. The enemy had, however, on the heights on the left of the Zadora two divisions of infantry in reserve; and it was impossible to cross by the bridges till the troops which had moved upon the enemy's centre and left had driven them through Vittoria. This service having been admirably peformed, the whole army co-operated in the pursuit.

The movements of the troops under Sir T. Graham, by which they obtained possession of Gamarro and Abechinco, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the high road to France. The fugitives were thus obliged to turn to the road towards Pampluna; but they were unable to hold any position for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off. The whole of the artillery therefore which had not been captured by the troops in their attack of the successive positions taken up by the enemy, after their retreat from their first position on Arunez, and on the Zadora, and all their ammunition and baggage, and every thing they had, were taken close to Vittoria. The enemy carried off with them one gun and one howitzer only.

The army under Joseph Buonaparte consisted of the whole of the armies of the south and of the centre,—of four divisions, and of all the cavalry of the army of Portugal—and of some troops of the army of the north. General Foy's division of the army of Portugal was in the neighbourhood of Bilboa at this time; and Clausel, who commanded the army of the north, was near Logrono with one division of the army of Portugal, and another of the army of the north. The 6th division of the allied army, under general Pakenham, was likewise absent, having been detained in Medina del Pomar for three days, to cover the march of the magazines and stores belonging to the allied army.—"I cannot," says Lord Wellington in his official dispatches, "extol too highly the good conduct of all the general officers and soldiers of the army in this action."

When the short account of this brilliant exploit, which has just been given almost in the very words of Lord Wellington, is considered, we shall find every reason to admire the talent which he displayed on this occasion, and to wonder at the strange errors committed by the enemy.

The first operation of the allies was to occupy the heights of La Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested. In permitting this to be effected with little resistance, the French seemed to have committed a capital error, of which they immediately became sensible; and they made vigorous efforts, and poured detachment after detachment, in order to regain possession of them. Lord Wellington however supported the corps posted there in such a manner, that they were still able to maintain their ground.—Then followed the attack on both flanks of the enemy's centre. The French were not prepared for this attack. They had weakened their centre, for the purpose of making fruitless efforts against the heights on the left; and discovering at last that their exertions to maintain their position would be unavailing, they abandoned it, and the whole of their centre and left retreated upon Vittoria. General Graham, with the left of the allied army, was now carrying on those operations which were to render victory decisive. The enemy had stationed a considerable force in advance of Gamarro; and occupied several strongly fortified villages, by which the high roads to Bilboa and Bayonne were defended. General Graham succeeded in expelling the enemy from all these positions, and driving him across the Zadora. The bridges however being strongly guarded, he was himself unable to gain the opposite bank, until it had been cleared by the victorious right and centre. The left then crossed the river also, and joined in the pursuit.

The enemy was thus cut off from the high road into France, on which

all their arrangements for retreating had been made. They were forced to retire by the more difficult and circuitous route of Pampluna, upon which they had secured no fortified positions to cover this movement. They had thus no means of making a stand at any one point for a length of time sufficient to enable them to carry away their artillery and equipments. Near Vittoria, therefore, the whole fell into the hands of the pursuers. Never was an army so completely stripped. Baggage, artillery, ammunition, camp equipage—all was taken; vast quantities of treasure were even thrown down the rocks and collected by the pursuing troops. The allied army, in this most legitimate plunder, found some solid reward for the glorious toils through which they had passed. Of one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, the enemy carried with him one gun and one howitzer only; even this solitary gun was afterwards captured. The French passed Pampluna, but without stopping at that fortress, and pursued their retreat over the Pyrenees into France. Joseph Buonaparte passed through Salvatierra, in his precipitate flight from Vittoria, stripped of every thing, and exhibiting every symptom of fear and confusion.

The Spanish people hailed the approach of their allies with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy, satisfied, as they were from the appearance and strength of the army, that Spain was completely emancipated from the French yoke. The inhabitants of Logrono, a fine town a few leagues distant from Vittoria, resolved to lose no time in proclaiming the change of affairs, although it was humanely suggested to them, that, in case of the French returning, every one would be oppressed and punished, who assisted in the ceremony. They insisted, however, upon proclaiming Ferdinand VII. immediately; and he was accordingly reinstated upon his throne by proxy, the ceremony having been attended by the civil authorities of the place, who conducted the representative of majesty to a stage erected for the occasion in the market-place. In the evening the town was illuminated and the rejoicings were general and enthusiastic.

The victory of Vittoria will be no less memorable for the importance of its consequences, than for the courage and talent by which it was achieved.—The extent of the enemy's loss in stores and artillery was almost unexampled. This victory besides afforded the prospect of driving the enemy out of Spain,—and what had by many been regarded as wild speculation was now become matter of confident hope. Even the invasion of France seemed to be a question of prudence merely with the British general. The British people, who had so long heard of the intention of the enemy to invade this country—who had heard of their vain boast that they should plant the French eagles on the Tower of London—were now assured that France might be invaded by a British army. It was highly probable that the same army which, by imperial mandate, was ordered into the sea at Lisbon, might soon enter by land into Bourdeaux; and thus the prospects which opened to the country were such as amply confirmed the original wisdom of that policy which had led her to engage in the cause of the peninsula.

The grand object of this policy was to support the cause of Spain and Portugal, and thus create a most important diversion in favour of other nations, who might be inclined to oppose the encroachments, or throw off the yoke, of France; and at the same time to afford to all nations a noble example of persevering and determined resistance. The wisdom of that policy had now been amply proved.—It was

universally known, that the efforts of the British in Spain had encouraged Russia to resist. It was the request of that power, that, as the best assistance which Britain could give her in her contest with France, the peninsular war should be vigorously maintained. And what had been the result of this resistance? The opposition made to the power of the enemy in Spain and Portugal had produced the great efforts of Russia, and had enabled that country to resist with success; for if the French had been prepared to advance into Russia at an earlier season, and in greater force, the issue might have been different. Another great object of this policy was to deprive the enemy of the resources of Spain and Portugal, which he might have employed to the subjugation of other countries. How great the progress which had now been made in effecting this object! Was it not much that the main French army, commanded by the intrusive king in person, should have been signally defeated with the loss of all its artillery, and every thing which constituted its strength; and that this same king, (whose "sacred dynasty" was to be perpetual) had been compelled to fly in disgrace? In such a state of things, it was impossible to deny that a great stride had been made towards the accomplishment of the legitimate objects of the contest—the destruction of the enemy's power in the peninsula.—This victory, moreover, was of a nature as decisive as any which had graced the military annals of England. Not only was the enemy defeated, and driven off the field, but he had lost all his artillery, his stores, his baggage, and, in short, every thing which constituted the materiel of an army. He had been compelled to abandon the strong military positions on the Ebro, which he had been fortifying for months, and where he reckoned upon making a stand, if forced to relinquish the other districts of Spain.—The great talents of Lord Wellington had scarcely been more displayed in the decisive battle of Vittoria, than in the skill with which the campaign was planned and the rapidity with which it had been conducted. The enemy imagined that the fortifications which he had constructed at Toro and other places, but particularly at Burgos, would retard the movements of the British troops, till he should be able, at least, to carry off his magazines in security. Such however was the skill of Lord Wellington's manœuvres, and such the rapidity with which they were conducted, that all the plans of the enemy were confounded. No sooner had the allies advanced into Spain, than the French hastily abandoned all their points of defence, and were constrained even to evacuate Burgos, on which they had expended so much labour. They abandoned Pancorbo and Miranda on the Ebro with equal rapidity; so that in less than a month after the allies entered Spain, the enemy beheld them threatening his magazines at Vittoria, which he was compelled to defend at every hazard. Here the contest was never for a moment doubtful. The French seem to have fought with spirit on two points only, the one on their right, where it was their object to cover or regain the main road to France by Bayonne, in which attempt they were completely repulsed by the troops under Sir T. Graham; the other on the left, where they endeavoured in vain to retake the commanding positions which were forced and maintained by the division of Sir Rowland Hill.—It is remarkable that near the spot where this great battle was fought, another victory was obtained in the proudest days of England's martial glory, when Edward the Black Prince defeated the usurper of the crown of Spain, who on that

occasion was supported by French troops.

The merits of Lord Wellington seemed now to transcend all praise. He had been tried in a more extraordinary manner perhaps than any character, in military or in civil life. He had at first planned and conducted a system of defence in the face of a far superior force, commanded by very able generals; and had displayed the highest qualities of a consummate captain. He had, with unequalled coolness and vigilance, struggled with every difficulty, and triumphed over every obstacle. Such events could have been accomplished only by wonderful exertions of valour by himself and his army, and by the more difficult exercise of persevering endurance in the most trying situations. But his lordship now appeared to his country and to the world, as a man who had frequently distinguished himself in every possible way through every stage of the contest—by his skill in conducting sieges—by his promptitude in the application of sudden efforts—by his success in operations carried on in a country where the greatest difficulties were experienced—by the ability with which he had conducted himself even in retreating,—and at last by a series of victories which had never been surpassed in splendour and importance.

The prince, whom he served with so much glory, testified the sense which he entertained of his high deserts in the most marked and gratifying manner. The staff of Marshal Jourdan having been taken at the battle of Vittoria, and sent to the Prince Regent, his Royal Highness in return created Lord Wellington a field marshal of Great Britain. The frank and affectionate letter of the prince, so worthy of that illustrious personage, which accompanied this mark of the royal favour, must have greatly enhanced the gratification felt by Lord Wellington. The Spanish government also, as a proof of its gratitude for his eminent services to Spain, created him Duke of Vittoria.

CHAP. IX.

Spanish Affairs continued.—Rapid Progress of the Allied Armies.—St Sebastian and Pampluna invested.—Digression as to the Defects of the British Army in conducting Sieges.

THE great victory which had been atchieved by the allied armies, was followed up with that promptitude and decision which belong to the character of their leader. Not a moment was lost in pursuing the fugitive army—in harassing its retreat—intercepting the reinforcements which sought to relieve it—or investing the strong fortresses which now formed the last hold of the enemy upon Spain. Not a moment was left him to recover from the consternation into which he had been thrown by the sudden and fatal blow so lately inflicted.

General Clausel, ignorant of the defeat of his countrymen, had approached Vittoria, with part of the army of the north; but retired towards Logrono, after ascertaining the result of the action of the 21st. He remained in the neighbourhood of that place on the 24th, and till late on he 25th.

Logrono, which Clausel thus occupied, is a populous and fine town; the streets are narrow, but the houses in general are good. The Ebro flows by the north side of the town; a handsome bridge, with a gateway in the centre, is thrown over the river at the northern entrance. A fine walk nearly encircles the town, and a square on its southern side is well planted with trees, and abounds with promenades formed in different directions. A large convent in ruins supplies the place of barracks; and attached to it is a crescent forming a convenient parade, the enclosed space of which had been originally designed for bull-fights. The French, during their stay in this town, constructed a very spacious and convenient building for a military hospital, furnished with a kitchen and laboratory, store-rooms and surgery, which were afterwards taken and occupied by our troops, and proved a valuable acquisition to the allied army. The town contains several handsome churches; the collegiate church in particular is a very elegant building. During the five years the French occupied this town, they ingratiated themselves very much with the people. The arrival of the British, however, produced a great sensation.

Lord Wellington conceived, that as General Clausel had lingered so long at this place, there might be some chance of intercepting his retreat; and after sending the light troops towards

Roncesvalles, in pursuit of the army under Joseph Buonaparte, he moved against General Clausel a large force towards Tudela, and another towards Logrono. The French general, however, made forced marches, followed by General Mina. He crossed the Ebro at Tudela; but being informed that the British were upon the road, he immediately recrossed, and marched towards Zaragoza. He did not attempt to make a stand at Zaragoza, but leaving a detachment under General Paris, passed by a circuitous route through Jaca across the Pyrenees. Paris, on the approach of General Mina, retreated in the same manner. Mina, however, still followed the enemy, and took from him two pieces of cannon, and some stores in Tudela, besides 300 prisoners; General Clinton also took possession of five guns which the enemy left at Logrono.—In the meantime the troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir R. Hill moved through the mountains to the head of the Bidassoa, the enemy having on that side retired into France.

While these events took place on the right of the army, General Graham with the left wing, composed chiefly of Portuguese and Spaniards, was not inactive. The French evacuated all their stations in Biscay, except Santona and St Sebastian; and uniting their garrisons to the division of the army of the north, which was at Bilboa, they assembled a force more considerable than had at first been supposed. Their first effort was made at the junction of the road from Pampluna with that from Bayonne; they posted themselves on a hill commanding these two roads, and determined to maintain it. A vigorous attack, however, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, quickly dislodged them. The enemy then retreated into Tolosa, a town slightly fortified, and by barricading the gates, and occupying convents and large buildings in the vicinity, they succeeded in rendering it a strong position. It was necessary to bring forward a nine-pounder in order to burst open one of the gates. The allies made their way into the town; but it was already dark; and the troops of the different nations could scarcely be distinguished. The perplexity thus occasioned enabled the French to escape with smaller loss than they must otherwise have sustained.—The enemy made his last stand on the Bidassoa, which forms the boundary, in this direction, between Spain and France. He was driven across it by a brigade of the army of Gallicia under the command of General Castanos, and the bridge over the river was destroyed. Port Passages, a harbour of considerable importance at the mouth of the Bidassoa, was then taken by Longa, and its garrison of 150 men made prisoners.

The town of Passages is very singularly constructed, and is as disagreeable as it is peculiar. The sea flows through a defile of mountains, and forms a navigable river to a considerable extent inland, affording a very safe and convenient harbour for shipping, with which it is exceedingly crowded. This circumstance imparts an interest to the place, which joined to the beauty of the surrounding country, compensates, in some degree, for the extreme wretchedness of its accommodation.—The town consists of two exceedingly narrow and dirty streets, one of which lies on one side of the river, and the other on the opposite bank, the communication between the two being carried on solely by means of boats.

When the enemy retired across the Ebro, previously to the battle of Vittoria, they left a garrison of about 600 men in the castle of Pancorbo, by which they commanded the great communication from Vittoria to Bour-

gos. Lord Wellington therefore ordered the Conde de Abisbal, on his march to Miranda, to make himself master of the town and lower works, and to blockade the place. The Spanish general accordingly carried the town and lower fort by assault on the 28th of July, after which the garrison surrendered by capitulation.—The decision and dispatch with which this place was subdued were highly creditable to the officers and troops employed.

The Spanish cortes, on receiving intelligence of the great success of Lord Wellington, voted thanks to the field-marshal and his brave army by acclamation.—They sent a deputation to the British ambassador to compliment him; and came to a unanimous vote that a territorial property should be conferred upon their grandee, the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo; and that the title of possession should contain these words: "*In the name of the Spanish nation, in testimony of its most sincere gratitude.*"

The allied armies meanwhile pursued their victorious career. Though the enemy had withrawn the whole of their right and left wings into France, three divisions of the centre, under General Gazan, remained in the valley of Bustan, of which they seemed determined to keep possession, as it is very fertile and full of strong positions. Upon the 4th, 5th, and 7th of July, however, they were successively dislodged from all their posts, by two brigades of British and two of Portuguese infantry, under Sir R. Hill; and compelled to retreat into France. The allies lost eight men killed, and 119 wounded.—These affairs, by which Sir R. Hill dislodged the enemy from this fine valley and drove him into France, were extremely brilliant.

Before the British army could be conveniently employed in more decisive operations against the enemy, it became necessary to reduce the fortresses of St Sebastian and Pampluna, two of the strongest in Spain. As these were the last sieges undertaken by the British troops in the peninsula—as the reduction of both places required from the British army efforts almost incredible,—and as it seems to be the general opinion among officers of science and experience, that considerable improvements may yet be accomplished in this branch of the service, a brief review of the opinions entertained on this subject may not be uninteresting. We shall premise a short account of the situation and appearance of St Sebastian and Pampluna.

St Sebastian, which once formed one of the finest cities of Spain, and which still bears marks of its former splendour, is almost a league from Passages. The houses appear to have been in general large and handsome, and the streets, for the most part, are uniform and spacious. The town is built on a peninsula, running nearly east and west, the northern side being washed by the river Urumea, the southern by the sea. The front defences, which crossed the isthmus towards the land, when the place was besieged, consisted of a double line of works, with the usual counterscarp, covered way, and glacis, but the works running lengthways of the peninsula were composed of only a single line; and, trusting to the water in front to render them inaccessible, they were built without any cover. The northern line is quite exposed from the top to the bottom, to a range of hills on the right bank of the river, at the distance of six or seven hundred yards from it. The neglect to cover these walls appears unaccountable, as the Urumea for some hours before and after low water is fordable, and the tide recedes so much, that for the same period there is a considerable space left dry along the left bank of the

river, by which troops can march to the foot of the wall.—Marshal Berwick, when he attacked St Sebastian in 1701 aware of this circumstance, threw up batteries on those hills to breach the town-wall, pushed an approach along the isthmus, and established himself on the covered-way of the land front. So soon as the breach was practicable, the governor capitulated for the town, and the Duke obliged him, with the garrison, to retire into the castle.

Pampluna is represented by some travellers as the finest town in Spain. Its vicinity to France, and the sea ports upon the coast of Biscay, which, from the excellence of the roads, are easy of access even to carriages, combined with a ready communication to the metropolis, and the fine country of Catalonia, bestow on Pampluna many advantages.—The town itself is spacious, airy, and handsome; the streets are wider than those of other Spanish towns, and the houses are generally more commodious. The approach to the city is noble; and, as a completely fortified place, Pampluna has a very imposing appearance. Its elegant and lofty spires are seen from a great distance, and altogether, with its walls, bastions, and turrets, it has an appearance of strength and grandeur. The northern part of the town is much elevated, and the Ebro is seen approaching from a considerable distance. A handsome bridge is thrown over the river, which conducts the traveller to the city through a spacious gateway. The suburbs are scattered over the banks of the river, but the French have done them considerable injury. Within the town they practised their usual system of plunder and spoliation.—In the centre of Pampluna there is a large market place; a handsome municipal-house, adjacent to which is a very spacious square with piazzas; convents, and other charitable endowments, some of which are very handsome and costly, meet the eye in all directions. The collegiate church is a large and handsome building, erected on the summit of a hill, at the northern extremity of the town, and in the centre of a paved square It appears to be very ancient; is of Gothic architecture, and decorated, like many other Gothic edifices, by various figures in the most uncouth attitudes. The front has been modernized, and is very finely ornamented. A royal palace is still shewn, more remarkable for its antiquity than its beauty. The citadel occupies a large space of ground, and consists chiefly of a crescent of small houses, where the artificers reside; it has no tower, or any thing indicating a castellated appearance, above its walls. A walk round the ramparts commands many fine views of the surrounding country. The fortifications are unusually strong, and doubly ditched. Interposed between these works and the city, on one side, is a large square, ornamented with fine poplar trees, which forms a parade for the exercise of the troops. The town, though still populous, has been much reduced of late years; and its present inhabitants have been greatly impoverished by their late connection with the French

Such were the places which the British army was now ordered to reduce, strengthened as they were by all the resources of French ingenuity, and defended by a chosen band of French troops.

The most inattentive observer of the campaigns in the peninsula, cannot but have remarked, that in the field, on every occasion, the British have shewn a decided superiority over the French, which neither inequality of numbers, strength of position, nor other circumstance, has been able to counterbalance: Yet in every instance when a fortified

place has been attacked, this superiority has been lost, and the enemy has either successfully resisted, or the place has been gained at a price above its current value. So constant and so marked a difference in the result of contentions between the same troops when fighting in the field and at a siege, cannot be the effect of chance, but must be explained by reference to some constantly operating cause.

As the corps of artillery and engineers are the most prominent actors at a siege, it is natural to conjecture that one or other of them is deficient in a knowledge of its duty, but the former is universally and deservedly considered as the best in Europe; and Lord Wellington's express declaration, that the attacks were carried on by the engineers with the greatest ability, and that by their conduct on such occasions they had augmented their claims to his approbation, must for ever remove any suspicion of want of talent or zeal in this department. It becomes therefore an object of considerable interest to ascertain why so skilful a general, with the bravest troops in the world—with excellent artillery—and with engineers whose conduct has always met with his approbation, should not have carried on his sieges with the same certainty of success, and the same inconsiderable loss, which have attended the operations of the ordinary generals of the French army.

Whatever opinions the English may entertain against fortifying their own towns, no doubt can exist, after the experience of so many costly sieges, as to the advantage occasionally to be derived from having the power to reduce those of an enemy. Within these few years the judgment of men in all countries on the value of fortresses, has undergone great changes. The overwhelming torrent of the French armies, supported by opinion, bore down every thing; the best fortified towns yielded to it equally with the open village; not one fortress opposed a due resistance, to uphold its ancient reputation, and all belief in their use was staggered. That torrent is happily now spent; the operations of war are fast returning into their former channels, and fortresses are resuming their due rank in its combinations. No longer do we hear of towns surrendered on a first summons, or under the terrors of a bombardment; no longer are fortified places considered as useless drains on an army. In the hands of the French they have suddenly assumed a new character, and the most insignificant post makes a protracted resistance—a resistance which to many appears unaccountable. To profit by this feeling, the French government have, by popular treatises, and other arts, attempted but too successfully to impose a belief that with them the defence has received some great improvement; and the enemies of France, by a strange perverseness of judgment, at the very moment when they had to reconquer those possessions which they readily surrendered, were, without due examination, imbibing an opinion of their impregnability. It is of considerable importance to those who are likely to act only as assailants, that such ideas should be discouraged, since they appear to be founded in error. The only improvement which the science of defence appears to have received consists in the negative advantage accruing to it from the disuse, of late years, of that science of attack, and of those powerful means which formerly gave to the besiegers so irresistible a superiority. The best method to restore its former character to the science of attack, would be, to revive the knowledge of the art amongst military men generally, when its great powers would become apparent. Had this been done at an earlier period, the French would have derived no more than a just value from their numerous fortified places.

In the English language there exists

not a single original treatise on sieges; all our knowledge of the subject is attained from foreign writers, and their maxims, whether well or ill adapted to the physical and moral powers of our men, are implicitly followed. Many British officers, at different periods, acquire much knowledge and experience in the art; but, as they never communicate that knowledge to the public, it dies with them; and each succeeding generation is obliged to acquire its skill without a guide, and at the expence of much blood and treasure to the country. Thus it happens that there is no general understanding on the subject, and no acknowledged authority, as in other arts, on which to rely. Hence also there are no rules nor regulations for the conduct of an English siege: Each officer, according to his abilities and experience, regulates the attack; no note nor memorandum of any former operation is ever produced, to direct and guide the assailant in future; the errors and the skill displayed in all prior attacks are alike buried in oblivion, and each succeeding siege is conducted without experience.

Besides the general impression already mentioned, that the science of defence has of late received some great improvement, the events of the sieges in Spain have given rise to opinions peculiar to the British army. Among these may be enumerated the false notions that great loss and uncertainty are inherent to the operations of a siege; that the French possess superior knowledge in the art of defence; that they fight better behind walls than in the field; and that the English are not fitted for such undertakings. These notions, however, seem to be totally unfounded; and the defects of our military establishments alone, not an inferiority in the art, gave rise to the occurrences on which they are grounded.

The happy insular situation of Great Britain, and her maritime superiority, have diverted the attention of British officers from this art, and the service connected with it. The expeditionary mode of warfare adopted during the greater part of the last century, contributed greatly to the same result; and so much has the establishment for sieges been overlooked, that the corps of officers who are kept in pay for the professed object of attacking and defending fortresses, have always been without the necessary assistance to render them efficient.

If we look back to the commencement of the war in 1793, we shall find the infantry, cavalry, and artillery, all equally inferior; but in the course of service, their several defects were observed and remedied, and those three arms are now superior to any in existance. It happened that in the course of fifteen years of war, the English never attempted any great siege, and the deficiencies of the establishments for that service, were not so apparent; nothing was done, therefore, to improve them; and at the commencement of the campaigns in the peninsula, the engineer department was the same as it had been previously to the war. The first sieges undertaken in Spain shewed its numerous deficiencies; some of which have since been remedied, but many improvements are yet required, to render that arm equally efficient with the others. Such perfection, however, it may be hoped, will ultimately be attained, from the exertions which have been made to effect it.

The superior courage of the officers and soldiers of the British army is too well known and established ever to be questioned. Their feats in arms are too numerous and brilliant ever to be forgotten; and their fame is too firmly fixed for them to wish that their failures should be concealed.

The radical fault of the sieges in Spain has arisen from our not carrying the works sufficiently forward to close with the enemy; and a little reflection will prove that every miscarriage, and all the losses sustained, may be traced to this source. To rectify this defect, therefore, and to introduce a closer mode of attack, is the object which claims the chief attention. Should we be prepared at all future sieges to gain the ground inch by inch, till securely posted on the summit of the ramparts, the hitherto constant evils attendant on such operations would be remedied, and the just rules of attack would be scrupulously observed.

The system of making a breach from a distance, and of hazarding all on the valour of the troops, rather than insuring success by their labour, has become habitual to the British army. They have in this way generally succeeded in their colonial wars, where the nature of the climate justified such a mode of attack, delay being often more fatal than repulse. The extreme hazard of such a proceeding is not so apparent, therefore, to the English as to the people of other nations.—The authority of history, as well as the evidence of recent events, is against such a mode of attack; and it has been entirely abandoned by the great continental powers in their operations against French garrisons since the modified ordonnance of 1705, (commanding governors to stand at least one assault in the body of the place,) has been enforced; before that period the practice was pretty general, and, when resisted, was usually attended with the same results as at present.

In the 16th, and beginning of the 17th centuries, the art of disposing the different works of a fortress, so as to cover each other, and to be covered by the glacis from the view of an enemy, was either unknown or disregarded. Artillery was then little used, on account of the great expence and difficulty of bringing it up. The chief care of those who fortified towns, was, by height of situation, and lofty walls, to render them secure from escalade; and places built prior to that period are invariably of such construction. The simplicity of the places to be attacked gave the same character to the operation itself; and every thing was then effected by desperate courage, without the aid of science; but when the use of artillery became more common, such exposed walls could no longer oppose a moderate resistance, even to the imperfect mode of attack which was then practised; and to restore an equality to the defence, it became necessary to screen the garrison from distant fire. The attempt was scarcely made, when the genius of one man, (Vauban,) perfected a new system, which gave to the defence of towns a superiority over the attack, by rendering them unassailable by all open efforts, such as were at that time practised.

Unfortunately for mankind, Vauban afterwards served a prince bent on conquest; and, turning his great talents to the aid of his master, he, with an unhappy facility, in a few campaigns, perfected a covered mode of attack, by a combination of science and labour, which rendered easy to the steady advances of a few brave men, the reduction of places capable of defying for ever the open violence of multitudes. Since that period all the continental powers have made such men an integral part of their armies, and they have thus rendered the success of their attacks on strong places nearly certain. England, however, remained alone for one hundred years without imitating her rivals; and hence it is that in the 19th century, her generals were driven to the same hazardous expedients for reducing places as those of Philip the Second, in the 16th. Had a British army, under these circum-

stances, been opposed to a place fully covered, according to the modern system, all its efforts to reduce it would have been unavailing, and no period of time, nor sacrifice of men, would have effected the object.

Since the introduction of science, there is, perhaps, no military undertaking so certain in its results, as the reduction of a fortified place; every other military event is in some degree governed by chance, but the result of a siege is matter of sure calculation. The art of attack has been rendered so much superior to that of defence, that no artificial work can resist beyond a limited time; bravery and conduct will serve a little to retard its fall, but cannot long prevent it. Shells, and an enfilade fire *à ricochet*, are irresistible —the timid and the brave alike fall before them. Such certainty in a siege, however, depends on an exact adherence to the rules of art; and when these are departed from, all becomes confusion;—time, life, and success, are then put to imminent hazard. To this cruel alternative it is apparent that Lord Wellington has been driven in all his attacks, from the want of means and of a due establishment to carry into effect his own more just ideas.

It is time, therefore, that we should mature our infant establishments;—that our officers should study the theory of attack, and our soldiers be instructed in the details. If a period of peace is duly improved, we shall attain such perfection, that, in the next contest, there will be no plea for a recurrence to former modes of attack;—wherever adequate armaments can act, knowledge will be united to physical power; and sieges being carried on by the British army with science equal to its bravery, they will be rendered certain, simple, and comparatively bloodless.

It must ever be recollected, that no exertion of science or bravery will be availing unless seconded by powerful means in artillery, stores, and materials. The want of these, particularly of the latter, deeply injured the operations in Spain; and was, without doubt, a principal cause of their uncertainty But, as on most occasions the siege establishments, even in the peninsula, were unequal to a full use of the other means, if provided, such deficiencies have not been much regarded Nothing is more certain than that the reduction of a town must be paid for either in materials or men, as the one or the other shall be made the chief sacrifice. It must be remembered, however, that every saving in the former has the double inconvenience of an additional expenditure of time as well as of life. In Spain, a combination of unfavourable circumstances occasioned a great sacrifice of life at the sieges; an exhausted country without carriage—an engineer's department without a driver, horse, or waggon belonging to it—a superior enemy in the field, and a consequent necessity for secrecy—all these circumstances combined to prevent the British army from receiving due supplies. It is improbable, however, that such complicated difficulties should again occur;—and as many of them may be removed by care and attention in the outset, the sieges which may in future be undertaken by our armies will be brought to a speedy and more prosperous conclusion.

As many of the impediments to success in Spain were either local, or such as may easily be avoided in future, to acquire immediate efficiency in carrying on sieges, nothing remains but to obviate the imperfection of our mode of attack. We must learn to aid bravery by science, and to gain by labour whatever is denied to force. It is satisfactory to observe how slight the changes are which will be required to place the army on an efficient footing. When this shall be effected, and the close

mode of attack pursued, we may hail the commencement of a siege as the sure forerunner of a national triumph. To carry on a siege we possess advantages far greater than the French, and other continental nations;—our soldiers are stronger and braver than theirs,—our instruments of attack are better,—and in quantity of ammunition, stores, artillery, &c. how can they come into competition with us, who can convey them to their destination by water, with little trouble or expence, whilst among our enemies every thing must move by a tedious and expensive land-carriage, from arsenals in the interior? It is not, therefore, too much to conclude, that, so soon as the superior courage and force of our men shall be seconded by the superior means we have it usually in our power to supply, and when, by scientific direction, as much benefit shall be drawn from their labour as from their bravery, the British soldiers must prove superior to any in Europe, in besieging a fortress; but so long as the present imperfect mode of attack continues to be followed, any covered work will seriously impede it, and may prove an insurmountable obstacle to the best and bravest efforts of the assailants.

CHAP. X.

Operations of the Anglo-Sicilian Army in the East of Spain.—Sir John Murray undertakes the Siege of Tarragona, which he afterwards raises abruptly.—Lord William Bentinck takes the Command of the Army.

FROM the brilliant career of the allies in the north of Spain, we must now turn to the operations which took place on the eastern coast of the peninsula. In Catalonia and Valencia the French still maintained a very large force, and were in possession of numerous fortresses, some of which ranked among the strongest in Europe. Suchet, who commanded this force, occupied a position in front of Valencia, at St Phillippe, on the line of the Xucar.—The allies, on the other hand, had collected a very considerable force in and near Alicant. Several British and native regiments had been withdrawn from Sicily; and a large force collected from the population of the neighbouring provinces had been organized in the Balearic islands, under British officers.—This corps could act in combination with the second Spanish army under General Elio, which was drawn up along the frontiers of Murcia. The troops remained, however, in a state of inaction till the middle of April, when the Anglo-Sicilian army, under Sir John Murray, left Alicant, and advanced to Castella: General Elio, at the same time, took post at Yesla and Villena. It appears, however, that these different corps had not been in a state of proper combination; and Suchet soon discovered the advantage which might be derived from this oversight. Collecting his whole disposeable force, he, on the 11th of April, attacked the corps of General Elio, unsupported by the rest of the allies; drove it, with some loss, from Yesla, and, having invested the castle of Villena, compelled that place, with its garrison of 1000 men, to surrender next day at discretion. Having thus succeeded against the Spanish army, he proceeded to the attack of the British positions; and, on the 12th, at noon assailed their advanced posts at Biar. The resistance was vigorously maintained against superior force for five hours; and the troops at length fell back upon the main body, only in compliance with the orders of General Murray. Suchet, however, not disheartened by this reception, proceeded, on the following day, to attack the position at Castella, where the British were concentrated. At noon on the 13th, after having displayed all his cavalry, he advanced a corps of 2000 in-

fantry, with the view of forcing the left of the line, which the vanguard of General Whittingham covered; but these troops, and the English whom he encountered at this point, received the attack with the utmost steadiness; they allowed the enemy to approach to the very point of their bayonets, and then charged them, breaking the French column; and killing, wounding, or making prisoners those who composed it. Suchet, having observed the result of his first attempt, was obliged to change his plans—to reduce his operations to a series of movements, and finally to put himself in retreat. General Murray immediately ordered nine battalions of infantry, and 1000 cavalry, with ten pieces of artillery, to pursue; this occasioned great loss to the enemy's columns, which continued to retire, beaten and fatigued. As the superiority of the French in cavalry, however, gave them great advantages for proceeding in the direct line, General Murray commenced a flank movement by Alcov, in hopes of reaching the entrenched camp at St Felipe, before the enemy's arrival; but the French having reached Alcov only a quarter of an hour before the allies, this plan was frustrated. Sir John Murray then returned to his position.

In this action, Suchet made his first experiment of the valour of British troops; and in contending with them, was for the first time repulsed and overthrown. The allied army, however, did not make any attempt to follow up its success. The advance from Alicant indeed appears to have been made less with the view of pushing forward in that direction, than for the purpose of seconding the grand operation in the north of Spain, and of preventing Suchet from detaching any of his force to the assistance of Joseph Buonaparte. When Lord Wellington, however, began to move from Salamanca, Sir John Murray, under his direction, was called upon to execute a new plan of operations.

As the operations of Sir John Murray were not attended with the success which had been expected—as the honour of this officer, and, it may be thought, that of the army under his command, were involved in these transactions—and as every particular connected with them received the utmost publicity, in the course of the investigation which was ordered into the conduct of the general, we shall endeavour to give a distinct and impartial account of the whole proceedings.

It has already been stated, that before the expedition to Tarragona was undertaken, the French army occupied so strong a position on the line of the Xucar, that it was not judged expedient for the allied armies, composed as they were, to run the risk of a direct attack on its front, before weakening its numbers by a movement on its flank or rear. To accomplish this object, two plans offered themselves to the commander of the forces; the one comprehended a movement of a considerable portion of the allied armies by Requena and Utiel, and by Tortosa and Lerida, to co-operate on the right flank of the French, and towards the rear of their position. The other contemplated a naval expedition, by means of which a considerable force might be landed at some distance in the rear of the enemy's left flank. The execution of the first plan must have been so difficult and circuitous, and the result so doubtful, that the naval expedition, if practicable, was very much to be preferred. In pursuance of this object, detailed instructions, which bear date 14th April, 1813, were accordingly given by the Duke of Wellington to Lieutenant-General Sir John Murray. By these instructions, if a body of men, to the number of 10,000 at the least, and of the description specified, could be embarked on the naval expedition, it

was directed to take place; and, in that event, the following objects of the expedition were pointed out: 1st, To obtain possession of the open part of the kingdom of Valencia. 2dly, To secure an establishment on the sea-coast, north of the Ebro, so as to open a communication with the army of Catalonia; and eventually, in the 3d place, To oblige the enemy to retire from the Lower Ebro; the order of the 2d and 3d objects having been left to Sir John Murray's discretion.—The instructions proceed to state, that, with a force of 10,000 men, the 1st and 2d objects might be with great advantage combined; or, in other words, that the attempt to secure the establishment on the coast, by a brisk attack upon Tarragona, would necessarily induce Marshal Suchet to weaken his force in Valencia, and enable the Spanish generals to take possession of a great part, if not the whole, of the open country in that kingdom.

It was further remarked, in the memorandum of instructions, that the possession of Tarragona must involve a question of time and means; and that, if Suchet, notwithstanding the junction of the troops of the first Spanish army with those under Sir John Murray, should be so strong in Catalonia as to oblige the British general to raise the siege, his first aim would, at least, have been gained without difficulty, and the return of Sir John Murray's corps into the kingdom of Valencia would secure the advantage thus acquired. But if, on the other hand, Sir John Murray should succeed in taking Tarragona, the first and second objects, pointed out by his instructions, would have been secured, and a foundation laid for the attainment of the remaining object pointed out by the commander-in-chief. General Murray was also directed, in case of raising the siege, or at all events, on his returning to the kingdom of Valencia, to land as far north as might be in his power, in order immediately to join the right of the Spanish armies.

It was the object of Lord Wellington, therefore, that a sudden and vigorous attack should be made on Tarragona; by means of which, Suchet, in order to afford the requisite assistance to the garrison, would be compelled so to weaken his army on the Xucar, as to leave the open country of Valencia in a great measure exposed to the Spanish armies. The Spaniards would thus be enabled to obtain possession of that part of the country which it was otherwise out of their power, and beyond their means, to occupy. If Tarragona, by means of this vigorous attack, should fall, the views of the commander of the forces would be very considerably advanced; but, should circumstances oblige General Murray to raise the siege and embark, his instructions directed that he should return immediately to Valencia, and assist the Spaniards in profiting by the absence of a large portion of the French army; or, at least, that he should confirm any advantages which the Spaniards might alone, during his absence, have acquired. The whole spirit of the memorandum—the objects and views of the commander-in-chief—the place where Sir John Murray was directed to land—the immediate junction which he was ordered to form with the right of the Spanish armies, all these circumstances seemed to point out an immediate return in case of failure at Tarragona. It was obvious that if he neglected to follow this course, the French troops would be enabled to retrace their steps, and contend once more in the formidable position which they had occupied before the naval expedition was undertaken; and thus the success of the plan formed by Lord Wellington, however it might have been advanced in the first instance,

would be greatly endangered, if not entirely defeated.

On the 2d of June, the fleet destined for this expedition, anchored to the eastward of the point of Salon; and the soldiers, who had been previously ordered to hold themselves in readiness to land, were put into the boats; but the surf was so high, that, in the opinion of Admiral Hallowell, who commanded the naval branch of the expedition, it would have been unsafe to land, and the troops accordingly returned to the ships.

Before the fleet came to anchor, a brigade, commanded by Colonel Prevost, was detached to the Coll de Balaguer; and the Spanish general Copons, in compliance with a request made to him, detached, during the night, two battalions to co-operate in the attack on Fort St Phillippe. On the 5th, two other Spanish battalions joined, in consequence of some movement of the enemy from Tortosa; and on the 7th the fort capitulated.

On the 3d of June, soon after sunrise, the debarkation commenced; and, during the course of that day, the whole of the infantry, with some field-pieces, were landed. Tarragona was immediately reconnoitred and invested; the point of attack was decided upon, and a place for the depot of artillery stores fixed.—Having reconnoitred the fortress, the general decidedon attacking it on the western side, which was not only the weakest, but the most convenient for bringing up the stores to the batteries. Unfortunately, however, the enemy had very nearly completed the re-establishment of the Fuerte Reale, (which lies between 350 and 400 yards from the body of the place), which it was necessary to take, before any batteries could be erected against the town. The enemy was still at work at the fort; and to prevent his strengthening it, two batteries were begun on the evening of the 4th; although the assailants, according to the report of General Murray, were yet in no state of preparation to carry on the operations of the siege.—On the morning of the 6th these batteries opened their fire with good effect; but it was found expedient to erect another battery of two 24-pounders, which was begun and completed on the night of the 6th. At day-break of the 7th, this battery opened its fire; and, on the morning of the 8th, the Fuerte Real was reported, by the commanding engineer, to be practicably breached.

When this officer, however, made his report to the general, he requested that the work should not be stormed, as he could turn the immediate possession to no account, while an attempt to retain the fort would cost the lives of many men. Every delay was to be regretted, but as the state of the fort was such, that it could be taken when convenient, General Murray consented to defer the attack, and directed that the fire upon the fort should continue only to prevent its re-establishment.

During this time the artillery and engineer horses, and the cavalry and artillery stores, were landed, when the weather would permit, and the engineer officers continued their preparations for the siege. On the 8th, the operations were sufficiently advanced to enable Major Thackaray, the chief officer of engineers, at a distance of about 450 yards from the body of the place, to construct two heavy batteries to enfilade it. On the night of the 10th, and the morning of the 11th, their fire was opened; but although the fire was well directed, and kept up with great spirit, that of the garrison was undiminished. During the course of the day, Major Thackaray having reported that he was now perfectly prepared to push the siege with vigour, the fire on the

Fuerte Reale was increased, and it was decided to storm that work during the night. The intelligence, however, which General Murray received late that evening, of the approach of Marshal Suchet, and of the march of a French column from Barcelona, prevented him from carrying his intention into execution.—"He thought," according to his own statement, "it would have been an useless waste of the lives of British soldiers, to attempt to carry a work which he saw must be abandoned the next day." So far had the operations against Tarragona been carried when the siege was raised.

"In the first view of the case," said Sir John Murray, when addressing Lord Wellington on the subject of this miscarriage, "your lordship may perhaps be of opinion, that more might have been done; and, under more favourable circumstances, no doubt we might have been farther advanced, but under no circumstances materially so. Your lordship, in judging of this point, will, I hope, take into consideration the strength of the place, which although the outworks (with the exception of the Fuerte Reale) were destroyed, was still in a formidable state of defence, such indeed, that Major Thackaray, on the 8th or 9th, declared it 'his deliberate opinion, that the place could not be taken in less than fourteen or fifteen days from that time.'

"It is likewise to be recollected, that the army invested the place without a single preparation having been made for a siege. We had not a single fascine or gabion, nor did the vessel arrive, which had been sent to Ivica for the materials collected, until the evening of the 4th or 5th. It was not until the day following their arrival that the materials could be brought to the depot.

"A considerable delay was farther experienced by Major Thackaray from the irregularity in landing the stores—much of this, from the surf and weather, was probably unavoidable; but much likewise proceeded from the irregularity of the transport boats, and from their working in the night, when they could not be seen. A considerable delay arose likewise from the slowness, and the great unwillingness with which the foreign troops worked. This was a most serious inconvenience, and delayed the opening of the two last batteries for 24 hours.—It required an additional party of 200 British soldiers, to carry to the batteries the ammunition which one of these parties threw away when they came under fire.

"All these circumstances together tended to retard our progress; but still, from the 4th at night, till the 11th in the morning, five batteries were constructed; and we were then in a state to prosecute the siege without fear of delay, had we by good fortune been enabled to continue it. Before I conclude this part of the subject, I beg to state that it was not till after the fall of the Coll de Ballaguer, that, in point of fire, we derived any material assistance from the naval branch of the expedition.—The bombs and gun-boats came from thence on the 8th and 9th, and I think, but I cannot for certain recollect if it was so, that some of them were again sent back on the 10th and 11th."

General Murray defended his conduct, in raising the siege, by stating, that very large French armies were advancing to the relief of the place. From the most accurate statements which he had it in his power to procure, he estimated Marshal Suchet's force, in the kingdom of Valencia, to be 23 or 24,000 men, and the army of Catalonia, including the garrison, to be 22,900, composing altogether an army of 46,000 men. The French however, could not have brought all

this force to act against the allied army in Catalonia; but suppose they left in Valencia 11,000 men, (and it appears they did not leave so many) and 10,000 in the garrisons of Catalonia, a disposeable army of 24,000 men at least was still at the command of Suchet. To oppose this army, General Murray stated that he had about 13,000 men under his own immediate command; and from general Copons's statement, his disposeable force amounted to 8,500 men, without pay, without discipline, without a single piece of cannon, without the means of subsisting, and totally incapable of acting in the field. The allied army therefore consisted of 21,500 men; of whom 4,500 were British and Germans, 13 or 14,000 Sicilians, 600 Calabrese, and the remainder Spaniards. In cavalry the enemy were greatly superior.—Such were the strength and composition of an army, with which General Murray was expected to meet the enemy's force, composed of the best troops of France, and long habituated to act in a body.—But the difference in the *situation* of the armies was not less striking. The French general possessed, in every direction, fortresses around him to cover his army, if defeated; to furnish his supplies, or to retire upon, if he wished to avoid an action, for the purpose of bringing up more troops. The allied army, on the contrary, was in the open field, without one serviceable *point d'appui*, and without a place at which to halt even for a day. But in case of retreat, whither could it retire? To the ships. Here, indeed, the army would have been safe, if it ever reached them; but an embarkation, which it would have required three days at least to complete, was too serious an operation for any army in an open bay, and on a beach, where experience had already shewn it was impossible to disembark, but in the lightest boats. Had affairs come to this extremity, the allies must have lost every horse belonging to the army,—every piece of field artillery, and, in all probability, the greater part, if not the whole, of the covering division of infantry.

The first reports of the enemy's movements reached General Murray on the 7th June, when he learned that the disposeable column from Gerona was in march for Barcelona, and that every effort was making to collect 10,000 men immediately at that place; to this corps were attached 4 pieces of artillery. This report was confirmed from every quarter. General Copons concurred in the statement; Colonel Manso, who commanded the advanced posts, and who had a constant communication with Barcelona, daily made the same report; on one occasion, he rated the enemy's force so high as 12,000 men; in short, from whatever source General Murray derived intelligence, he found the numbers to agree.—On the 10th this column occupied Villa Franca; and on the 11th established itself at Vendrill, which is about twelve hours march from Tarragona, whence it had the choice of proceeding by either of three convenient roads With a very inadequate disposeable force, each of these roads must have been occupied by the allied army; and the two corps, (such is the difficulty of communication) posted where the enemy did not advance, could not have joined the third body, which would thus have been exposed to the whole force of the assailants. This corps of the enemy, it is true, suddenly broke up (but after the expedition had re-embarked) alarmed by the appearance of Sir Edward Pellew's fleet in the Bay of Rossas, an event with which General Murray was unacquainted.

On the other hand, from Valencia Marshal Suchet was advancing with the utmost rapidity.—On the 9th, General

Murray received advice that Suchet had left that place on the 7th with 9000 infantry; from the corps in his rear, he had ample means to reinforce this body; 10,000 men had actually arrived at Tortosa before this time, and 2500 had reached Lerida. Late in the evening of the 11th, information was received that Suchet had quitted Tortosa on the 10th; and it was clear, that if he chose to pass by the mountain roads (as he actually did) to the plain of Tarragona, he might arrive before the allied army on the 1[illegible]th. The head of one of his columns actually appeared on the plain in the course of that day; and the British cavalry were engaged with it.—The incumbrance of artillery might have impeded his march; but this arm he thought unnecessary, as there was none to oppose him. He knew he would have to contend with infantry alone, of which a very small proportion was British, occupied in a siege, and obliged to divide its attention between a more powerful enemy on the one side, and the garrison of Tarragona on the other.—Such, according to Sir John Murray's account, would have been the state of the army, had he delayed the embarkation, and had the French general chosen to push forward; and when the stake was so great, there was every reason to believe the enemy would act with vigour

An express from the Coll de Ballaguer, during the night of the 12th, informing General Murray that the enemy had passed a large body of infantry towards Tarragona, induced him to proceed thither immediately. The cavalry and part of the field-train had already been sent to the Coll de Ballaguer to be embarked; and on his arrival, he found that the cavalry had been engaged, and that it would be necessary to land more regiments of infantry than were stationed there to protect the embarkation. As the remainder of the infantry arrived, he was induced to land them likewise, in the hope of being able to cut off a division of the French stationed at Bandillos, whither they had retired on the arrival of the fleet at the Coll de Ballaguer. On the night of the 15th, however, Suchet withdrew this corps; and on the 16th the division of the allied army which had been opposed to it returned to the Coll de Ballaguer. On the 17th the British general expected an attack,—for the corps from Barcelona had advanced to Cambrills, about ten miles from the position now occupied by the allies; but, for what reason it is impossible to explain, this corps withdrew to Reuz during the night. In the afternoon of the same day, Lord William Bentinck re-embarked the army.

Such is the history of this unfortunate expedition as given by its commander, and such the views upon which he justified his conduct. The opinion of the public was much divided respecting the character of these operations. The friends of the general defended his conduct with zeal. "On hearing," said they, "that a very superior force was advancing against him, he thought proper to embark his troops, which he did without loss, leaving some pieces of heavy ordnance in the advanced batteries. Was there any humiliation in this for our army?—and what is the fault of Sir John Murray? Having an army inferior in force to that of the enemy, and which might have been of great use at another point, he did not chuse to risk its destruction. But it was said, 'there are positions near Tarragona—a good one especially to the eastward—where, if Sir John had entrenched himself, he would have been quickly joined by thousands of Catalonians. Eroles and Manso alone were able to stop the Barcelona force, and in the critical situation of the

French affairs in Spain, Suchet would neither have had time nor inclination to carry on a protracted and hazardous warfare in that part of the country.'—Now, without giving Sir John Murray too much credit, it may be assumed, that if there had been such 'good positions a little to the eastward,' if he had thought he would have been joined by thousands of Catalonians, and if Eroles and Manso could have stopped the Barcelona force, he would not have re-embarked. But "in the critical situation of the French affairs, Suchet could not have spared time to carry on a protracted warfare in that part of the country." Let us recollect, however, that when Sir John Murray embarked, the great battle of Vittoria had not been gained. Reference was on this subject made to the official accounts by Suchet, which appeared in the French papers, and in which it was stated that on the 10th June troops had been collected at Barcelona; and on the same day a strong corps had arrived at Tortosa. Thus were the French upon the 10th within 20 miles of both flanks of the allied army, and in very superior numbers. On the 11th, Suchet, by his own account, had a partial engagement with the English dragoons near Perello, between the Coll de Ballaguer and the sea. On the 12th his fires on the top of the mountains could be seen by the garrison of Tarragona; and on the 13th his troops approached the place. Meanwhile General Mathieu with the troops from Barcelona had reached Arbos and Vendrill, on the northern side of Tarragona. These circumstances stated by Suchet are sufficient, it was said, to rescue the allied army from the charge of having embarked with precipitation upon receiving intelligence that the enemy was approaching. Before the troops did embark, the columns both from Barcelona and Valencia were almost within sight of the besieged fortress. The embarkation of the army on the 13th became a measure of necessity, Tarragona not having been reduced, and the allied troops being placed between two armies, one of which was certainly superior, and the other probably equal in numerical strength to themselves.—But why then, it might be asked, attack Tarragona at all, if the enemy could send this superior force against us? To this it was replied, that hopes were reasonably entertained of taking it before the enemy approached to its relief; particularly as a Spanish army under the Duke del Parque and general Elio had been left at Valencia. The expedition had been ordered by Lord Wellington himself, and the Marquis Wellesley stated, that "the force at Alicant had been embarked by Lord Wellington's orders, and had landed near Tarragona, precisely according to that noble lord's plan." It were superfluous to say any thing more to prove the wisdom of the plan. Does any unnecessary delay appear to have taken place in the operations? On the 31st of May the army embarked, —on the 3d of June it landed near Salon; the Coll de Ballaguer and Tarragona were immediately invested, and the former was taken in four days. Suchet himself could not censure his antagonist, but by inventing a story that the fortifications of Tarragona had been razed. Had this been true, what necessity could there have been for investing Tarragona in the same manner as all other fortified places are invested?

"I deny," said Sir John Murray, in the close of the defence which he made before the court of enquiry appointed to investigate his conduct, "that any evidence exists to prove that I ever considered the capture of Tarragona as impracticable, till the hour I gave the orders to raise the siege. I have endeavoured to prove this fact by the

continued operations which we carried on, by the disposition for attacking the out-works on the night of the 11th, and the arrangements made for the reception of the enemy on the 12th. I have attempted to prove, that a perseverance in the siege was my positive and prescribed duty, according to the spirit of my instructions, and that a departure from that line would, in all probability, nay, I may say to a certainty, have occasioned the most fatal consequences to the allied armies on the eastern coast of Spain. It would have enabled Marshal Suchet to re-occupy the entrenched position on the Xucar, and, probably, to crush the Duque del Parque before there was a possibility that I could have come to his assistance. I have shewn what the probable consequences might have been to any division of marines and seamen which Lord Exmouth might have landed near the Bay of Rosas; and I have endeavoured to prove, that the siege of Tarragona, and not merely a feint upon it, was in the contemplation of the commander-in-chief.

"I do not pretend to say, that in the line of conduct I prescribed to myself no risk was incurred: I knew, when I decided on continuing the siege after the 8th, that I did run a very considerable risk; and what military operation, may I ask, is free from it? Every battle which is fought is a risk, the whole expedition itself was a risk. No one will surely assert, that in war nothing is to be hazarded; on the contrary, the first quality of a commander appears to be, to risk with judgment, and he does his best when he takes care that the nature of the risk is inferior to the importance of the object. I may apply this axiom to the present case: I risked a few pieces of iron cannon, and some stores—for what? for the contingent benefit, that I might by this risk possibly succeed in the capture of the place, or ensure the success of two of the objects pointed out by the Duke of Wellington; but, at all events, on the certainty of drawing the French armies to me, and occasioning them a long and harassing march, from which they did, accordingly, most materially suffer; and of ensuring a certain time to the co-operating Spanish armies for the execution of their part of the general plan, which, after all, was the most essential of the whole. I did incur this risk, whether with judgement or not will rest with the court to decide; but, at least, I can affirm, that it was done in the best exercise of my abilities, and with that due deliberation which the importance of the proceeding required. I was not blind to the consequences which would probably arise to myself in the first instance; but if I had permitted so weak a consideration to seduce me from what my judgement told me was for the advantage of my king and country, I should richly have deserved the most severe sentence which could be pronounced against me. Such was the view I took of the case, and the line of conduct which it appeared to me right to adopt. It was founded, in my humble opinion, less with a view to the object itself, than to the general plan of Lord Wellington's operations; and I contend, therefore, that my conduct was no way unmilitary, and so far from being in opposition to the spirit of my instructions, that it was in strict unison with the letter itself. I deny this charge, therefore, both in its principle and its application. In its principle, because I had in my possession no express written orders which directed my return to Valencia, in a language so decisive as to deprive me of all discretion as to the period of re-embarkation; and in its application, because, admitting such order to have existed with a view to securing the acquisitions of the Duke del Parque, I contend, that, in the relative position of the hostile armies,

these acquisitions were in no degree endangered by my absence: on the contrary, I maintain that the line of conduct I pursued, was the best calculated to promote their extension and their safety; and that my secondary operations (if secondary they can be called) were in no respect contrary to the letter, while they were in direct unison with the spirit of my instructions. But to call them secondary operations is to lose sight of the first principle that produced them, and of the ultimate object they had in view. Their first principle was the army's safety; and their ultimate object its entire re-embarkation; that re-embarkation which I am accused of unnecessarily delaying, which was decided on the moment it was determined to raise the siege of Tarragona, and which every effort was exerted to carry into effect. Imperious circumstances interrupted the operation. It was only when these ceased that it could be completed with safety; but the principle and the end remained the same. In point of fact, I might assert that the siege of Tarragona could never be said to be raised till the whole army was embarked—for it was the embarkation of the army which constituted the raising of the siege, and if the succeeding operations growing out of circumstances which I could not controul, have been satisfactorily accounted for, then am I accused of not doing that, which every hour after I determined to raise the siege, was consumed in the anxious attempt to accomplish. It is one thing to linger unnecessarily in the execution of public duty, and it is another wisely to extend the period of active operation for the accomplishment of an important object, which falls within the sphere of rational and duly regulated discretion,—a discretion which exists within the breast of every officer, and the limits of every command, unless expressly disallowed by superior orders. In the instructions of Lord Wellington, now before the court, I beg leave to express my firm, but humble conviction, there was no such limitation.

"From what has been said, I trust the court will be convinced (if argument on the subject were necessary) of the great imprudence, nay, the palpable error I should have committed (being resolved to re embark), had I delayed the operation till the enemy should have an opportunity of attacking me during its progress. If I have been fortunate enough to satisfy the court, that the allied army was neither from its numbers, composition, or equipments, equal to contend with that of the enemy, it follows that whatever should have exposed it to the unequal contest, must have been injudicious and culpable, as militating against my orders; and on these grounds I contend, that any measure which should have brought me into contact with the enemy after the 11th at night, would have been so much the more censurable, as I should myself have sought the situation which it was my duty to avoid. I allude to the different plans, either of marching to oppose General De Caen, or to arrest the progress of Marshal Suchet. To both these I answer, that my force was unequal to the contest; and that the portion of it which might have been left before Tarragona, must have fallen a sacrifice to the one or the other of these generals. I shall avoid all calculation on this point, the strength of the contending armies being already before the court. I may be permitted, however, to observe, that delay, in what way soever produced, must ultimately have brought me in presence of the united columns of the enemy: with the small divided force under my command, what termination could then have been expected? The gallantry of the troops might indeed have forced the enemy's ranks, and

enabled them to reach the beach; but what courage, what discipline, what arrangements, could have enabled them to advance a step further? A death, glorious indeed to themselves, but unprofitable to their country, or certain captivity, would alone have remained to them. No man can regret more than I do, the cannon and stores which were left in the hands of the enemy, or that he, as might be expected, should boast of them as trophies. But he could not boast of them as useful trophies, he could not boast that the possession of them altered the aspect of the campaign, or that the loss of the stores crippled in any degree an army, which subsequently kept in check so large a portion of the troops of the enemy. That army was still entire: it did not lose by this embarkation one man, one horse, or one piece of field-artillery. It was not even disabled from undertaking a siege in any material degree, for it lost only seventeen serviceable and one unserviceable out of 91 pieces of cannon. But, would not the enemy have been enabled to boast of the importance as well as the possession of trophies, if, instead of the spiked and useless cannon, which he is so minutely represented as conveying into Tarragona, he could have proclaimed the removal of all our field train, and its equipments, into the fortress? Would the lifeless bodies of some thousand soldiers, who had died unprofitably, or the carcases of many hundred animals slaughtered upon the beach unnecessarily; would these, I ask, have been less a trophy than a few unserviceable and dismounted cannon? Would the capture of our standards, and the captivity of some thousands of our countrymen, have been less a subject of triumph for the pen of Marshal Suchet? Would these have been no trophies? They would have been great trophies, and incontestible proofs, at the same time, not only of the destruction and defeat of the allied army, and the incapacity of its commander, but trophies, which would have foretold to the world the inutility of all the efforts to be made to bring the war in Spain to a successful termination, during the course of the campaign which was then about to commence. An event, such as I describe, while it must have darkened the bright prospects then opening to the British nation and to Europe, and blasted every hope which the victories of Lord Wellington encouraged us to cherish, must have brought down well merited condemnation on the head of the unfortunate commander. I do not paint this scene too strongly: I had every reason to expect that such would have been our fate, had I listened to the voice which counselled delay at such a moment."

Such was the defence of Sir John Murray;—but a very different view of these operations was deduced by many, even from the information which the general was pleased to furnish in his own dispatches. From General Murray's statements it appears, that on the 9th or 10th of June, he was acquainted with the arrival of Marshal Suchet at Valencia, with 9000 men—intelligence having been previously received of the arrival of a French force at Tortosa, and another at Lerida. From the comparative statement given of the strength of the allies, and of the enemy, it seems to have been the opinion of General Murray, that Marshal Suchet could bring above 20,000 of the best French troops into the field, and might have attacked the allies with that force in the course of four or five days. It appears also, that from the arrangements which must necessarily have been made, the force of the allies in the field would have amounted only to about 16,000 British, Germans, Sicilians, and Spaniards; and that of this number, nearly 13,000 were considered as of a description to be relied

upon only when in position, while to fight in position was not at the option of the allies, but of the enemy. The force which General Murray relied upon, under all circumstances, was reduced, by his statements, to 4500 British; and it seems also, that in case of disaster, retreat was considered by the general as nearly impracticable. In his consideration, at least, the dangers and difficulties of the re-embarkation had become sufficiently apparent at a very early period. It was the opinion of the general also, that it would have been quite impossible to take Tarragona by storm, or by a *coup de main*; for he did not make such attempt for many days, when the necessity of doing so, even with much risk, was so urgent. We learn from his dispatches, not only that a *coup-de-main* was considered as impracticable, but that even eight or ten days would have been insufficient, in Sir John Murray's judgement, to have put him in possession of the fortress. But General Murray must necessarily have been possessed of nearly the whole of this information some days previously to that on which the re-embarkation took place; of the whole, of course, of that which concerned his own army and the state of the works of Tarragona. The reports concerning the enemy appear to have been, as stated by the general, in the main points consistent; and, with the exception of some slight variations as to numbers, nearly uniform; they were considered credible and appear to have agreed with the better and more certain knowledge possessed by General Murray. It is still more material to remark, that he himself seems at all times to have given them full credit. How, then, does this state of matters explain or justify his conduct? The town was not to be taken for eight or ten days; and according to what Colonel Thackaray, the chief engineer, stated to General Murray, it could not be reduced in less than fourteen days. The numbers of the French, and the description of their troops were such, that, according to the opinion formed by the general, the enemy was not to be resisted in the field with any fair prospect of success by the allied army. The enemy was approaching, and from different circumstances, had the option of attacking the allies in the course of four or five days. Why, then, persist in the siege, and continue to land stores, provisions, heavy guns, and every thing requisite for the capture of the town? Why expose materials of such importance in the ensuing campaign, when the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the premises, if at all correct, is, that the general was at the time aware, that his measures could be of no avail as to the object in view? In such circumstances, his whole thoughts, plans, and exertions, should have been turned to the pursuit and security of other objects, the success of which, though always, until his return to Valencia, precarious, it was still in his power to promote and perhaps to confirm.

The force which the enemy could collect in Catalonia in a given time,—the impossibility of any impression being made on Tarragona within that time,—the impropriety of risking an action,—the necessity of raising the siege,—and the consequent failure of one great object of the instructions;—all this appears to be assumed in the dispatch written by General Murray to Lord Wellington; but the general consoles himself by stating, that he hopes to be able to shew that no time was lost, when he had decided upon abandoning the siege. On this point no great difference of opinion existed. He was charged with loss of time certainly; but this time was lost in coming to the decision, and not in the execution, in which an unnecessary haste and precipitation were conspicuous. The delay with which he was

charged was in not returning instantly to Valencia, according to the instructions received by him, so soon as the siege was abandoned. The charge of unnecessary delay was never applied to the manner in which the resolution of abandoning the siege, when once adopted, was put into execution.

In one of General Murray's dispatches to Lord Wellington, a sentence of condemnation seems, as it were, passed upon his own conduct, and that in very strong terms. "Upon a review of this case," says he, "I believe your lordship will rather be of opinion, that I continued the siege too long, than that I abandoned it too soon, and I can only plead an extreme anxiety to carry your lordship's views into execution as my excuse. *I saw the moment when in all prudence the cannon ought to have been embarked, and the enterprise abandoned;* but that followed," &c. And then he proceeds to state the reasons for not having acted on this opinion, which although they might justify him for not immediately re-embarking the whole of the infantry, and leaving the spot altogether, yet in no way explain his continuing on shore, and persevering to land the heavy guns, stores, provisions, &c. up to the very hour of re-embarkation. Neither can they apply more than any other part of his statement, as an answer to the charge of lingering subsequently on the coast, and re-landing the whole expedition. The result of his statement appears to be, that the following up one great object of his instructions was sacrificed to an anxiety to accomplish that which was admitted to be impracticable—a line of conduct seemingly at variance with the better judgment of the general himself, and with the instructions which ought to have been his guide.

On the 8th and 9th, it appears that nothing could be done; but on the 10th and 11th, when the raising of the siege had become inevitable, instead of being employed in landing more stores and guns, or carrying them forward into situations of greater danger and exposure, the most zealous effort should have been made to prepare for re-embarking every thing which had been already endangered; and which from the period, when the attempt upon the town was considered as impracticable, remained expoed without any possibility of advantage. This certainly appears to have been the moment seen by the general himself, "*When in all prudence the cannon ought to have been embarked*,"—and it must be regretted that his conduct was not more consistent with his conviction. In one of his letters there is the following passage: "For days an embarkation might be impracticable, and that consideration made me extremely anxious, when the continuance of the siege became impracticable, to profit of the state of the beach, as it could not be depended upon from one day to another." Here again the general seemed to be the first to pronounce censure upon his own conduct.

As it appears then to have been clearly ascertained before the 10th, that nothing within the range of ordinary probabilities could have put the allies in possession of Tarragona, the proper use to have been made of the 10th and 11th was to have secured on board the fleet the *materiel* of the expedition, which had become useless on shore—which was then every instant in danger without any adequate object; and part of which, in consequence of the general's not having acted in pursuance of his own conviction, was ultimately abandoned. From the details given in the general's dispatches as to the use which was made of the 3d of June, on the first debarkation, the importance of a single day is sufficiently obvious; nearly all the in-

fantry—several field pieces, and a proportion of stores and baggage, were safely put on shore on that one day, when there was no particular stimulus to more than ordinary exertions.—Although a *brisk* attack is certainly recommended in the instructions, it has never been insinuated, that a more vigorous prosecution of the siege would have been practicable, or attended with success. One fact, however, mentioned by Sir John Murray, it does appear to be material to point out, viz. that six twenty-four pounders, four howitzers, and four mortars were not placed in the batteries, against the body of the place, until the night of the 10th, a period when, instead of more artillery being placed in a situation to make its desertion and destruction inevitable, all that was already in danger should have been removed.

With respect to the conduct pursued immediately after the siege was raised, it was remarked, that, according to Sir John Murray's instructions, the only remaining object then was, his immediate return to Valencia, to co-operate with and assist the Spanish armies in front of the French position on the Xucar.—So soon as the plan of re-embarkation at Tarragona was decided upon, however, the cavalry and a part of the field-train were sent over land to the Coll de Ballaguer. It was afterwards judged expedient to land more infantry on that point, for the further protection of the re-embarkation. When the remainder of the infantry arrived it was resolved to reland the whole with a view of cutting off a division of Marshal Suchet's army at Bandilloz; and upon the 13th or 14th (the precise date not being stated) it appears that the re-landing of the expedition took place accordingly. That this conduct was contrary both to the letter and to the spirit of Lord Wellington's instructions, and inexpedient with a view to the only object now remaining, there can be no doubt. It remains to be considered, therefore, whether there was a sufficient inducement to adopt this line of conduct so contrary to that which was pointed out by the commander of the forces?—It must always be recollected, that General Murray thought himself unequal to contend with the forces of Suchet when united. It was on this account the siege had just been raised, and the cannon, stores, and ammunition sacrificed. It was also the opinion of General Murray, that Suchet had the power of withdrawing any advanced posts of his army when he pleased, and of re-uniting the whole, and giving battle, when it suited his convenience. It is necessary only to refer to his various letters to prove that all expectation of cutting off any division of the enemy, was deemed by Sir John Murray to be visionary; that, unless the enemy should be guilty of the greatest folly, the attempt was impracticable. Yet with the full knowledge of all these facts, the danger of re-embarkation at the Coll de Ballaguer remaining the same as when General Murray before declined to embark the army at that point, the French armies remaining in force the same, and in situation improved, every ground of objection to continuing on shore still existing, all the causes of the former hasty re-embarkation, and of the great sacrifices which had just been made, being in full force, in opposition to every principle upon which the general had just been acting—the very thing is done and the very risks are incurred, which before had been so strongly condemned, and this too when the inducement which had operated in the first instance no longer existed, and when no adequate object can be discovered to account for so strange a deviation from the instructions received.—To pursue the detail of facts, we find them precisely such as the ar-

guments and statements in General Murray's letters would have led us to expect.—On the night of the 15th, when the English approached, the French withdrew their corps from Bandillos; and, in the meantime. the corps from Barcelona advanced to Cambrills, about ten miles from the allied positions.—On the 16th, the English troops, in pursuit of the Bandillos French division, returned without having accomplished their object, just as might have been expected; and on the 17th, when the allied army, according to the instructions, ought to have been ready to act again in Valencia, General Murray found himself still near the Coll de Ballaguer. Here he remained, with every prospect of an impending general action, to avoid which, on the 12th so much had been sacrificed, and with every risk of a second re-embarkation to be still incurred. Lieutenant-General Lord William Bentinck then arrived on the 17th, and the final re-embarkation of the whole army, which had a second time been resolved upon by General Murray (the idea of a general engagement having been abandoned), was, by the orders of Lord William Bentinck, immediately carried into execution.

The facts of a hasty and precipitate embarkation, without any previous arrangement, and the consequent abandoning of a considerable portion of artillery, stores, and ammunition, it seems difficult to dispute. So sudden was the resolution to re-embark finally adopted, and so little were all parties prepared for this measure, that every arrangement was making, and every exertion employed, for a more vigorous prosecution of the siege, up to the very moment when the execution of this new resolution had actually commenced. General Copons, who commanded the Spanish army, acting in co-operation with, and under the directions of General Murray, must have been led to suppose, from the instructions which he had received, that a battle with De Caen was on the eve of taking place, in which he was to take a principal share; and the Spanish general continued to act on that supposition, and to remain (of course with considerable risk to his own troops) undeceived until after the guns in the batteries were spiked, and a large portion of the allied army was actually on board the vessels. Nor was the resolution of sending the field artillery and cavalry for re-embarkation to a different and somewhat distant spot, near the Coll de Ballaguer, less extraordinary. This was the precise spot which had been represented by General Murray as so uncertain and dangerous, that for this very reason, he had declined embarking the whole army there. A separation of the different parts of the army was of course produced by the embarkation of the infantry alone, leaving the guns and cavalry without due protection, although it was mainly to avoid this very evil that General Murray had determined not to allow of a delay sufficient to enable the admiral to preserve the trophies, which were, in consequence, abandoned. The fact, also, that Admiral Hallowell did offer to secure every thing, if Sir John Murray would have consented to a certain delay, was very handsomely admitted by General Murray. Whether the delay proposed by the admiral might or might not, according to a fair calculation, have been permitted with safety, in the circumstances in which the general was placed; whether, from the immediate approach of the enemy, or other causes, all additional zeal, firmness, and exertion, would have been unavailing; and whether the delay required would or would not have involved the troops in a serious affair with a very superior force, and have

been attended with the probable destruction of a considerable portion of the army :—These are the only points on which any difference of opinion can exist.

It is true, indeed, that in the instructions sent by Lord Wellington to General Murray, there is the following passage :—"It must be understood, however, by the general officers at the head of the troops, that the success of all our endeavours in the ensuing campaign will depend upon none of the corps being beaten of which the operating armies will be composed; and that they will be in sufficient numbers to turn the enemy, rather than attack them in a strong position; and that I shall forgive any thing, excepting that one of the corps should be beaten or dispersed." By what ingenious arguments this passage can be fairly quoted in defence of Sir John Murray, it was difficult, said his accusers, to discover; scarcely, indeed, was it applicable at all to the circumstances in which he was placed. The meaning appears obvious: Several of the Spanish corps, it is well known, were composed of raw levies, not to be depended upon when opposed to veteran troops, more especially when the latter were assisted by position. It was also a matter of notoriety, that many of the previous failures of the Spaniards had arisen from their generals not being sufficiently impressed with this unpleasant truth; but, on the contrary, suffering their zeal and confidence to get the better of their prudence. Thus they continually risked general actions, which ought, except in cases of decided advantage and superiority, to have been most carefully avoided. On the other hand, the only advantage which the Spaniards possessed, was in the superiority of their numbers. The instructions, therefore, looking to the real state of affairs, appear naturally to prescribe, as a general rule in carrying on the campaign, that advantage should be taken of the circumstances which were favourable, and those errors avoided, the fatal effects of which had been already but too often experienced. It was Lord Wellington's object to use, and at the same time carefully preserve, that superiority of numbers which the Spaniards then enjoyed, and which the defeat and dispersion of any of their corps would have destroyed.—How then does the passage apply to the circumstances in which General Murray was placed? How does it apply, as a defence against a charge for not having risked a general action, when the result would have been attended with glory and benefit to the cause of the world then at stake? Giving it, however, all due weight, how can it account for the perseverance in the siege without object—for the consequent losses incurred—for the delay in coming to the decision of re-embarking that which was uselessly exposed on shore—for the want of previous arrangement—for the improper haste and confusion attending the re-embarkation when the measure was at last finally decided upon—and for the subsequent delay on the coast, and the relanding of the army? Next to the loss of a whole corps, the loss of the equipments of an army, the loss of guns, stores, and ammunition—the loss, in part, of the means of carrying on those sieges, which, in the general scope of the instructions, were evidently contemplated in the course of the campaign, was of the utmost importance; such losses were scarcely less embarrassing than the loss of a corps, more especially when the infinite difficulty of replacing them in Spain is duly considered; and according to the true meaning of the paragraph which has been quoted, they ought to have been most cautiously avoided. This proposition, although not literally expressed, must in all fairness be considered

as implied in the spirit of the instructions; and the intentions of the commander of the forces should have operated as the strongest inducement to employ every precaution, and to act with the utmost zeal and activity, for the prevention of such disasters. But admitting for a moment that not only the refusal to give battle, but the hasty re-embarkation also, and the material losses sustained in consequence, might all be justified by an anxious desire to comply with the instructions, how could General Murray do otherwise than condemn himself, upon the very same principles, for again, and that almost immediately and voluntarily, acting in direct contradiction to the same instructions, according to his own interpretation of them, by placing himself in the same situation of danger from which he had but just made such sacrifices to extricate himself? This he did also at a time when the strong temptations to run such forbidden risks, viz. a wish for the preservation of a very material part of his important trust, and the natural anxiety which he must have felt to preserve the glory of the British arms untarnished, had altogether ceased to operate.

Such were the views taken of the conduct of Sir John Murray by his accusers. The whole of these important but unfortunate transactions were afterwards submitted to a court of military enquiry; by which, after a most ample investigation, this officer was acquitted of all the charges brought against him, except that by which he was accused of having "unnecessarily abandoned a considerable quantity of artillery and stores which he might have embarked in safety, such conduct being detrimental to the service." This part of his conduct was ascribed by the sentence of the court to a "mere error in judgment;" and nothing followed upon the decision, as the case did not appear to the Prince Regent to call for the admonition pointed out by the court.

No blame could be attached to ministers for the result of this expedition. Marquis Wellesley took occasion to declare, "that with respect to the force from Sicily, he would not now enter into the topics which had been a subject for consideration on a former occasion; he would merely observe, that the great defect had been the want of a unity of command in the peninsula. *This defect had been remedied in the present campaign*, and the force at Alicant *had been embarked by Lord Wellington's orders*, and had landed near Tarragona, *precisely according to that noble Lord's plan*. A report had reached London that this force had been defeated. He hoped in God that this report would prove to be untrue; but when ministers had chosen a fit object, had prepared adequate means, and had applied them in due season, they *had done all that was in their power*—the rest they must leave to God and to the sword; and were *the rumour to prove correct, he should certainly not blame them—they had done all in their power.*"

General Murray was succeeded in the command by Lord William Bentinck, who ordered the troops back to Alicant. While Suchet marched towards Tarragona, the Spanish generals the Duke del Parque, Elio, and Villacampa, advanced from different points on Palencia. Suchet, on receiving intelligence of the re-embarkation of General Murray, immediately hurried back, in hopes of striking a blow against some one of these corps; but they all succeeded in making their retreat without loss.

Lord William Bentinck did not attempt to renew the expedition against Tarragona; but, joining himself to the Spanish armies, proceeded, in concert with them, to attack the French forces

in Palencia. What resistance Suchet might have made in other circumstances, it is impossible to conjecture; but the triumphant passage of the Ebro by Lord Wellington left him no choice but to retreat. On the 5th of July he evacuated Palencia, and retired towards the Ebro, leaving garrisons in Peniscola, Murviedro, and Denia. The allied army, however, was not detained by these barriers; but, after investing the fortresses, it advanced, and crossed the Ebro at Pinaras. The French having retired upon Barcelona, the allies blockaded Tortosa, advanced to Villa Franca, and prepared to form the siege of Tarragona. Suchet however determined on making an effort to relieve this place. Uniting to his army all the troops which could be spared from Barcelona and the neighbouring garrisons, he assembled a force of from twenty to twenty-five thousand men; on the 14th he advanced to Altafulla; and on the 15th drove back the advanced posts of the British army. Lord William Bentinck was unable to derive any aid from General Elio, who was blockading Tortosa: his force was thus inferior to that under Suchet; and he had not been able to gain any advantageous position. He therefore determined to fall back, and allow Suchet to enter Tarragona. The French general, however, did not attempt to preserve the place, or to maintain this advanced position; having destroyed the works, he withdrew the garrison, and again retired towards Barcelona.

In the beginning of September, the allied army again undertook a forward movement, encouraged by the belief that a very considerable part of the French forces in the principality had been recently withdrawn. The remainder continued at Barcelona, and along the Llobregat. Lord Bentinck therefore established his army at Villa Franca, and in the villages in its front, extending as far as the Llobregat mountains. The advance, under General Sarsfield, was placed in the pass of Ordal, a post of very great strength, and commanding the high road from Barcelona. Intelligence arrived that Suchet was collecting his army; and that 12,000 men had been united at Molino del Rey; Lord Bentinck, however, placed such reliance on the strength of the position at Ordal, as to be under no apprehensions on that side. He conceived the army to be assailable only by turning its left, at Martorell; but, even supposing the enemy to have suceeded in that attempt, the retreat could still have been effected without molestation. At midnight of the 12th, however, the French attacked the pass of Ordal, with numbers so greatly superior, that the Spanish corps defending it was driven from its position, surrounded, and forced to save itself by dispersing among the mountains. A considerable number of prisoners, and four pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the enemy. The British army immediately broke up, and set out in full retreat towards Tarragona, closely pressed by the enemy. The British cavalry in the rear, however, though far inferior in numbers, covered the retreat by its gallantry; and the army arrived without loss in front of Tarragona.

As it was judged expedient that the grand effort against France should be made on the side of the Western Pyrenees, the third Spanish army was detached to co-operate with Lord Wellington. The remainder of the troops in the east of the peninsula continued to act on the defensive.

CHAP. XI.

Spanish Affairs continued.—Battles of the Pyrenees.—Fall of St Sebastian—of Pampluna.—Invasion of France by the British Army.

THE grand operations in the north of Spain were still carried on with the most brilliant success, under the eye of Marquis Wellington. The siege of St Sebastian was maintained with extraordinary vigour. One of the principal out-works had been already approached; and on the morning of the 17th of July General Graham determined to hazard an assault. The valour of the troops surmounted every obstacle: the place was stormed; the enemy driven down the hill on which it is situated; and forced, after burning the village of St Martino, to withdraw precipitately into the town of St Sebastian. The trenches were immediately opened against the body of the place, and there appeared a fair prospect of its being compelled to surrender.

Buonaparte, while occupied with the great contest which he was about to wage on the banks of the Elbe, had in some measure neglected the operations of which the peninsula was the theatre. He had recalled thence many of his generals, and even Soult, who had long held the chief command. But now, when in one short month, his grand army had been swept out of Spain; when the frontier barriers were about to fall, and to leave the finest provinces of France itself exposed to invasion, alarm seized him, and he perceived that this was a contest which, even under the most urgent pressure of other wars, could not be disregarded. Of the immense levies which were at this time raising, a part was destined to fill up the exhausted ranks of the army now stationed within the French frontier; and Soult, whose talents appeared equal to such an exigency, hastened from Germany to reassume the chief command. The crisis was urgent; and so soon as the organization of the army was in any degree established, he felt that he was imperiously called upon to make a grand effort for the relief of the two fortresses, the reduction of which must give a fatal blow to all the prospects of French dominion.

Lord Wellington was at this moment beset with considerable difficulties. He had to maintain and to cover two sieges, conducted at a considerable distance from each other; and it was thus impossible to avoid the inconve-

nience of dividing his army. The Pyrenees indeed afforded strong positions: yet were they unfavourable in several respects to the present arrangement of his force. As they consist of a number of long and deep vallies, separated from each other by lofty parallel chains of mountains, the troops who defended these vallies were thus in a great measure cut off from all communication with each other. The enemy could choose the line of his advance, throw his whole force into it, and push before him the division by which it might be guarded, while the other corps, separated by almost impassable barriers, could lend no assistance. Upon this position of the allies Soult founded his plan of operations. He hoped by attacking separately one of the covering armies, to defeat and drive it before him, and then throw himself on the flank and rear of the other army. He expected not only to relieve the blockaded fortresses, but to drive the whole of the allied armies in confusion behind the Ebro.

Of the two fortresses St Sebastian alone was in immediate danger; it seemed probable, therefore, that the first grand attack of the enemy would be against the force by which this siege was covered. Such seems to have been the expectation of Lord Wellington when he established his head-quarters at Lesaca, at a small distance from St Sebastian. The two roads leading from Pampluna were, however, covered by divisions of the British army; one, under General Hill, in the Puerto de Maya; the other, under General Byng, on the extreme right, at Roncesvalles. Against these troops a very formidable attack was directed.

The British troops were now about to be engaged, almost for the first time, in that system of mountain warfare in which the French had been hitherto unrivalled. Their habits of body and diet in a peculiar manner fit them for this species of operations; and every one will recollect how important were the advantages which they acquired in Switzerland by their mountain operations under Lecourbe. The whole range of the movements they had now to make was comparatively small; for the eye might from the top of the highest of the mountains have taken in the positions of all the columns of the two armies—the positions of above 100,000 men. These columns were placed among mountains where cavalry could not act, and cannon could not be conveyed.

The allied armies had possession of the principal passes of the mountains. In front of Soult, at St Jean Pied de Port, was General Byng's brigade; Morillo's corps was at the pass of Roncesvalles; behind was Sir Lowry Cole, with the 4th division, at Piscarret; General Picton's division being in reserve, at Olaque. Between the valley of Roncesvalles and the Port de Maya there is a large space which does not appear to have been occupied by any force. To Port de Maya, in the valley of Bastan, and to Roncesvalles, the distance is nearly equal from St Jean Pied de Port. The valley of Bastan was occupied by General Hill, with the second division, and by the Conde d'Amaranthe's Spanish corps. On one flank were the light and 7th divisions, at Pera, Port de Echelar, and on the heights of Barbura; the 6th division was in reserve at St Estevan, on the Bidassoa. General Longa extended the line of communication from the Bidassoa to the Urumea—from a division posted at St Echelar to Sir Thomas Graham's, employed before St Sebastian.—Soult had one great object in view in the first instance, and to effect this he made two movements or attacks, the one real, and the other a feint. By the first he hoped to secure his immediate object, and by the other

to keep the attention and force of his antagonists employed in such a manner as to prevent their disturbing him in his operations. From St Jean Pied de Port he proceeded in two directions. He led on a force of 35,000 men himself; and, bursting through the pass of Roncesvalles, he hoped to confound his enemy and to reach Pampluna. The other part of his army moved upon the valley of Bastan, to force the British position at Port de Maya. At these two points, Roncesvalles and Port de Maya, the British force was greatly inferior to that of the enemy.

On the 24th of July Soult attacked in great force the position occupied by General Hill, who though driven from it at first by superior numbers, instantly recovered the most essential point of it, and would soon have regained the whole. But in the meantime an attack on a much greater scale, with between 30 and 40,000 men, was made upon General Byng's position at Roncesvalles; and although reinforced by another division, under Sir Lowry Cole, the allies were at length overpowered, and compelled to give way. They took post at Zerbiri; and General Hill, whose rear was now threatened, fell back upon Irurita. These corps had thus lost their direct communication with Lord Wellington, and were left alone to defend the blockade of Pampluna against the overwhelming force with which the enemy was pouring in to relieve it. In these circumstances, two British divisions, with a small part of the Spanish force covering the blockade, took a position immediately in front of the place.

On the 27th, Soult arrived in sight of the walls of Pampluna, and immediately began operations for its relief. Not having yet brought up all his troops, he contented himself with attacking a column placed upon a hill, which formed an important part of the British position; but a Spanish and Portuguese regiment, with the 40th British, defended it against all his efforts. On the 28th another British division arrived; and the enemy, also reinforced, began a contest of the most furious character. His main effort was directed against the fourth division, under General Picton; but the French were every where repulsed, unless at one point, where a Portuguese battalion having been overpowered, the enemy were enabled to establish themselves on the line of the allies. By the efforts of some British regiments, however, they were driven from the heights with immense loss, and were entirely disabled.—In the course of the 28th Generals Hill and Dalhousie arrived with their divisions, and placed themselves in line with the rest of the British force.—On the 29th and 30th these two great armies continued to view each other, neither daring to attack the formidable heights on which its antagonist was posted. But in the course of these days the enemy silently withdrew a considerable body of troops from the front where the former actions had taken place, and moved them to the right, with a view of attacking the British left under Sir Rowland Hill, trusting to the natural strength of the original position, that the troops still remaining would be able to maintain it. On the 30th, accordingly, General Hill was attacked, and obliged to fall back from the range of hills which he occupied to the one immediately behind. But Lord Wellington seeing the enemy's line weakened, instantly seized his opportunity; he detached Lord Dalhousie and General Picton to drive the enemy from the formidable heights on which his right and left rested; and the operation having been rapidly accomplished, the centre advanced to join in the attack. These efforts were crowned with the

most brilliant success, and the enemy, driven from one of the strongest positions which it was possible for troops to occupy, were soon in full retreat towards their own frontier. To cover their retreat they placed a strong rear-guard in the pass of Donna Maria, from which, however, it was driven by Lord Dalhousie. The retreat now resembled a flight; many prisoners were brought in, and a large convoy with baggage was taken at the town of Elizonda. The French endeavoured, however, to make another stand at the Puerto de Echalar, immediately within the Spanish frontier; but two of their divisions were driven from these heights in the most brilliant style, by a single British division; and Soult was compelled reluctantly to abandon the object of all his exertions.

Thus terminated these great conflicts. How different was the result from that expected by the French general, may be discovered by attending to his proclamation to the army on taking the command. In this address he states, "that he had been sent by the emperor to the command of his armies in Spain; and that his imperial majesty's instructions and his own intentions were, to drive the British across the Ebro, and celebrate the emperor's birth-day in the town of Vittoria." It so happened, however, that the Prince of Orange arrived in London with the intelligence of the enemy's having been driven into France on the very day which they had fixed for celebrating their own triumphs.

Soult expected not only to relieve Pampluna, but to fix himself again on the Ebro, and unite with Suchet's army. That he should so soon have collected a force of 70,000 men—the number engaged in the late battles,—might appear extraordinary; but it must be recollected that the armistice in the north was signed the day before the battle of Vittoria, and as troops were not immediately wanted in Germany, many divisions which must otherwise have been sent thither, were dispatched to the frontiers of Spain, where hostilities were still carried on, and the danger was most pressing.

Much speculation was now excited as to the future operations of the British commander. Some affected to doubt whether he would enter France, while others conceived this step to be the necessary result of his previous operations. A descent into the south of France seemed to be advisable in every point of view, military as well as moral—*military*, because while the allies remained on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, the enemy must always have had the power of attacking the different passes, while it must have been impossible for them, unless they established a post in France, to ascertain his movements—what reinforcements he received—or what projects he had in contemplation: *moral*, because Buonaparte had always represented France as a country not exposed to invasion: "the sacred country,' which none of her antagonists dared to enter; but when the people of France found a British army in their own territories, this circumstance, it was thought, must abate very much their pride and confidence in their arms. When they saw an invading army in France, they could have no doubt of the failure of their projects upon Spain; and the allies might then say to them with truth, See the result of your treacherous attempts against this fine country: history does not furnish an instance of greater crime, an example of more infamy, than this invasion of Spain. But mark the result—the unburied bones of half a million of your countrymen whiten the valleys and mountains of the invaded country, and yet you have not been able to effect your purpose. Spain

has been wrested from your grasp, and a British army has come to turn the evils of invasion against yourselves.—Such, it was said, must be the moral advantages of the invasion of France.—The measure, besides, could be attended with no hazard to the invader. Stationed on this side the Pyrenees, Lord Wellington could have no apprehension for his rear while he commanded the passes; and if he had done nothing more than occupy the country to Bayonne, he would not only have wounded the pride and weakened the character of the French government, but he would have been able, if he had chosen, to make the south of France provide subsistence for his troops.

How bitter were the disappointments which the French had already sustained, was apparent from a variety of circumstances. The proclamation which Soult addressed to the troops on taking the command, and which has already been noticed, seems to prove that the French armies had lost much of their ardour in the course of this peninsular war, and required every stimulus to encourage their exertions.—In this curious document there was much promise of what the general would effect himself, with the usual sprinkling of French falsehood. Soult had the folly to assert what no one could believe—that the British army was much superior in numbers to that of the enemy when it advanced to the Douro; he added, however, that a good general might have "discomfited this motley levy." Timorous and pusillanimous councils, however, he says, were followed; fortresses were abandoned; the marches were disorderly; and a veteran army was compelled to yield all its acquisitions. Of the battle of Vittoria he says, that the result would have been different had the general been worthy of his troops, although he confesses that the dispositions of Lord Wellington were prompt, skilful, and consecutive; and that the valour and steadiness of the British troops were admirable. He desired his soldiers not to forget, however, that it was to the benefit of their example the British owed their present military character. This was certainly true; it had been to the example the French afforded Europe of being invariably beaten when they hazarded a battle with British troops, that the latter owed their present military character. Lord Wellington and Lord Nelson were indebted for their reputation to an uninterrupted series of victories over the land and sea forces of France; and no small addition had been made by this very Soult to the military character of the British general and his armies.—After this censure of his predecessor, and boast of what he would effect himself—after threatening to drive the British across the Ebro, and date his dispatches from Vittoria, what had Soult been able to do against this "motley levy," which a skilful general might easily have discomfited? The very same thing that Jourdan had done. Jourdan was beaten and driven out of Spain; and nobody could affirm that the fate of Soult was very different.

The efforts of the enemy in the field had proved unavailing to avert the downfall of their fortresses. At St Sebastian, however, they had displayed more than their usual dexterity in fortifying the place; but a breach having been effected, the assault was ordered to take place at day break of the 25th. The storming party, (about 2000 men,) were ordered to assemble in the trenches, and the explosion of the mine was to be the signal for advance. The uncovered approach from the trenches to the breach was about 300 yards in length, before an extensive front of works, and over very difficult ground, consisting of rocks covered with sea-

weed and intermediate pools of water. The fire of the place was yet entire, and the breach was flanked by two towers, which, though considerably injured, were still occupied.

At five in the morning the mine was sprung, which destroyed much of the counterscarp and glacis, and created astonishment in the enemy posted on the works near to it. They abandoned them for the moment, and the advance of the storming-party reached the breach without much resistance. When they attempted to ascend the breach, however, the enemy opened a destructive fire, and threw down a profusion of shells from the towers on the flanks, and from the summit of the breach. The assaulting party returned into the trenches with the loss of nearly 100 men killed, and 400 wounded. The advanced guard, with Lieutenant Jones, who led them, were made prisoners on the breach, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sir R. Fletcher was wounded at the same time in the trenches.—This assault does not appear to have failed from want of exertion, but because the fire of the place had been left entire, and the distance of the covered approaches from the breach was too great. The troops are said in the Gazette to have done their duty; but it was beyond the power of gallantry to overcome the difficulties opposed to them. Sir T. Graham's words are, "notwithstanding the distinguished gallantry of the troops employed, the attack did not succeed. The enemy occupied in force all the defences of the place which looked that way, and from which, and all around the breach, they were enabled to bring so destructive a fire of grape and musketry, flanking and enfilading the column, and to throw over so many hand-grenades on the troops, that it became necessary to desist from the attack. Though this attack has failed, it would be great injustice not to assure your lordship that the troops conducted themselves with their usual gallantry, and only retired when I thought a further perseverance in the attack would have occasioned a useless sacrifice of brave men."

The breach having thus proved impracticable, all the operations of the siege were to be recommenced; the repulse of the French army, however, left the allies at full liberty to carry them on. Their first object was to cut off the communication which the besieged carried on by sea with the coast of France; and Sir George Collier, with a party of marines, stormed the island of Santa Clara, which lies at the mouth of the harbour, and took the garrison prisoners. New breaching batteries were, in the mean time, raised and carried forward with such vigour, that on the 31st of August it was determined to make another assault. The result of this, however, appeared in the first instance to be very doubtful.

The columns for the assault moved out of the trenches, and in a few minutes after the advance of the forlorn hope the enemy exploded two mines, which destroyed part of the walls, but as the troops were not in very close order, nor very near the wall, their loss was not great. From the Mirador and battery del Principe, on the castle, the fire of grape and shells was opened on the columns, and continued while they were disputing the breach. The main curtain, which had been completely breached, was strongly occupied by grenadiers; the left branch of the horn-work was also well-manned; a heavy fire was maintained on the breach, great part of which was exposed; but a tower called Amezquita, on the left, was fortunately not manned. By the extremity of the curtain the breach was accessible; but the enemy's position there was commanding, and

the ascent much exposed to the fire of the besieged. Behind the breach was a perpendicular fall from 15 to 25 feet in depth, under which were the ruins of the houses, and part of the walls still left at intervals, by which alone it was possible to descend. A line of retrenchment, carried along these ruins, was strongly occupied by the enemy, and entirely swept the confined summit of the breach.

The storming parties advanced to the breach, and remained on the side of it without ascending the summit, as they were prevented by the heavy fire from the entrenched ruins within. Many desperate efforts were made to gain the summit without effect; fresh troops were sent on successively, as fast as they could be filed out of the trenches; and 500 Portuguese, in two detachments, forded the river Urumea, near its mouth, under a heavy fire of grape and musketry.

The greatest difficulties had thus presented themselves after the troops had got to the breach. "Never was any thing," says Sir Thomas Graham, "so fallacious as its external appearance. Notwithstanding its great extent, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, and there by single files. All the inside of the wall, to the right of the curtain, formed a perpendicular scarp of at least 20 feet to the level of the streets, so that the narrow ridge of the curtain itself, formed by the breaching of its end and front, was the only accessible point. During the suspension of the operations of the siege, from want of ammunition, the enemy had prepared every means of defence which art could devise, so that great numbers of men were covered by intrenchments and traverses in the horn-work—on the ramparts of the curtain—and within the town opposite to the breach, and ready to pour a most destructive fire of musketry on both flanks of the approach to the top of the narrow ridge of the curtain. Every thing that the most determined bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops, who were brought forward from the trenches in succession. No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge; yet a secure lodgement could never have been obtained without occupying a part of the curtain."

The breach was now covered with troops remaining in the same unfavourable situation, and unable to gain the summit: upwards of two hours of continued and severe exertion had elapsed. On the instant Sir Thomas Graham adopted a new expedient; he ordered the guns to be turned against the curtain. It was manifest that unless this could be done with almost unexampled precision, the assailants must have suffered more severely than their enemies—for the fire, to be effectual, must have been elevated only a few feet above the heads of our own troops in the breach. But it was directed with admirable precision, and proved effectual. By a happy chance a quantity of combustibles exploded within the breach, and the French began to waver; the assailants made fresh efforts; the ravelin and left branch of the horn-work were abandoned by the enemy; the entrenchment within the breach was soon deserted by them, and the assailants got over the ruins and gained the curtain.

The troops being now assembled in great numbers on the breach, pushed into the town; the garrison, dispirited by its severe loss, and intimidated by the perseverance and bravery of the assailants, was quickly driven from all its intrenchments (except the convent of Teresa,) into the castle. From the superior height of the curtain—a circumstance of which Sir T. Graham had so promptly availed himself, the artillery

in the batteries on the right of the Urumea were able to keep up a fire on that part during the assault; and as the artillery was extremely well served, it occasioned a severe loss to the enemy, and probably produced the explosion which led to final success.

The assailants had upwards of 500 men killed, and 1500 wounded; of the garrison, besides those who were killed and wounded during the assault, 700 were made prisoners in the town. Of the engineers, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir R. Fletcher, Bart. Captains Rhodes and Collier, were killed; Lieutenant-Colonel Burgoyne, and Lieutenants Barry and Marshall, were wounded.

So soon as the town was carried, preparations were made to reduce the castle The plan of attack was to erect batteries on the north of the town, and breach some of the main points of the defences of the castle. The town, which had been on fire ever since the assault, from the quantity of ammunition and combustibles of all sorts scattered around, was now nearly consumed; and the flames had proved a great impediment to carrying the approaches forward. The enemy's fire, however, had been nearly silenced since the assault; and the roofs of the remaining houses and the steeples were prepared for musketry, the fire of which was to open when the assault on the castle should commence.

The batteries opened on the castle from the left of the attack. The fire was extremely powerful and well directed, ploughing up every part of the confined space of the castle: the enemy kept concealed chiefly in little narrow trenches, which they had made along the front of the heights, but they lost many men. A white flag was at last hoisted, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war:—its numbers had been reduced to 80 officers and 1756 men, of whom 23 officers and 512 men were in hospital.—There were expended by the besiegers in these operations, more than 70,000 shot and shells, and upwards of 500,000lbs. of gunpowder.

From the account which has been given of this siege, it must be evident that the defence of breaches made and stormed under such circumstances is so very advantageous, that against an intelligent governor, and a brave garrison, accident alone can give the assault a tolerable chance of success. As the fire of the batteries is entirely directed to breaching, the enemy's troops, previously to the assault, sustain little or no loss; and as their front is restricted, it can be fully occupied, while a sufficient number of men remain to form strong reserves. The assailants have no help from their works, and depend for success entirely on their own exertions; while the height of situation, with the difficulty of ascent up the ruins of the wall, give a decided superiority to the besieged. But if, in addition, the breach be well intrenched, and the governor has made use of the precautions recommended in every treatise on defence, by covering the approach to the breach, and preserving a powerful flank fire, both direct and vertical, to play on the columns during the struggle, no conceivable superiority of courage over a brave enemy will counterbalance such advantages. It is no disparagement, therefore, to the troops, that they failed in the first assault on the 25th of July, and succeeded on the 31st of August, in a great measure by the unexpected accuracy of fire from distant batteries, and the accidental explosion of the enemy's shells and ammunition, which gave their heroic exertions a chance of success. Had the contest been merely that of man to man, the result would not have remained long doubtful—for the troops carried the breach and gained the summit

at the first rush. The French, who seem to have expected this, endeavoured to render the further advance of the assailants impracticable, and to concentrate such a fire on the spot as to make it impossible to remain exposed to it, while the confined space of the summit of the breach prevented the assailants from using any cover against its effects.

The events of this day are highly honourable and encouraging to the British soldier, as they prove that when his labour aids his courage by carrying the approaches completely to the wall, and when the assault of the breach is duly supported by a close fire from the trenches, his success is ensured. The advantages must then be all on his side; and how shall a few worn-out and dispirited men, exposed to a murderous fire every time they attempt to stand up, resist the attack of enemies elated with success, and requiring only one effort more to crown their labours. The old and tried maxim on this subject cannot, however, be too much attended to,—"at a siege never to attempt any thing by force which can be obtained by labour and art." The regular mode of gaining a breach is so certain, so simple, and so bloodless, that it is much to be preferred to any other, and forms so advantageous a contrast to the open assaults in Spain, unaided by fire from the trenches, that there are few who will not regret the inability of the British army to have adopted it on all occasions.

Soult made another unsuccessful effort about this time. A force, chiefly Spanish, was drawn up along the left bank of the Bidassoa, in a position which covered all the approaches to St Sebastian. As the enemy occupied the height which overhangs the opposite banks, and which he had fortified with cannon, he could command at any point the passage of the river. On the morning of the 31st, the very day of the storming of St Sebastian, he crossed in great force, and attacked the Spanish troops posted on the hills at a little distance. The attack was repulsed at once in the most gallant manner, and repeated attempts had uniformly the same result. In the afternoon, having still the command of the river, the French passed over an additional body of troops, which, joined to the former, made a new and desperate attack on the Spanish positions. They were instantly driven back in the same prompt and gallant manner as formerly; and the enemy, losing all hope, entirely withdrew his troops. Lord Wellington, who had not hitherto placed full confidence in the Spanish armies, posted a British division on each of their flanks; but their own valour was equal to the occasion, and no aid was necessary. This day, in short, may be considered as finally retrieving the tarnished reputation of the Spanish arms.

When the French made this attempt to penetrate by the high road to St Sebastian, they about the same time crossed the Bidassoa higher up, with a view of gaining the place by a circuitous route through Oyazzun. They attacked a Portuguese brigade, which was stationed at that place, and which, though reinforced, was unable to maintain the position, but fell back upon another, which equally covered St Sebastian. The enemy finding all his attempts fruitless, withdrew behind the Bidassoa. The immediate fall of the fortress rendered it unnecessary to make any further efforts.

Some discussions of an unpleasant nature took place about this time between Lord Wellington and the Spanish government. His lordship had advanced into Spain in the confidence and with the understanding, that the army of that country should be placed

under the command of officers, on whose co-operation he could rely. He had particularly stipulated, that the chief command of the provinces through which he was to pass, and of the armies levied from them, should be entrusted to Castanos, an officer, not perhaps of very shining abilities, but of great worth, integrity, and candour. The dignity of his character, and his conciliatory manners, rendered him an admirable instrument for conciliating the British and Spaniards. It was in this capacity Lord Wellington wished to employ him. While the Gallician army was ably led by General Giron, Castanos went through the provinces, maintaining order, and forwarding supplies. An administration unfriendly to him having come into power, took advantage of his military inactivity to remove him from the command which he held; while other changes were made, contrary, as Lord Wellington conceived, to the engagement originally entered into with him, and without his advice or concurrence. Such conduct to such a man, and a man to whom Spain was so deeply indebted, can admit of no justification. Lord Wellington, in a letter to the Spanish minister of war, remarked, that the local situation of the 4th army prevented its being formed into a corps, at the head of which the captain-general could be placed, with any regard to propriety, considering the dignity of his office,—that on this account, and at his (Lord Wellington's) request, General Castanos placed his head-quarters with his lordship's and those of the Portuguese army,—that General Castanos, besides commanding the 4th army, was captain-general of Estremadura, Castile, and Gallicia; and that among the duties of that high office was that of establishing the Spanish authorities in the different districts and cities which the enemy was evacuating, a duty which Castanos could not have discharged had he been literally at the head of the 4th army,—that it was himself and not General Castanos, who suggested the propriety of his excellency being employed in this manner,—that the conduct of the Spanish government in this respect was a direct breach of the contract which had induced him to take the command of the Spanish armies,—that, however great his desire might be to serve the Spanish nation, he could not submit to such injurious treatment, and that the contract must be fulfilled, if it was desired that he should retain the command.—His lordship also complained of the removal of General Giron without any reason assigned. But although Lord Wellington in the first instance addressed this letter to the regency, he had the magnanimity not to suffer his private wrongs to interfere with his exertions for the public cause, and continued to conquer for the nation which thus injured him.

Every thing now indicated the intention of the British commander to cross the Pyrenees, and to carry the war into the heart of France; this measure was delayed only until his rear should have been secured by the fall of Pampluna. In the meantime it appeared expedient to Lord Wellington to cross the Bidassoa, and drive the enemy from the posts which he was fortifying behind that river.

The left of the allied army crossed the river on the 7th October, in front of Andaye, and near to Montagne Verte. The British and Portuguese troops took seven pieces of cannon on this part of the line, and the Spanish troops, who crossed the fords above the bridge, one piece. At the same time Major-General Baron Alten attacked the light division at the Puerta De Fera, and Don P. Giron attacked the

enemy's entrenchments on the mountain of La Riuna. These troops carried every thing before them until they arrived at the foot of the rock, which proved inaccessible. On the morning of the 8th, the attack was renewed on the right of the enemy's position by the same troops, and the point was instantly carried in the most gallant manner. The enemy then withdrew from all parts of his position.—The object was now accomplished; France was entered; and that country, which, for twenty years, had never been trodden by hostile foot, now saw a mighty invading army established within its frontier.

A new epoch in the war was now celebrated,—a victory had been gained by a British general and army within the French territories. How many reflections crowded at once upon the mind! About ten years before, Great Britain was arming her whole population to resist a French invasion, and now her troops had invaded France. In 1803, no man doubted that a descent on the British shores would be attempted; and the legislature was exclusively occupied in devising the means of repelling it. In 1813, almost the first proceeding of the legislature when it met, was to vote thanks to the brave troops who had defeated the enemy upon his own territories, and established a British army on the fields of France. In 1803, Buonaparte had constructed an immense fleet of boats within 25 miles of the British coast; the means of invasion, the troops to be employed in it, were visible daily from our own shores. In 1813, when the naval force of France was destroyed, her fleets rotting in her ports, her colonies gone, her trade ruined, her projects baffled, her armies beaten in every encounter—when her troops had been driven out of Portugal, driven out of Spain,—this same England, once destined for destruction, was raised to the highest pitch of glory! In 1803, the Parisians were amused with the exhibition of some old tapestry, representing the successes by which William I. obtained the government of England; and the casual finding of this relic was hailed as the omen and forerunner of other atchievements on the same ground. In 1813, the Parisians were studying the operations of these very British upon their own plains of Gascony; while, instead of the French flag waving victorious upon the banks of the Thames, the British standard was advancing in triumph to the borders of the Garonne.—Base must have been the mind which did not exult over such a scene of glory!—No thirst of conquest had directed the career of England—no desire of enlarging her territories led her on to battle;—but the ambition of doing good—the desire to rescue a nation from its oppressors, had nerved her arm. For this holy object, and in this sacred cause, she fought and conquered. Spain and Portugal were saved—and France, the invader and oppressor, was herself defeated and invaded.

On the 31st of October, Pampluna surrendered after a blockade of four months. The garrison became prisoners of war, and all the artillery and stores were given up.—Nothing therefore now detained Lord Wellington from pushing his victorious career into France; and the enemy, who had so lately aimed at the entire subjugation of the peninsula, sought only to defend the approaches of his own territories. He formed two successive lines of defence; the one along the river Nivelle, the other immediately in front of Bayonne. These lines, ever since the battle of Vittoria, he had been diligently employed in fortifying, and until he was driven from them, the British could not advance into the in-

terior of the kingdom. The better to provide for defence, a decree had been recently issued, by which a new levy of 30,000 conscripts was to be drawn from the provinces immediately bordering on the Pyrenees; and the reinforcements derived from this source were already assembling.

Lord Wellington's advance was delayed for a few days by the heavy rains and the bad state of the roads; but on the 10th of November, the whole army was brought forward, and was enabled to commence its attack upon the French entrenched position along the Nivelle. The right of this position was on the Spanish side of the river, in front of St Jean de Luz, while the centre and left extended along the opposite bank, and occupied the villages and mountains situated in this vicinity. The right had been fortified so strongly that an attack in front was judged impracticable; but it could be turned, if the centre were forced to give way. Against the centre therefore the main attack was directed. It was conducted by three British and one Spanish division; and, after a desperate resistance, the enemy were driven from all the strong and fortified positions which they occupied on the left of their centre. The heights on the Nivelle being thus carried, and the enemy's centre driven back, Lord Wellington immediately directed troops to advance upon the rear of their right; but before this movement could be completed night intervened. The enemy took advantage of the darkness to quit their fine positions and retire upon Bedart, leaving the whole ground which they had occupied in possession of the allied army.—As the affairs of this day consisted wholly in the storming of entrenched positions, and lasted from day-light till dark, the loss was necessarily considerable. It consisted of 2500 British and Portuguese killed and wounded, besides Spaniards, of whose loss no regular account has been given.

The enemy now retired into his last line of defence, which was formed by the entrenched camp in front of Bayonne. The left occupied the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Adour and the Nive, whence it communicated with the army of Catalonia; the right and centre extended from the left bank of the Nive to the Adour below Bayonne; and the front was here defended by an impassable morass. Lord Wellington, on surveying a position thus defended by nature and art, judged it impregnable against any direct attack. A movement to the right to threaten the rear of the enemy, and his communication with France, seemed to afford the only chance of success. Operations were again delayed by the condition of the roads; but on the 8th of December, Generals Hill and Beresford were, in conformity with Lord Wellington's plans, directed to cross the Nive with two divisions.

The only serious operation on the 9th was the passage of the Nive at Cambo and Usturitz by Sir Rowland Hill and Sir Henry Clinton, who obliged the enemy to retire from the right bank of the river towards Bayonne. While this operation was proceeding, another division of the army attacked and carried the village of Ville Franche and the heights in the vicinity. Meanwhile Sir John Hope, with the left division, after driving in the out-posts at Biaritz and Anglet, and reconnoitring the right of the enemy's entrenched position, retired in the evening to the ground he had occupied before the reconnoisance.—The effect of the first day's operations was to clear the right bank of the Nive.

The operations of the 10th commenced with a movement by the right of the allied army, under Sir Rowland

Hill, who, moving his right from the Nive, placed it on the Adour, his left leaning at Villa Franche on the Nive.—He thus kept up the communication with the centre under Marshal Beresford, which was removed from the right to the left of the Nive, to be ready to sustain the left wing under Sir John Hope, upon which the enemy meditated his main attack. A brigade of dragoons, and Murillo's Spanish division, meanwhile observed and occupied the force under General Paris, which had moved from St Jean Pied de Port towards St Palais, to be in readiness to support the operations of the enemy on the Adour.

Soult was aware, that unless some vigorous measures were taken to arrest this movement, his position must soon become untenable. Not only must he lose his communication with France, but the navigation of the Adour, by which his supplies were transmitted, must fall into the hands of the British. He determined instantly upon the most vigorous operations.—His project was to attack with his whole force that part of the allied army which had not passed the Nive, and thus induce the British general to recall his advanced divisions.

Soult issued from his entrenched camp with all his force, except that which was opposed to Sir Rowland Hill, and made a desperate attack upon Sir John Hope's and General Alton's divisions at Biaretz and Arcanque. His great object, as already mentioned, was to compel the British to abandon a position which gave them the command of the sea-coast, and of the road from St Jean de Luz—an attempt, which, if successful, might have rendered it necessary for them, not only to quit the banks of the Nive, but also to repass the Nivelle, and fall back to the Bidassoa. Soult, however, failed completely in this attempt. The termination of the action was marked by the defection of the Dutch and German regiments of Nassau and Frankfort, which came over to the allies.

The 11th was marked by no operations of much importance. The enemy's grand army remained in front of the British left, and made some attacks in the afternoon upon Sir John Hope's posts, but was repulsed with loss. The right and centre of the allies were not attacked.—On the 12th, the enemy again attempted to drive the British right from its positions, and the conflict lasted from the morning till the afternoon; but being again repulsed, he retired within his entrenched camp, and abandoned all thoughts of making any impression in this quarter.

On the 13th, Soult resolved to make an entire change in his operations. Having shewn so much pertinacity in his attacks against the British left; having, by so many efforts, produced, as he thought, a firm persuasion in the mind of Lord Wellington, that his whole attention would still be directed to this quarter, he determined to move his whole force suddenly through Bayonne, and fall upon the British right, under Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill. This determination does credit to the skill of Soult; but he found in this instance, as he always did before, that he had to contend with a general who anticipates every movement of his antagonists, dives into all their plans, and provides for every emergency. Lord Wellington expected this attack, and reinforced Sir Rowland Hill. But it appears that even if his lordship had not entertained this expectation, Soult would have failed in his attempt; for Sir Rowland Hill's troops alone defeated the enemy with immense loss. Thus beaten at all points, the French retired upon their entrenchments.

Such was the issue of these con-

flicts, which lasted five days. The loss on both sides was considerable; but the success of the allies was complete, and they established themselves firmly between the Nive and the Adour.—Thus was the liberation of the peninsula accomplished in the course of this eventful year, by a series of the most brilliant successes that have ever crowned the operations of an army.—The measure of Britain's glory was already full; but the labours of her warlike sons were not yet terminated.—The annals of succeeding years were still to be adorned by their exploits, until the odious despotism which had threatened Europe with chains, should fall prostrate before them.

CHAP. XII.

State of Affairs in the North.—Progress of the Russian Armies after the Expulsion of the French from the Empire.—Prussia joins the Alliance against France.—Preparations of the French for resuming Military Operations.

THE retreat of the French from the Beresina to the Niemen, and from the Niemen to the Vistula, was one continued scene of dismay, route, and confusion. The cossacks hovered continually on their rear, and were able, not indeed to arrest the retreat, but to render it uniformly disastrous, and to destroy every thing which for a moment separated itself from the main body. The wings of the Russian army followed close on the flanks of the enemy, and by threatening to interpose between the fugitives and France, rendered it impossible to pause for a moment at any single point. Buonaparte had directed that a stand should, if possible, be made for a few days, at Wilna, which formed the grand depot of the army, and was filled with supplies of every kind. Could this have been effected, the troops might have breathed from their fatigues, and their order and efficiency might have been in some measure re-established; but scarcely had they, by a succession of marches, through tracts nearly impassable, succeeded in reaching that important place, when they found themselves surrounded by the Russian columns; there was no choice, therefore, but to hurry on with the utmost celerity.—Without pausing at Wilna, the Russians continued the pursuit.—One column under Wittgenstein marched along the Niemen to cross at Tilsit; while another under Platoff pursued the enemy along the direct route through Kowno. The French had entrenched themselves strongly at this place; and they hoped, by defending the passage of the Niemen, to have obtained a short respite. Platoff, however, hesitated not a moment: he threw himself upon the frozen Niemen, and the cossacks were soon on the opposite bank. The French hastily crossed the river in two columns; but were not able to avoid the attack of the cossacks, who destroyed great numbers of them. The pursuit continued as before, with the daily capture of prisoners, cannon, baggage, and ammunition. According to accounts published by the Russian government, the number of prisoners taken since the battle of Borodino, already amounted to 170,000 men, of whom 1298 were officers, and 41 ge-

nerals. To this statement was added 1131 pieces of cannon. Europe stood aghast at this estimate,—never before had she witnessed such destruction.

The Russian government was determined to complete the work which it had begun; and for this purpose ordered new and extensive levies.—"Russia," said the emperor, "having been invaded by an enemy, leading armies from almost every European nation, had been obliged to make great sacrifices; and although, by the aid of Divine Providence, those armies had been entirely dissipated, and their poor remains were seeking safety in a precipitate flight, yet it became necessary to maintain the glory of the empire by such a military establishment as should insure permanent safety. The arm of the giant was broken, but his destructive strength should be prevented from reviving; and his power over the nations, who serve him out of terror, taken away. Russia, extensive, rich, and pacific, sought no conquests, —wished not to dispose of thrones.—She desired tranquillity for herself, and for all. She would not, however, suffer the wicked so to abuse her moderation as to endanger the well-being of herself or other nations. Painful as it was to call upon a loyal and affectionate people for new exertions, yet it would be still more painful to see them exposed to calamities for the want of an adequate defence; and that the most grievous calamities would result from the success of her late invaders, was evident from the enormities they had already committed. The emperor trusted in God and his brave armies, which could be raised to an imposing number, for the preservation of what had been purchased by so many labours and sacrifices."—In consequence of these resolutions, it was ordered—that there should be a general levy throughout the empire, of eight men out of every 500; and that the levy should commence in each government within two weeks, and end in four, from the publication of the order.

When the Russian armies in their victorious progress reached the Prussian frontier, the commander in chief, Kutusoff, explained the views of his government in an eloquent address.—"At the moment of my ordering the armies under my command," said he, "to pass the Prussian frontier, the emperor, my master, directs me to declare that this step is to be considered in no other light than as the inevitable consequence of the military operations.—Faithful to the principles which have actuated his conduct at all times, his imperial majesty is guided by no view of conquest. The sentiments of moderation which have ever characterised his policy, are still the same, after the decisive successes with which Divine Providence has blessed his legitimate efforts. Peace and independence shall be their result. These his majesty offers, together with his assistance, to every people, who, being at present obliged to oppose him, shall abandon the cause of Napoleon in order to pursue their real interests. I invite them to take advantage of the fortunate opening which the Russian armies have produced, and to unite themselves with them in the pursuit of an enemy, whose precipitate flight has discovered his loss of power. It is to Prussia in particular this invitation is addressed.—It is the intention of his imperial majesty to put an end to the calamities by which she is oppressed,—to demonstrate to her king the friendship which he preserves for him,—and to restore to the monarchy of Frederick its eclat and its extent. He hopes that his Prussian majesty, animated by sentiments which this frank declaration ought to produce, will, under such cir-

cumstances, take that part which the interest of his states demands. Under this conviction, the emperor, my master, has sent me the most positive orders to avoid every thing that could betray a spirit of hostility between the two powers, and to endeavour, within the Prussian provinces, to soften, as far as a state of war will permit, the evils which for a short time must result from their occupation."

"When Russia was compelled, by a war of aggression," said the emperor, "to take arms for her defence, from the accuracy of her combinations, she was enabled to form an estimate of the important results which that war might produce with respect to the independence of Europe. The most heroic constancy, the greatest sacrifices, have led to a series of triumphs. At no period has Russia been accustomed to practise that art (too much resorted to in modern wars) of exaggerating, by false statements, the success of her arms. But with whatever modesty her details might now be penned, they would appear incredible. Those who have witnessed them can alone prove the facts to France, to Germany, and to Italy, before the slow progress of truth will fill those countries with mourning and consternation. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive, that in a campaign of only four months duration, 130,000 prisoners should have been taken from the enemy, 49 stand of colours, and all the waggon-train and baggage of the army. It is sufficient to say, that out of 300,000 men (exclusive of Austrians) who penetrated into Russia, not 30,000 of them, even if these should be favoured by fortune, will ever revisit their country. The manner in which the Emperor Napoleon repassed the Russian frontier can assuredly be no longer a secret to Europe. So much glory, and so many advantages, cannot, however, change the personal dispositions of the Emperor of Russia. The grand principle of the independence of Europe has always formed the basis of his policy; for that policy is fixed in his heart. It is beneath his character to permit any endeavours to be made to induce the people to resist oppression, and to throw off the yoke which has weighed them down for twenty years. It is their governments whose eyes ought to be opened by the actual situation of France. Ages may elapse before an opportunity, equally favourable, again presents itself; and it would be an abuse of the goodness of Providence, not to take advantage of this crisis to accomplish the great work of the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby to insure public tranquillity and individual happiness."

One passage in this address appears singular:—"It is beneath the character of the emperor to permit any endeavours to be used to induce *the people* to resist their oppressors, &c.," as if it had not been to the constancy and courage of the Russian people the emperor was now indebted for his crown, and the triumphs by which he was so much elated. It is beneath the dignity of any honourable mind, indeed, to stimulate the people to acts of violence and folly; but surely the Emperor Alexander could not think that the resistance which he so strenuously encouraged, participated in any degree of this character. He was therefore urging what was lawful, honourable, and expedient; and why should the people be deemed unworthy of such exhortations? To the people alone can they ever in such circumstances be with efficiency addressed; and had *they* not felt the generous enthusiasm of national honour and independence, the despotism of France would have defied every other shock. Far different from the views of the Emperor Alexander were the sentiments of the British ministers, some of

the most distinguished of whom frankly avowed, in the legislature, that to the *popularity* of the war they ascribed its great and brilliant results. But it were absurd, perhaps, to expect any thing like a kindred feeling on such subjects in Russia and in England.

Another address, which the Russian emperor made about this time to his own subjects, is less exceptionable, and paints in strong colours the merciless progress of the invader—his final overthrow—and the patriotism and devotion of the Russian people.—"The world," said the emperor, "has witnessed with what objects the enemy entered our dear country. Nothing could avert his malevolence. Proudly calculating on his own armies, and on those which he had embodied against us from all the European powers, and hurried on by a desire of conquest and thirst for revenge, he hastened to penetrate even into the bosom of our great empire, and to spread amongst us the horrors of a war of devastation. Having foreseen, by former examples of his unmeasured ambition, and the violence of his proceedings, what bitter sufferings he was about to inflict upon us, and seeing him already pass our frontiers, with a fury which nothing could arrest, we were compelled, though with a sorrowful and wounded heart, to draw the sword, and to promise to our empire that we would not return it to the scabbard so long as a single enemy remained in arms in our territory. We fixed firmly in our hearts this determination, relying on the valour of the people whom God has confided to us; and we have not been deceived. What proofs of courage, of piety, of patience, and of fortitude, has not Russia shewn? The enemy who penetrated to her bosom with all his characteristic ferocity, has not been able to draw from her a single sigh by the severe wounds he has inflicted. It would seem, that with the blood which flowed her spirit of bravery increased; that the burning villages animated her patriotism, and the destruction and profanation of the temples of God strengthened her faith, and nourished in her the sentiment of implacable revenge. The army, the nobility, the gentry, all estates of the empire, neither sparing their property nor their lives, have breathed the same spirit—a spirit of courage and of piety, a love ardent for their God and for their country. This unanimity, this universal zeal, have produced effects hardly credible, and such as have scarcely existed in any age. Let us contemplate the enormous force collected from twenty kingdoms and nations, united under the same standard, by an ambitious and atrocious enemy, flushed with success, which entered our country; half a million of soldiers, infantry and cavalry, accompanied by fifteen hundred pieces of cannon. With forces so powerful, he pierces into the heart of Russia, extends himself, and begins to spread fire and devastation. But six months have scarcely elapsed since he passed our frontiers, and what has become of him? We may here cite the words of the Holy Psalmist—"I myself have seen the ungodly in great power, and flourishing like a green bay tree.—I went by, and lo, he was gone: I sought him, but his place could no where be found." This sublime sentence is accomplished in all its force on our arrogant and impious enemy. Where are his armies, like a mass of black clouds which the wind had drawn together? They are dispersed as rain. A great part staining the earth with their blood, cover the fields of the governments of Moscow, Kaluga, Smolensk, White Russia, and Lithuania. Another part equally great, has been taken in the frequent battles with ma-

ny generals and commanders. In fine, after numerous bloody combats, whole regiments imploring the magnanimity of their conquerors, have laid down their arms. The rest, composing a number equally great, pursued in their precipitate flight by our victorious troops, overtaken by cold and hunger, have strewed the road from Moscow to the frontiers of Russia, with carcasses, cannons, waggons, and baggage, so that, of those numerous forces, a very inconsiderable part, exhausted, and without arms, can, with difficulty, and almost lifeless, return to their homes, to serve as a terrible example to their countrymen, of the dreadful sufferings which must overtake those rash men who dare to carry their hostile designs into the bosom of Russia. —To-day we inform our well-beloved and faithful subjects, with a lively joy and grateful acknowledgments towards God, that the reality has surpassed even our hopes; and that what we announced at the commencement of this war, is accomplished beyond all expectation. There is no longer a single enemy in our territories, or rather, there they all remain; but in what state? Dead, wounded, and prisoners. Even their chief himself has, with the utmost difficulty, escaped with his principal officers, leaving his army dispersed, and abandoning his cannon, of which there are more than 1000 pieces, exclusive of those buried or thrown into the water, which have been recovered, and are now in our hands.—This scene of destruction surpasses all belief. We almost imagine that our eyes deceive us. Who has been able to effect this? Without derogating from the merited glory of the commander-in-chief of our armies, this distinguished general who has rendered to his country services for ever memorable, and without detracting from the merits of other valiant and able commmanders, who have distinguished themselves by their zeal and ardour, nor from the general bravery of their troops, we must confess, that what they have accomplished surpasses all human power. —Acknowledge, then, Divine Providence in this wonderful event. Let us prostrate ourselves before his sacred throne, and acknowledging his divine hand chastening pride and impiety, instead of boasting and glorying in our victories, let us learn from this great and terrible example to be modest and peaceable executors of his law and his will: let us never resemble those impious profanators of the temples of God, whose carcasses, without number, now serve as food for the fowls of the air. God is mighty in his kindness and in his anger. Let us be guided by justice in our actions, and purity in our sentiments, as the only path which leads to him. Let us proceed to the temple of his sanctity, and there return him thanks for the benefits which he has bestowed upon us; and address to him our ardent supplications that he will extend to us his pardon,—put an end to the war,—and grant us victory on victory, until peace and tranquillity be firmly re-established."

The invitations of Russia to induce her neighbours to declare against the common enemy, were not unavailing. The whole Prussian force, joined to about 6000 French, under Macdonald, had been employed in the blockade of Riga; and the Russian army, in advancing to the Niemen, came upon the rear of this corps. Macdonald, by retreating with the utmost expedition, succeeded in extricating himself; but D'York, the Prussian commander, felt no disposition to make such extraordinary efforts. He withdrew his whole force from the French army, and concluded a convention with the Russians, by which the Prussian troops

were to remain neutral in Eastern Prussia. The orders which he sent to the Prussian general, Massenbasch, who remained with Macdonald at Tilsit, with two batteries six battalions and six squadrons of Prussian troops, to leave the French and join him were obeyed. "Massenbasch set off on the 31st ult." said Macdonald, "without my orders, to repass the Niemen. He thus abandons us before the enemy." Macdonald had taken some steps to detain the Prussian general and disarm his troops; but the Prussian was aware of his intentions, and began his march without delay. Macdonald could not prevent or pursue him. And thus, nearly the whole of the 10th corps, the only one which had not greatly suffered in the last campaign, was detached from the enemy's service, and might in fact be considered as part of the force destined to act against France.

General D'York, in a letter to Macdonald, offered some explanation of his conduct, and remarked, that "after many painful marches it was not possible for him to continue them without being attacked on his flanks and rear; it was this that retarded his junction, and left him to choose between the alternative of losing the greater part of his troops, and the *materiel*, which alone insured his subsistence, or saving the whole."—But other and nobler motives impelled him. He wished to set an example to the other powers whom Buonaparte kept in subjection, to invite them to withdraw from slavery, and to break their fetters upon the heads of their oppressors. He wished to teach a lesson to the Germans—to sound the alarm—to rekindle their ancient love of independence, and to arm them against a tyranny which had drained their resources, drenched their fields with blood, and carried calamity and ruin into every family. He spoke the language of a man who knew that he had acted well—"he was indifferent," he said, "about the judgement which the world might pass on his conduct." Yet Buonaparte, whose principal weapon was treachery, pretended to be astonished!—He called upon all sovereigns to unite their voices against such deeds, and to combine their power to prevent a recurrence of them. This defection struck him deep; for he foresaw and feared its effects. "The Prussian people," he said, "will judge, and all the nations of the north will judge with them, of what misfortunes such a crime might be the source."—The correspondence between General D'York and Marshal Macdonald was laid before the French senate, and immediately followed up by a report announcing this disaster as the motive which induced Buonaparte to issue a *senatus consultum* for calling out 350,000 men.—Throughout the whole of this report England stood prominent; she had been the cause of the Russian war, and of the desertion of the Prussian army.—Some, and no inconsiderable merit, indeed, she might fairly claim, for it was her constancy which set an example to all Europe—it was her arms and councils which stimulated and suported Spain and Portugal—it was her greatness, resources, and love of freedom, which first placed a barrier against the tyranny of France.

Macdonald, thus left with an army of 5000, attempted to effect a speedy junction with some troops from Koningsberg, who with that view came out to meet him. They were compelled, however, to fall back by General Steingel, whom Wittgenstein had dispatched to frustrate this part of the French plan, while he himself closely pursued Macdonald. Tchichagoff, who had also reached the Pregel, advanced along the course of the river, preceded

by Platoff with his cossacks, through Gumbinnen and Insterburg towards Koningsberg. General Schepeleff, who commanded Wittgenstein's van guard, reached that fortress by the way of Labau, where the French had taken an advantageous position, and attempted to make a stand. On the 4th of January, a battle took place which continued till noon, when the enemy being driven from his position, retreated towards Koningsberg.

On the 6th of January, Koningsberg, the ancient capital of Prussia, was occupied by Count Wittgenstein's advanced guard, under the orders of Major-General Schepeleff.—Marshal Macdonald had ordered the town to be occupied by a *corps d'armée*, composed of the old French guards, and some troops who had escaped the general wreck of the enemy's grand army. But on the approach of the advanced guard of the Russians, the enemy, without halting, passed by Koningsberg, and abandoned it to Major-General Schepeleff, who entered it without resistance. The French fled in confusion towards the Vistula.—There were taken in Koningsberg, 1300 prisoners, besides 8000 sick, and 30 pieces of the battering-train from before Riga.—Count Wittgenstein arrived at Koningsberg on the 7th. On the 9th he followed the army, which continued to drive the remains of the French towards the Vistula. On the 12th, Admiral Tchichagoff and Count Platoff took possession of the fortresses of Marienwerder, Marienburg, and Elbing; and on the following days having crossed the Vistual and the Nogat, a branch of the same river, they pursued the French in different directions on the roads to Dantzic, Stutgard, and Grandenz.

When the Russians entered Marienwerder, the viceroy of Italy and Marshal Victor were scarcely able to escape from the cossacks. General La Pierre, four inferior officers, 200 men, and a courier sent by Napoleon to the Prince of Neufchatel with dispatches, were made prisoners. On the road to Nuenburg, Lieutenant-Colonel Adrianoff, while pursuing the enemy, met a squadron of Baden troops, and destroyed it. Another corps attempted to make a stand at the *tête-du-pont* at Derschoff, about four German miles from Dantzic; a sanguinary affair took place, but the enemy were compelled to abandon their post, and to retire upon Dantzic, pursued by the Russians.

While these operations were carried on in the neighbourhood of the Baltic, some advances were made against the Saxons and Austrians, beyond Warsaw. General Sacken from Ruzana, advanced against Regnier, who commanded the Saxons, and General Wasillchikoff, from Grodno, against Schwartzenburg and the Austrians. Sacken, on the 25th of December, took possession of the town of Brescry Litoff, and proceeded thence along the Bug to Grannym. Wasillchikoff, having been joined by four regiments of don-cossacks, pursued Schwartzenburg along the course of the Narew; the Austrian general dividing his corps into three columns gradually approximated to Warsaw, by the way of Ostrolenka and Polotzk.

The Prussians every where received the Russian troops in a friendly manner, and supplied them willingly with provisions. In return for their good conduct, the most rigorous discipline was observed to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants.—The retreat of the French armies through the kingdom of Prussia was, like that from Moscow, marked by devastation; and by the abandonment of their magazines, tumbrils, and stores of all de-

scriptions. Some idea may be formed of the misfortunes of this retreat, by consulting two returns which were intercepted of the 4th French voltigeurs, and 6th tirailleurs. The former regiment, when it left Smolensk, consisted of 32 officers and 427 privates, of whom there remained under arms on the 16th December, only 10 officers and 2 privates; the latter, composed of 31 officers and 300 privates, mustered on the 31st of December only 14 officers and 10 privates.

The Emperor of Russia proceeded in the night of the 7th January from Wilna, to join the division of his guards; and the head-quarters of the whole Russian army were at Merez on the 10th. On the 13th they were removed to Ratschky; and the emperor crossed the Niemen on that day, amid the acclamations of his troops. He continued to march with a division of his army, in a western direction, through Berjuiki, Krasnoplo, and Subalki, to Lique, where he established his head quarters on the 19th. Generals Miloradovitch and Dochtoroff, with the troops who crossed the frontier at Grodno, moved in a line parallel to that of the emperor's march on the left. Intermediate corps were directed to keep up the communication between each of the columns.

The situation o Prussia about this time was very singular The capital was in the hands of a French garrison; but the inhabitants favoured the Russians, and flattered themselves that the king, with the troops he was collecting in Silesia, would declare against their oppressors. What were the real intentions of the king, or whether he had yet come to a decision, it seemed difficult to discover. Throughout the month of January, Berlin exhibited daily scenes of tumult and disorder, the populace having risen against the French, whom they succeeded in confining to their barracks. A regency had been established in the name of the king, at Koningsberg, of which the ex-minister Stein, who had been an object of French persecution, was the president. This regency had issued a proclamation, calling on the loyal and patriotic inhabitants of Prussia to come forward and rescue their king and country from French thraldom; nor was the call in vain. The young men were eagerly running to arms, and joining their brethren under the command of General D'York, who had been nominated, by the regency, commander-in-chief of the patriotic army.

The rapid advance of the Russians, and the wide extent of country over which they were now scattered, proved that they were supported by a general insurrection. Had the spirit of the people been different, the conduct of the Russians would have been inconsistent with the most obvious rules of prudence. Instead of the line of the Vistula, or the entrenched camp in front of the Oder, which Buonaparte had lately acknowledged as the limit of his defensive operations, his expectations were now confined to the army of observation of the Rhine.

The head quarters of the Russian army, which were on the 19th at Lique, had been moved forward by the 26th nearly 120 miles, to Willenberg, in a direction to the westward of the Warsaw road The Russians had thus got into the rear of the Austrian position at Pultusk. Previously to this, General Miloradovitch, supported by Winzingerode, had advanced as far as Prasnitz, the Austrians gradually retiring before him, and successively abandoning Smadovo, Novogrodck, and Ostrolenka, on the river Naren. Regnier retired to Posen; Count Worranzoff had advanced to Bromberg, and made himself master of the large magazines collected there by the ene-

my, to cover which, and to observe Thorn, General Tchichagoff approached the latter fortress.

The arrangements of the Russian cabinet, no less than the movements of the armies, indicated the most resolute hostility to the French system. Count Rostopchin, the virtuous governor of Moscow, was appointed minister of the interior of Russia, and the ex-Prussian minister Stein, whose enmity to Buonaparte had called forth a furious tirade against him, was made a Russian cabinet minister; Kutusoff, Wittgenstein, and their brother generals, had the most distinguished honours conferred upon them. These brave men had saved their country; and the Emperor Alexander shewed by the most magnificent rewards every disposition to recompence their exertions against the common enemy.

A singular event occurred in the course of the month of January; Murat gave up the command of the French army to Eugene Beauharnois from indisposition, it was pretended, but, as every one believed, from disgust. Buonaparte, in announcing this event, took care to state, that Beauharnois was "more accustomed to a grand administration," and possessed "the entire confidence of the emperor." If this had been true, how did it happen that, at the moment of the greatest difficulty and peril, when Buonaparte abandoned his army, he selected Murat as the most proper person to command it? This general was then thought perfectly competent to a "grand administration."—Beauharnois, however, was now deemed superior, although it was difficult to discover that he had ever distinguished himself in such a way as to deserve this eulogy. Had Murat been really indisposed, and had the state of his health been the sole cause of his retiring from the command, Buonaparte would hardly have accompanied the notification of this event with such praise of Beauharnois, as could not fail to hurt the feelings of Murat. But the consequences of the Russian campaign were every way so disastrous to the French, that the soldiers were rendered suspicious of their officers, the generals became dissatisfied with each other, and all of them lost their regard for Buonaparte.

The accounts given at this time in the French official paper of the state of the armies, were very singular. The Moniteur now spoke chiefly of the *new* troops proceeding to the north. Thorn, however, it affirmed, was occupied by 6000 men; 6000 Prussians were at Graudentz; Davoust commanded a corps of observation upon Bomberg; Victor and Macdonald were at Posen; and Lauriston was to command a corps of observation at Magdeburgh. Another corps was also to be established on the Rhine, and an army of observation in Italy, under the command of General Bertrand. From this statement it was manifest that Buonaparte expected the next campaign to commence under very different auspices from the last,—in the heart of Germany, instead of the frontiers of Russia.—The Moniteur, however, attempted to sustain the spirits of the people of France and Germany—"We are authorised to make this exposé to tranquillize the good citizens of France and Germany." Thus it appeared that there was much discontent produced, in all probability, by the efforts of the British government to inform the people of the true state of affairs.

It became necessary in these circumstances, that Buonaparte should do something to tranquillize, or at least to occupy, the public mind and support his tottering power. The pope accordingly was once more brought on the public scene. After his expulsion from Rome, he had been sent to a town on the shores of the Adriatic; thence to

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Cremona, to Verona, and to Piedmont; Buonaparte hoped, by thus harassing an old man, to bend the mind of the pontiff to his purposes. On hearing, however, that some attempt would be made to release the holy father, he ordered him to be sent to France, and placed under the police at Fontainbleau. There he remained for some time, till the emperor surprised him with a visit on the 19th of January of this year. Buonaparte and the Austrian princess left Paris under pretence of hunting at Grosbois, and suddenly proceeded to Fontainbleau, "where they were not expected." Buonaparte instantly repaired to the pope's apartments, and entered upon the business of his visit. From that evening till the 25th, various conferences took place between them, which ended in the signing of a new concordat. The pope had considered Buonaparte's last marriage illegal and his issue illegitimate, as the former marriage had not been dissolved according to the canons of the catholic church, nor by the special permission of the head of that church. The manner in which the pope had been treated had produced a strong sensation in France, which, although Buonaparte might disregard it during the tide of his victories, he now felt was no longer to be treated with contempt. The proposals, however, which were now made to the pope, were accepted, the territories of the church were restored, and the sanction of his holiness was obtained to the marriage of the French ruler.

Other measures for sustaining the authority of Buonaparte were also adopted. A regency was provided in the event of his death during the minority of his son. The Austrian princess was named the regent; she was to act with the assistance of a council. She and her son were to be crowned—a spectacle which, although it might amuse the Parisians for a day, could do little towards consolidating the new dynasty.

The legislative body having been convoked in the month of February, Buonaparte made one of his singular speeches to them. He consoled them by an assurance that the British army had been wrecked before Burgos, and had evacuated Spain.—But every one asked, if the British army had been wrecked before Burgos, how happened it that the enemy had not ventured to make any attack upon it in its ruined state? If the allies had entirely evacuated Spain, why were not the French again in possession of the capital of Estremadura and of Ciudad Rodrigo? If all the hopes of the English had been disappointed and their projects defeated, how came it to pass that the enemy was not in possession of the fertile provinces of Andalusia?—When alluding to the Russian campaign, he said, that "he was constantly victorious at Polotsk, at Mohilo, at Smolensko, and Maloyraslovitz." At Maloyraslovitz! where the Russians drove him back to the road which became the grave of his army! "He got to Moscow," he said, "triumphing over every obstacle, and even the conflagration of that city changed in no manner the prosperous state of his affairs." This was in direct contradiction to his own bulletins (particularly the 26th) in which he said, "that after Moscow had ceased to exist, the emperor had determined either to abandon this heap of ruins, or only occupy the Kremline—that it appeared useless to compromise any thing whatever for an object that was of no military value, and had now become of no political importance."—But after expressing all due contempt for the Russian arms,—after asserting that the Russian troops were not able to stand before the French army—what did Buonaparte now pro-

pose to do? The object of the war, as avowed by himself in his first bulletins, was to dictate to Russia; to deprive her of her consideration and her influence; to impose upon her his system, and to reduce the Emperor of Russia to the abject situation of a King of Bavaria. What did the French ruler now avow to be his object? To make the Russians return to their own country! "The Russians," said he, "shall return to their own frightful climate!" Was it for this he went to war with Russia?—that she might not establish her power over Germany?—that she should be contented with her own immense possessions?—He invaded her territories to conquer her, and he was now anxious only that she should not invade France. She had destroyed the army which he brought against her, and burst beyond the limits of her own territories; and he would now have been fully satisfied if her armies would have relieved him of their presence, and "returned to their frightful climate!"

Buonaparte spoke very generally of his allies. He said, indeed, he "was satisfied with all of them—that he would abandon none of them, and that he would maintain the integrity of their states."—One paragraph in the speech shewed the impossibility of making peace. "The French dynasty reigns and shall reign in Spain,"—a pledge which, so long as it was persisted in, cut off all hope of putting a period to the war with England.

The Russian army meanwhile had arrived on the Vistula. The utmost deliberation was required in determining the course which it was now to follow. The French possessed along that river a range of fortresses, which commanded its course, and seemed to oppose a barrier against the further progress of a northern army. Was the Russian army to employ itself in besieging these fortresses, and thus secure this line of defence against any future invasion? This seemed the most prudent plan, and corresponded with the established usages of war. But the Russians had penetration enough to perceive, that much more brilliant prospects were opened by the present situation of Europe. The remains of the French army were too small, and in too complete a state of disorganization and dismay, to oppose any obstacle to their victorious progress. It was certain, that as they advanced, every sovereign, every country, would receive them with open arms; their force would be swelled by the force of all the districts which they might traverse; the resources of every country would be withdrawn from the strength of France and added to that of her enemies. With respect to the danger of leaving behind them so many strong-holds, the example of the French themselves had shewn, that there were circumstances, in which what might otherwise have been the height of imprudence, became perfectly safe. The danger, which would have been serious if entering into a hostile country, with a powerful enemy in front, ceased to exist when the French force was completely broken, and when the whole country through which their pursuers were to pass was enthusiastically devoted to their cause. Every circumstance, in short, indicated, that the moment had arrived for following up, with the utmost vigour, the advantages they had gained. It would have been madness to pause, until the mighty edifice, which for the first time had been made to totter, should be laid in the dust. The Russians therefore determined to advance; and the boldness and vigour of this policy, contrasted with the caution which had marked their proceedings in different circumstances, heightened greatly the impression of that wisdom by which their councils were guided.

On the 7th of February, Major-Ge-

neral Count Woronzoff marched towards Posen with his detachment; whilst Admiral Tchichagoff invested the fortress of Thorn, General Miloradovitch's corps passed to the left bank of the Vistula. Major-General Paskevitch, with the 7th corps, took possession of Sakroczin, and pushed forward some cossacks for the purposes of observation as far as Modlin.

The enemy, with the view of obtaining provisions from the villages about Dantzic, made a sally towards Brentau, but was immediately received by some cossacks, who compelled him to retreat. At the same time a strong column of infantry and of cavalry appeared on the Russian left flank, opposite the village of Nenkau, and at first drove in their advanced posts. A cossack chief, named Meinikoff, taking advantage of this movement, collected several detachments of his warriors, rode round the enemy's wing, and falling unexpectedly on his rear, threw him into confusion; the result was, that the whole column was cut off from the city, and not a single man returned into the fortress; 600 men were cut down on the spot, and 200 privates and 73 officers were made prisoners.

Prince Schwartzenberg's corps having been forced to retreat, on the 8th of February General Miloradovitch took possession of the city of Warsaw. On his arrival at the village of Wilanoff, he was met by the deputies of the corporations—of the nobility, merchants, and clergy, headed by the prefect, subprefects, and mayors of the city, who presented to him the keys of Warsaw.

Major-General Count Sievres, commanding in Koningsberg, received orders to march against Pillau, with all the troops and artillery then in Koningsberg, and to summon the French garrison to surrender. In pursuance of these orders, the general arrived with 6000 men and a strong party of artillery, in the village of Old Pillau, within 2000 paces of the fortress:—The troops posted themselves partly in front of this village, and partly on the heights situated on the right and left of it; and the Russian general immediately sent a summons to the commandant of the French garrison. This measure led to a convention, by which the French troops, on the 8th, quitted the town and fortress of Pillau, which had been garrisoned by them since the month of May, 1812. The garrison, which marched out, consisted of about 1200 men; the number of sick left behind amounted to about 400. On the 9th the Russian troops returned to the grand army; the Prussian troops who were in the town and citadel remained as a garrison.

The mild and sagacious policy of the Russians in entering the provinces of the north as friends and deliverers, and restoring the national functionaries, greatly assisted their exertions.—Their advance was accompanied with every circumstance which was calculated to endear their cause to the nations around them.—They resorted to the press as a powerful auxiliary for the overthrow of the enemies of Europe; they disseminated friendly addresses over the continent, and their conciliatory offers were received with joy at Warsaw, Berlin, Hamburgh, and Dresden. The press, which had been so long fettered by the French, and compelled to disseminate falsehood throughout Europe, began, after the success of the Russians, to reassume its legitimate functions.——Wherever the allies carried their arms, this powerful engine was occupied in exposing the malignant and deceitful policy which had been so long pursued by the ruler of France.

The King of Prussia, who felt himself while at Potsdam entirely in the power of the French general and garrison of Berlin, resolved on obtaining

his personal freedom by a sudden and unexpected removal to Breslaw. Having arrived there, he, on the 3d of February, issued proclamations to his subjects, calling on them to arm in support of their king and country. This patriotic call was well understood over Prussia, and volunteers from all parts of the kingdom presented themselves for enrolment. Mortified by this sight, Beauharnois, the new commander of the French armies, forbade the recruiting enjoined by the royal decree. This unparalleled affront had no other effect than to excite the indignation of the king and of his people.

The Austrians, in the month of February, concluded an unlimited truce with the Russians, in virtue of which they withdrew into Gallicia; and the Saxons under Regnier profited by this circumstance to retire towards their own country. On the evening of the 13th of February, however, General Winzingerode came up with General Regnier and his Saxons at Kalitsch. The enemy directed their movements upon the city, to form a junction with 4000 Poles, who had 15 pieces of cannon with them; but they found themselves suddenly attacked by the Russian troops with their characteristic ardour. The result of this attack was highly honourable to the Russians, as the Saxon infantry, who were in superior force, made a brave and obstinate resistance. Two Saxon standards, seven pieces of cannon, the Saxon general, Nostitz, three colonels, 36 officers and 2000 privates, were the trophies of this day. General Winzingerode's advanced guard pursued the enemy, who retreated upon Raczkowo and Ostrowo.

In this state of things, the King of Prussia offered himself as a mediator between the chief belligerents. On the 15th of February, he proposed a truce, on condition that the Russian troops should retire behind the Vistula and the French behind the Elbe, leaving Prussia, and all its fortresses, free from foreign occupation.—These terms seem very favourable to the beatten and discomfited enemy, who had so lately threatened to annihilate the independence both of Russia and Prussia. They were sullenly rejected, however, by Buonaparte; while the Emperor Alexander, on the other hand, evinced such sentiments of liberality toward the Prussian monarchy and nation, as could not but insure their cordial attachment.

The patriots of Prussia accordingly surrounded their sovereign at Breslaw: they represented, that the moment was at length arrived to shake off the degrading yoke, to which, in common with all Germany, their nation had been so long subjected; they wisely and energetically insisted, that there was but one line to be adopted—an alliance offensive and defensive with Russia.—This just remonstrance at length prevailed. On the 22d of February a treaty of peace and alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded betwixt the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, and a system of combined military operations was arranged.

The King of Prussia, on this occasion, addressed his people and his armies.—"It was unnecessary," he said, "to render an account to his good people of Germany, of the motives for the war which was now commencing: they were evident to impartial Europe. Prussia was bowed down under the superior power of France. That peace, which deprived the king of half his subjects, procured us no blessings; it, on the contrary, injured Prussia more than war itself. The country was impoverished. The principal fortresses were occupied by the enemy; agriculture was neglected, as well as the industry of the cities, which had risen to a very

high degree. Liberty of trade being interrupted, the new system naturally closed all the sources of ease and prosperity. By the most exact observance of the stipulated treaties, the king hoped to obtain some alleviation for his people, and at last to convince the French ruler that it was his own interest to leave Prussia independent; but the king's exertions to obtain so desirable an object proved fruitless;—nothing but haughtiness and treachery were the result. The Prussians discovered, but rather late, that Buonaparte's conventions were more ruinous to them than open wars. The moment was now arrived in which no illusion respecting their condition could remain.—"Prussians," said the king, "you know what you have suffered during the last seven years. You know what a miserable fate awaits you if we do not honourably finish the war which is now commencing. Remember former times! Remember the illustrious Elector, the Great Frederick! Remember the benefits for which our ancestors contended under his direction: liberty of conscience, honour, independence, trade, industry, and knowledge. Bear in mind the great example of our allies the Russians! Think of the Spaniards and Portuguese: small states have even gone to battle for similar benefits against a more powerful enemy, and obtained victory! Remember the Swiss and the people of the Netherlands! Great sacrifices are required from all ranks, because our plan is great, and the means of our enemy extensive.—You will make them sooner for your country and your king, than for a foreign ruler; who, by so many examples, has proved he would seize your children, and drain your resources for designs to which you are strangers.—Confidence in God, constancy, courage, and the powerful assistance of our allies, will favour our just cause with victory. How great soever the sacrifices which may be required from individuals, they are small compared with the sacred interests for which they are given, for which we combat, and for which we must conquer, or cease to be Prussians. We are now engaged in the last decisive contest for our existence as an independent people.—There is no medium between an honourable peace and inglorious ruin.—Even this you would manfully support for your honour, because a Prussian cannot live without it.—But we dare confidently trust, God and our firm purpose will give our just cause victory, and with this an uninterrupted peace, and the return of happier times."

The French ambassador, St Marsan, who was a spectator of the interview between the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, resolved on the following day to present a remonstrance to the Prussian chancellor. He was prevented, however, by a note from the latter, formally announcing to him, that Prussia was at war with France, and assigning the reasons by which he justified her conduct. A similar note was presented to the French government at Paris by Count Krusemarck, the Prussian minister, to which an angry reply was made by the Duke of Bassano.

The Prussian minister stated the strongest reasons in justification of an appeal to arms at the present time, and argued with much force and ability against the French system, which had successively led to the degradation of every sovereign by whom it had been adopted:—He urged the folly of trusting to any engagements with Buonaparte, and the absolute necessity to which the powers of Europe were exposed, of destroying his system, or being destroyed by it. Prussia, by the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, was left in the most feeble condition. It was easy

to foresee, that by the occupation of the fortresses, Buonaparte would become in effect master of that country, and might avail himself of it as an advanced post in his future hostilities against Russia. He was not only enabled to exhaust it by grievous exactions, under the name of military contributions, but to ruin its finances by that deceitful and ingenious mode of impoverishing his neighbours, which he termed the continental system. In this wretched situation was Prussia placed, when Buonaparte's plans against Russia began to be devoloped. Unable to stand alone, her circumstances did not allow of neutrality; and she was unwillingly dragged along as a vassal in the train of the ruler of the French nation. But even if she had not suffered severe oppression in time of peace, she was at once plundered, trampled on, and insulted, during the war. Buonaparte acted over the kingdom of Prussia the sovereign, or rather the conqueror, without ceremony or restraint. He seized on Pillau and Spandau by a sort of military surprise; he kept possession of Glogau and Custrin, in express opposition to treaties: he subsisted his garrisons in those places by levying contributions for ten leagues around; he seized no less than 30,000 horses, and 20,000 carriages; together with every other article of which his commissariat happened to stand in need; and he even sent orders to General Bulow to join Victor's corps without consulting the King of Prussia on the subject. These, and many other equally serious grounds of complaint, were distinctly recapitulated by Count Krusemarck in his official communication to the French government.

The Duke of Bassano, in reply, began by a sarcastic allusion to the versatile politics of the Prussian cabinet since 1792, as if France, since that period, had not exhibited more numerous instances of fickleness and falsehood than any other power. He stated that it was against Buonaparte's *feelings* to declare war merely for political convenience! He would have made Prussia a mediator between France and Russia; "and would have consented to aggrandize for the interest of his system, and for the peace and repose of the world, which formed his sole view, a power, whose sincerity had been put to the proof." Buonaparte would have aggrandized Prussia! "made her act a fine part," and manifest decided sentiments; "but," said the Duke of Bassano, "he did not suspect the duplicity of a power which had solicited the honour of an alliance with France."

While the diplomatic arrangements were concluded between Russia and Prussia, the commanders of the French armies in vain attempted to make a stand at Berlin. The inhabitants manifested a spirit no less formidable to them than that of the army; and the French themselves confessed, that the Russian light troops which approached Berlin, were conducted and reinforced by the young men of that capital; several of whom were killed in the skirmishes which took place in the suburbs.

Very different from the conduct of the King of Prussia was that of the misguided sovereign of Saxony. The approach of the allied armies alarmed him, and he determined to quit Dresden, and to cling to the interests of the common enemy. Before abandoning his capital, he issued a proclamation recommending a peaceable demeanour to his subjects. He told them, at the same time, that the political system to which he had for the last six years attached himself, was that to which the state had been indebted for its preservation amid the most imminent dangers. This was strange lan-

guage, when his adherence to this very political system now compelled him to abandon his capital.

General Blucher, however, took a different view of the interests of Saxony, and addressed from Bruntzlau, a proclamation to the people, stating that he entered their territory to offer them his powerful assistance, and calling on them to raise the standard of insurrection against their oppressors. His language on this occasion was singular and characteristic:—"In the north of Europe," he said, "the Lord of Hosts has held a dreadful court of justice, and the angel of death has cut off 300,000 of those strangers by the sword, famine, and cold, from that earth which they, in the insolence of their prosperity, would have brought under the yoke. We march wherever the finger of the Lord directs us, to fight for the security of the ancient thrones and our national independence. With us comes a valiant people, who have boldly driven back oppression, and with a high feeling have promised liberty to the subjugated nations. We announce to you the morning of a new day. The time for shaking off a detestable yoke, which, during the last six years, dreadfully crushed us down, has at length arrived. A new war unluckily commenced, and still more unhappily concluded, forced upon us the peace of Tilsit; but even of the severest articles of that treaty, not one has been kept with us. Every following treaty increased the hard conditions of the preceding one. For this reason we have thrown off the shameful yoke, and advance to the heart-cheering combat for our liberty. Saxons! ye are a noble minded people! you know, that without independence all the good things of this life are to noble minds of little value,—that subjection is the greatest disgrace. You neither can nor will bear slavery any longer. You will not permit a cunning and deceitful system of policy to carry its ambitious and depraved views into effect, to demand the blood of your sons, dry up the springs of your commerce, depress your industry, destroy the liberty of your press, and turn your once happy country into the theatre of war. Already has the Vandalism of the oppressive foreigner wantonly destroyed your most beautiful monument of architecture, the bridge of Dresden. Rise! join us: raise the standard of insurrection against foreign oppressors, and be free. Your sovereign is in the power of foreigners, deprived of the freedom of determination, deploring the steps which a treacherous policy forced him to take. We shall no more attribute them to him than cause you to suffer for them. We only take the provinces of your country under our care, when fortune, the superiority of our arms, and the valour of our troops, may place them in our power. Supply the reasonable wants of our warriors, and in return expect from us the strictest discipline. Every application to me, the Prussian General, may be freely made by all oppressed persons. I will hear complaints, examine every charge, and severely punish every violation of discipline. Every one, even the very meanest, may with confidence approach me, I will receive him with kindness. The friend of German independence will, by us, be considered as our brother: the weak-minded wanderer we will lead with tenderness into the right road; but the dishonourable, despicable tool of foreign tyranny, I will pursue to the utmost rigour as an enemy to our common country."

Prussia now became one great camp; the supple instruments of French tyranny were banished from the cabinet, and the generals known by their resolute opposition to French influence, were invested with new and effectual powers. The whole country between the Elbe and the Oder was divided in-

to four military districts, under the command of L'Estocq, Tauenzien, Massenbach, and Gotzen; the militia was called out; the levy-en-masse was ordered; volunteers enrolled themselves on all sides; no less than 20,000 of the militia were collected at Koningsberg; and the national enthusiasm was universally directed to one great object.

The King of Prussia, on the 20th of March, 1813, published an edict, abolishing the continental system, and regulating the duties to be collected in future on goods imported into Prussia. All French goods were prohibited under severe penalties.

The French troops having quitted Berlin, the Russian General, Tchernicheff, arrived in that city amid a great concourse of people:—the Russian troops were received with kindness and hospitality. On the 11th of March, Count Wittgenstein made his public entry into the capital, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm.

The torrent from the north rolled on; the barriers of the Vistula and the Oder proved inefficacious to stem it. The accession of Prussia and Sweden, and the great armaments which were preparing in the north of Germany, swelled the single power of Russia into a formidable confederacy. The fidelity of all the foreign troops in the French service was suspected by Buonaparte; and it appeared that they would embrace the first opportunity of deserting. In these circumstances he thought it necessary to make an addition, even to the immense preparations which he had already contemplated.—Ninety thousand men of the conscription of 1814, who had been originally destined for the reserve, were now rendered disposable; and ninety thousand more were raised by a sort of retrospective conscription. The cities and municipalities were invited to equip new corps of cavalry, to replace that part of the army which had entirely perished during the Russian campaign. Buonaparte, however, was aware that he could not at once lead these raw levies against the enemy;—every resource, therefore, which experience and ingenuity could suggest, was exhausted to confer on them that discipline in which they were deficient. Officers were procured either by drafts from Spain, or by selecting the subalterns of the regiments which had escaped from Russia. A large camp was formed upon the Maine, where the preparation of the young soldiers for the field, could be carried on without danger of interruption from the approach of the enemy.—The immense armies which Buonaparte was accumulating proved the unequalled vigour of his despotism, and the great resources of his empire.

CHAP. XIII.

Progress of the War.—Buonaparte takes the Command of the French Armies.—Battle of Lutzen.—Battle of Bautzen, and Retreat of the Allies.—The combined Armies retire, and Buonaparte enters Dresden.

As the allied sovereigns were fully persuaded that their chance of success, in the great enterprize which they had undertaken, must depend upon the soundness of their principles, no less than upon the numbers and valour of their armies, they hastened to announce the maxims of policy by which they were guided.

Prince Kutousoff, the commander-in-chief of the Russian and Prussian armies, accordingly published an address to Germany in the names of the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia. In this address, the two monarchs gave a solemn pledge of their intentions. They desired to re-establish Germany in her rights and independence. They would not tolerate that badge of a foreign yoke, the confederation of the Rhine. They declared that they had no intention of disturbing France, nor of forcing with their armies her rightful frontiers. They desired that she might occupy herself in her own concerns, and not disturb the repose of other nations. They were anxious for peace, but for such a peace as should be founded upon a solid basis; and they concluded with announcing their determination not to lay down their arms, until the foundations of the independence of every European state should have been established and secured.

The unprosperous state to which the affairs of the French were reduced, had, as it was natural to expect, a great influence on the policy of their allies. Even Denmark now expressed a disposition to join the great confederacy of Europe; she proposed, however, the most extravagant terms. She sent an ambassador to London, who tendered to England the benefit of a Danish alliance, on the following conditions:—1st, That all the territories of Denmark (Norway of course included) should be guaranteed to her. 2d, That all her islands should be restored. 3d, That her fleet should be given up, and a large indemnity allowed for its capture. A considerable sum was also demanded, as a compensation for what the Danes had suffered during the occupation of Zealand by the British. 4th, That the Hanse towns should be assigned to her. 5th, That a subsidy should be granted to pay the troops necessary to enable her to take possession of these towns. And upon the accession of the British govern-

ment to these *reasonable* terms, Denmark would make peace, and join the common cause. Such demands, of course, could not require a moment's deliberation, and the Danish minister took his departure.—England was the last of the allied powers tried by Denmark. She began at Petersburgh under French influence, and there she failed; she continued negotiations at Copenhagen under the same influence, and again she failed; she then turned her attention towards London, where there could be no such influence, and there she failed also. But although her attempts at negotiation had no success, the momentary change which was thus produced upon her policy, had considerable influence on the affairs of Hamburgh, which about this time excited great interest in England.

The grand French army (including the division of General Grenier, amounting to 20,000 men, which in the beginning of January had hastened from Italy to the north) had been reduced by many severe engagements with the cossacks to about 18,000 men, and had quitted Berlin to lay the basis of future operations in a more solid manner behind the Elbe. General Morand, in the meantime, who had kept possession of Swedish Pomerania with about 2500 men, and had been instructed to maintain himself there at all events, put himself in march to follow the grand army, whose left wing was formed by the army of Pomerania under his command. Baron Tettenborne, colonel-commandant of a corps of General Wittgenstein's division of the army, marched at the same time in the direction of Hamburgh; his vanguard was at Limburg, when Morand, on the 15th of March, entered Mollen. As some parties of cossacks had been detached in front, and were approaching Mollen, the army of Pomerania halted, and afterwards marched to Bergedorf. General Morand then attempted to march from Bergedorf to Hamburgh, but was prevented by the Danish troops, 3000 of whom, with a numerous artillery, were stationed on the borders to maintain their neutrality.

Colonel Hamilton, the governor of Heligoland, was induced by the success of the Russian arms, and the favourable reports from different parts of the Hanóverian coast, to take every step which an inconsiderable force at his disposal would admit of, to promote the common cause, and to assist the operations of the allied armies in this direction. Lieutenant Banks accordingly proceeded to Cuxhaven, whence the French had departed with great expedition, after destroying all their gun-boats, and dismounting the guns from the strong works constructed for the defence of the harbour. On a summons from Lieutenant Banks, the castle of Ritzenbuttle, and batteries of Cuxhaven, were surrendered by the burghers, and the British and Hamburgh flags were immediately displayed. The peasants assembled in considerable numbers, and took the strong battery and works at Bremerlee. A corps of about 1500 French having been collected in the vicinity, threatened to retake the battery, and application was made to Major Kentzinger, at Cuxhaven, for assistance. This officer having left Cuxhaven with a party of the soldiers in waggons, was met by the peasants, who informed him that the enemy had marched off in great haste, in consequence of the landing of some British troops.

Tettenborne, after this, entered Hamburgh, amid the acclamations of the citizens. In consequence of this happy event the ancient government was restored.—Colonel Tettenborne addressed the inhabitants of the left bank of the Lower Elbe, and the inhabitants of the city of Lubec, ex-

horting them to take up arms in this sacred war,—telling them that they knew the fate of the French grand army, which had been entirely destroyed on the plains of Russia,—and assuring them that powerful armies were hastening to their support. "May disgrace overtake every one," said he, "who in these eventful times, when the struggle is for the greatest blessings of the human race, can sit with his arms folded." The people were invited to raise a volunteer corps in Hamburgh, Lubec, and Bremen, to bear the name of "The Hanseatic Legion," and form a part of the army of the north of Germany.

A small detachment of veterans sent by Colonel Hamilton to Cuxhaven, marched to Bremerlee to occupy the battery at that place, and to afford support to the insurgent peasantry.—The enemy, however, collected a force of five or six thousand men at Bremen, and a detachment of about seven hundred of them marched rapidly upon Bremerlee, dispersed the peasants, and forced the bridge, which was bravely defended by a party of the 1st veteran battalion. The enemy then attacked the battery where the remainder of the veterans, and a body of peasants, were stationed.—These people capitulated in the hope of saving their lives. The French spared six or seven of the British veterans, but treacherously massacred every one of the peasants; they pillaged the town and returned hastily to Bremen.

The King of Prussia, meanwhile, was busily employed in extending over the continent a spirit of insurrection against the French. He perceived the advantages which had resulted from the animating addresses of the Emperor Alexander, and he embraced every opportunity of profiting by the same expedient. On the 6th of April, he issued from Breslaw, a proclamation to the inhabitants of the German provinces belonging to Prussia, which were ceded by the treaty of Tilsit. "It was neither," said the king, "by my choice nor your fault, that you, my beloved and faithful subjects, were torn from my paternal heart. The force of events brought on the peace of Tilsit, by which we were separated. But even that convention, like all others since made with France, was broken by our enemies; they themselves have, by their infidelity, released us from our connection with them; and God, by the victories of our powerful allies, has prepared the liberation of Germany. Neither are you, from the moment when my faithful people flew to arms for me, for themselves, and for you, any longer bound by that compulsive oath which connected you with your new ruler. To you, I therefore speak in the same language as I did to my beloved people, concerning the causes and objects of the present war. You have now again the same claim to my affection, and I to your obedience.—Again joined to my people, you will share the same danger, but you will likewise partake of the same reward, and of equal glory. I depend upon your attachment; our native country relies on your strength. Join your youths to my warriors who have lately renewed the glory of the Prussian arms. Seize your swords, and form your insurrectional levy according to the example of your noble brethren, whom with just pride I call my subjects. When you shall have fought with us for our common country, when by your exertions you shall have assisted in establishing its independence, and proved that you are worthy of your ancestors, and of the Prussian name, then will futurity heal the wounds inflicted by times past, and we shall find the happiness that has been lost to us in the conviction of a faithful attachment, and in the undisturbed enjoyment of liberty and peace."

According to the dispositions made by General Wittgenstein on the left bank of the Elbe, the three flying corps under the command of Generals Dornberg, Tchernicheff, and Tettenborne, were ordered to precede the army, and to pass the Elbe between Hamburgh and Magdeburgh. While preparations were making for the passage of the river, the French army concentrated in the vicinity of Magdeburgh, and strengthened itself by reinforcements from the troops round Dresden and Leipzig. Its left wing consisted of three considerable corps, encamped near Luberitz and Stendal; and the whole army was under the command of Marshals Davoust and Victor.—General Dornberg arrived first at Havelberg, and afterwards crossed the Elbe at the village of Guitjobel, opposite to Werlen. The enemy, four or five thousand strong, approached from Arneberg, and obliged the Russian corps to quit the town of Werlen, and re-cross the Elbe. The Russians lost in this affair one officer and 18 dragoons, who had remained too long at Werlen.

The corps of General Tchernicheff in the meantime arrived at Havelberg, and a council of war was held concerning the future operations. General Tchernicheff, in consequence, first passed the Elbe with his corps, and took possession of Seehausen and Lichterfield, to secure the passage of the corps of Dornberg. The necessary dispositions, however, were scarcely made, when Major Count Puschkin, who was posted with a regiment of cossacks at Lichterfield, was attacked by three battalions of French infantry and 200 cavalry, with two pieces of artillery. This officer succeeded in keeping the enemy employed, until a regiment of cavalry of the division of the Baron Pahlen came to his support. This regiment attacked the enemy, drove him back to Werlen, and made two officers and sixty men prisoners.—Generals Dornberg and Tchernicheff were informed that General Morand with a corps of upwards of 3000 infantry, 11 cannon, and 300 cavalry, was pressing forward by the way of Jottstadt to Luneberg, to punish the inhabitants of that town for having dared to take up arms. The Generals resolved to hasten to Luneberg to protect the brave inhabitants from the fate which threatened them. As the troops had lately made a forced march of ten German (forty English) miles in 24 hours, they could not be brought up until the 2d of April, in the morning, 12 hours after the entry of the French into Luneberg. The Russians were informed that on this very forenoon several executions were to take place in the city, and that a number of victims were again to attest the cruelty of the enemies of Germany. They therefore determined instantly to attack the town. Scarcely had two of the corps approached it on the right bank of the Elmenau, within the distance of two cannon shot, and drawn themselves up in order of battle, under cover of the bushes and hedges, when Baron Pahlen, with great skill, commenced the attack on the other side, and met with complete success. The enemy advanced against him with two battalions of infantry and three pieces of artillery, and attempted to cut him off from the road to Bienenbuttel. The parties encountered at this place, and charged each other briskly. The enemy, who was ignorant of the strength of the Russian and Prussian corps, and imagined that he had only to act against a few cossacks, was surprised.—At the same time General Dornberg, at the head of a Prussian battalion of infantry, rushed on the enemy's battalion, and drove it along the bridge close under the town, on the right bank of the Elmenau. The assailants found the gates, the walls, and even the houses in the

town defended by the enemy's infantry; the situation of the place was favourable for making a vigorous resistance, and here an obstinate and bloody engagement ensued. Russians and Prussians vyed with each other in noble emulation; and the artillery, which was not more than one hundred paces distant from the enemy, made great havoc among the French in the streets of the town. At length the Prussians succeeded, after the battle had raged with the greatest obstinacy at the entrance of the town for more than two hours, in possessing themselves of one of the gates. This success forced the enemy to quit the town, which he did in such haste, that one of his battalions was separated.—A brisk fire of infantry was maintained; the battalion which had been cut off, when discovered by the Russian yagers, made a charge with the bayonet; but this was the last effort of the enemy. A heavy fire of grape-shot convinced them that there was no possibility of escape, and they laid down their arms.—The trophies of this day were nine pieces of artillery, 100 officers, and 2200 privates, prisoners. The zeal, assiduity, and judgment, evinced by the generals in this trial of the combined Russian and Prussian troops on the left bank of the Elbe, reflected the greatest honour on them. This was the first affair of any importance which the allies had with the enemy upon German ground.

The King of Saxony, after quitting his capital, followed the retreating French army, and repaired to a place of security in Franconia: his troops, however, did not imitate the example. They separated from the French, and shut themselves up in Torgau, where they concluded a treaty of neutrality, which but for inauspicious events might soon have been converted into an honourable league. The allied forces proceeded almost without opposition through Saxony, and although treated by the sovereign as hostile, by the people they were every where hailed as deliverers. The entrance of the Russians into Leipzig revived the drooping spirits of the people. The allies immediately advanced, crossed the Saale at different points, occupied Gotha and Weimar, and began to penetrate through the forest of Thuringia.

Buonaparte in his former campaigns had generally succeeded in obtaining the most accurate information of the designs of the enemy opposed to him. The French were, however, at this period, kept in the utmost ignorance of the movements of their adversaries, while the allies contrived to obtain a correct knowledge of their plans. Thus it happened to the enemy in an attempt which he made to recover Berlin.—While Beauharnois, ignorant that Witgenstein was near him, flattered himself that he should march on unimpeded to the Prussian capital, the latter took the most skilful measures to surround and attack him with his whole force. For this purpose he collected the corps of D'York and Berg at Zenlist and Leitzkau, on the great southern road from Magdeburgh to Dessau, while he stationed those of Borstel and Bulow at Nedlitz and Yiesar, to the northward of Magdeburgh. It was arranged that the whole army should move forward simultaneously from the opposite points and join in the attack; this plan succeeded. The French, who had the advantage of the ground, resisted with bravery; but they were successively driven, by the separate detachments of the allies, from the positions which they endeavoured to maintain at three different villages, and after having two regiments of cavalry cut to pieces, they owed the preservation of their remaining force only to the darkness of the night. Thus favoured, they retired at all points; they did not even attempt to maintain the de-

files, but retreated to Magdeburgh, which was afterwards closely blockaded. Thus had the French already been twice defeated by the united Russian and Prussian forces; their first attempts on each side of the Elbe were frustrated. The victories of Luneberg and Mockern were hailed as omens of the success of the campaign.

The Russian force was about this time divided into three armies—one under Wittgenstein, a second under Tchichagoff, and a third under Winzengerode;—Prince Kutusoff commanded the whole. Wittgenstein's main force had crossed the Elbe in order to drive the French back upon the Maine.—One of the corps of this army under General Berkendoff had entered Lubec, and other corps were on the Elbe, near Boitzenburg. Part of Tchichagoff's army was in the vicinity of Thorn, while another division was employed under Platoff in the siege of Dantzic. Winzengerode's army was divided at Custrin, Lansberg, and Dresden; while another corps had passed the Elbe at Schandau, to turn Davoust. Russian reinforcements were on the Vistula.—The Prussian force was thus distributed: General Blucher had removed from Silesia into Saxony, and General D'York was at Berlin with the main army. Detachments had been sent to Hamburgh and Rostock, which were now occupied by Prussian corps; and another Prussian detachment had invested Stettin.—A Swedish force was at Stralsund; and it was expected that by the commencement of the campaign, the Crown Prince of Sweden would have the command of 50,000 men. The whole Russian force, with which it was expected the campaign would open, was most erroneously estimated at 220,000; the Prussian at 70,000, and the Swedish and Pomeranian at 50,000; amounting in whole to 340,000 men. To these were added the force which Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, the Hanse Towns, and Saxony, were expected to furnish.

These magnificent expectations, however, were not realized. The Russian army which crossed the Vistula never amounted to 220,000; while the force brought to the Elbe by this power did not exceed 100,000 effective men. An unfortunate relaxation in the efforts of Russia had become manifest between the months of January and May; and the expectations so eagerly indulged, that the allies would have appeared on the Elbe with a force so preponderating, as to defeat any attempt of Buonaparte to maintain himself between that river and the Rhine, were wholly disappointed.

Buonaparte thus had leisure to assemble and organize a force which enabled him to resume the offensive, and to recover the support of the small auxiliary states. The Russians, it would seem, had determined in January, that the Vistula should bound the advance of their main force; and when circumstances produced a change in this determination, the arrangements for bringing forward the reinforcements and reserves were not in sufficient progress.—The allies were now aware that the French were debouching from the Thuringian mountains, with a view to join Beauharnois, who, to favour this movement, proceeded from Magdeburgh towards the upper part of the Saale. The plan of the allies was formed on such knowledge,—for the experience gained at Jena was not thrown away upon them. They used every effort to prevent the junction of so vast a body of French forces. In consequence of Beauharnois' retreat from Magdeburgh it became less practicable and less important to maintain his communications with Davoust; the latter, therefore, uniting with Sebastiani and Vandamme, was at liberty to attempt

the great object of Buonaparte's wishes—to cut off the troops sent to organize insurrection in the neighbourhood of the Weser. In this, however, Davoust was in a great measure disappointed. General Dornberg, with that skill and activity which always marked his conduct, removed his troops to the right bank of the Elbe. Here they covered Hamburgh, against which Davoust continued to make a demonstration, though with very little effect, from the opposite bank of the river.

On the 16th of April, the garrison of Thorn, consisting of 400 Poles, 3500 Bavarians, and 90 Frenchmen, surrendered to the Russians under General Count Langeron. The trophies of this success were 200 pieces of cannon;—nearly the whole of the Bavarians and Poles afterwards enlisted under the patriotic standard. General Langeron's corps, amounting to 15,000 men, was now enabled to co-operate with the force employed before Dantzic.—Spandau, situated on the river Spree, and not far distant from Berlin, capitulated to the Russians on the 18th of April; the garrison engaging not to serve against the allies during one year.—The fortress of Czentokaw surrendered on the 4th of May to a Russian force, commanded by Lieutenant-General Von Sacken, after the batteries had been opened two days.

The French armies were now placed in a critical situation. The main body of the active military force extended from Magdeburgh to the Saale, while the new levies, raised by the late conscription, were forming on the Maine. The advance of the allies tended to interrupt the communication between these two armies, and to compel the one, either to engage singly, or wholly to withdraw itself from Magdeburgh. The time was therefore come for the French corps, if possible, to unite and to act; and Buonaparte conceived them to be already in such a condition as that, without risk, they might be brought into the field. The army on the Maine was therefore directed to move forward; and their leader left Paris, to place himself at the head of the united forces. His presence, it might seem, must have been more wanted, amid the difficulties under which the French army had laboured; but it suited that policy which he has always followed, to stand aloof till the completion of his preparations afforded a fair promise, that victory would soon follow his arrival.

The forces which Buonaparte had now assembled were very great, and considerably out-numbered those which his opponents had collected on the scene of action.—With regard to the general conduct of the allies, although it be impossible to withhold a tribute of applause from it, there yet appear some points in the arrangements of the present campaign, which may afford room for criticism. The Russians, as already remarked, had set out upon the principle of not suffering their advance to be retarded by the fortresses which they might find in their route, but, leaving each of them watched by a detachment of troops, of proceeding with their main body to the Elbe and the Rhine. This measure, circumstanced as they were, seems to merit the highest approbation. They had thus, without sustaining any inconvenience, left behind them three successive chains, including some of the strongest fortressess in Europe. It seems evident, that the success of their plan depended upon the amount of the force which they might bring to the front of their line. If they maintained their ground there, the fortresses, deprived of succour, must sooner or later be compelled to submit; if, on the contrary, they were unable to hold their advanced position, the fortresses would soon be relieved, and the allies would lose the ground which they had

gained. Since they had adopted the system of leaving the strong places behind, they ought not at the same time to have attempted to besiege them. Yet at this time Thorn and Spandau were taken by regular siege, and the operations before Dantzic were pressed with considerable vigour. Had all the troops employed in such sieges, beyond the numbers required for mere observation, been brought forward into Saxony, the inequality of the combatants would either not have existed, or must have been less decided; and it might not have been necessary for the allied armies to retrace their steps.

The next observation is, that the allies being from the above, or other causes, decidedly inferior in number, the policy seems doubtful by which they were induced to advance beyond the Elbe. If their information was correct, relative to the numbers of the French army, they must have known the impossibility of making head against it in the open plain. The most prudent plan would have been, to strengthen as much as possible the line of defence formed by the Elbe, to obtain possession of the bridges, or to throw up entrenchments before those commanded by the enemy. The combined armies might thus have maintained themselves till their levies were completed, or reinforcements arrived.—A different course, however, was pursued; and to this circumstance must be ascribed the advantages which the enemy seemed to gain at the opening of the campaign.

As the army on the Maine moved into Saxony, that near Magdeburgh, commanded by Beauharnois, marched to meet it, and the junction took place on the left bank of the Saale. The whole of these united forces might be estimated at from 150 to 200,000 men.—On the 25th of April, Buonaparte arrived at Erfurth, and immediately ordered all the divisions to move forward in the direction of Leipzig.—The detachment of the allied troops which had advanced beyond the Saale, fell back upon the approach of the French army, and the main body established itself behind the Elster.

On the morning of the 2d of May, Buonaparte advanced into the plain of Lutzen, with the view of reaching Leipzig, and throwing himself thence upon the rear of the allied armies. Suddenly, however, the whole of their forces crossed the Elster at Pegaw, and commenced a grand attack upon the French army. The contest which ensued was one of the most sanguinary description. The Russians and Prussians were under the chief command of General Wittgenstein, and the French under Buonaparte. The battle commenced by the attack of the village of Gross-Gorschen. The enemy was sensible of the importance of this point, and wished to maintain himself in it. It was carried by the right wing of the corps under General Blucher's order; at the same time, his left wing pushed forward in front, and soon charged the French at the village of Kelm-Gorschen. From this time all the corps came successively into action, and the battle became general. The village of Gross-Gorschen was disputed with unexampled obstinacy. Six times was it taken and retaken by the bayonet; but the Russians and Prussians at last obtained the superiority, and this village, as well as those of Kelm Gorschen and Rham, remained in the power of the combined armies. The enemy's centre was broken, and he was driven off the field of battle. He, nevertheless, brought forward fresh columns. Some corps drawn from the reserve of the combined armies, and placed under the orders of Lieutenant-General Kavnovtzin, were opposed to them. Here towards evening a combat ensued, which was likewise exceedingly obstinate; but the

enemy was at last repulsed.—This battle was distinguished by one of the most dreadful cannonades known in the annals of warlike operations, which continued till eleven o'clock in the evening, when night alone put an end to it. During the cannonade, the fire of musketry was uninterruptedly kept up, and frequently the valour of the allied troops proved itself in attacks with the bayonet. Seldom or never was a battle fought with such animosity. The French derived great advantage from their positions on the heights near Lutzen, where they had thrown up strong entrenchments, which they defended with a heavy fire of artillery. But the allied troops drove them from one position to another; nor were they to be deterred even when the superior defence of the enemy in his last positions rendered frequent attacks necessary.—The result was, that the Russian and Prussian troops kept possession of the field of battle during the whole night. Their loss was indeed very great; it may be fairly estimated at from 8 to 10,000 men killed and wounded. Major the Prince of Hesse Hamburgh was killed, and General Blucher was wounded. An unusually large proportion of officers were among the number of the slain.

Buonaparte affected great elation for this battle. The French chief of the staff in his report mentions, "the fine actions which have shed a lustre on this brilliant day, and which, like a clap of thunder, have pulverized the chimerical hopes and all the calculations for the destruction and dismemberment of the empire." Reverting as usual to England, he remarked, that "the cloudy train collected by the cabinet of St James's during a whole winter is in an instant destroyed, like the Gordian knot by the sword of Alexander. Europe would at length be at peace, if the sovereigns and the ministers who direct their cabinets could have been present on the field of battle. They would give up all hopes of causing the star of France to set, and perceive that those counsellors who wish to dismember the French empire, and humble the emperor, are preparing the ruin of their sovereign."

But nothing can be more entertaining on this subject than the eloquence of Cardinal Maury, who, in obedience to the order of his government, exhorted the people of France to join in the solemn ceremonies of religion on the occasion of this victory. "Our enemies," said this holy personage, "emboldened by the defection of the most versatile of our allies, who already expiates the blindness of his fully, entertained no doubt of the full success of their new coalition against France. Thus, while their frozen climate suspended the course of our victories, the Russians considered the fugitive protection of the elements as a lasting triumph. They believed, when they put themselves into the pay of England, that the emperor would never return to reorganize his army. They flattered themselves that they would drive us out of Germany, and even carry the seat of war into our ancient territories, should we refuse to submit to such laws as their arrogance should please to dictate to us from the banks of the Rhine; nor did they awaken from this dream of glory until the moment of their disenchantment on the plains of Lutzen.—Four months of prodigies on the one side, and of illusions on the other, have sufficed to enable France to meet them, by shewing herself to astonished Germany more powerful than ever. The winter's rest has repaired every thing. A noble emulation and voluntary sacrifices have relieved the finances, without reducing us to any ruinous expedient. God, who enjoys the presumption and temerity of mortals; God, according to the expression of the prophet,

blew on the ambitious chimeras of our enemies, and they immediately vanished. See then now, humilitated and already vanquished, these imaginary conquerors, who so lightly reckoned on our dishonour!—The glorious victory for which we are this day going to render to the All-powerful the most solemn acts of thanksgiving, announces triumphs still more decisive in our favour. *We shall drive* these Tartars back to their frightful climate, which can no longer save them. Powers who are enemies to France! ye had numbered our legions, ye had calculated of how many arms they were composed, but ye had forgotten at the same time to appreciate the extraordinary genius of their chief, whose sublime combinations know how to balance their actions, to concert the whole, to supply their means, and double their force. You still believe this great man to be far from his army; while his history as well as your dreams should have taught you, that in his marches, his post is always at the head of his victorious phalanxes. You hastened by three days the movement of a triumph which he had secretly prepared in his mind; but by eluding his combinations, you made no alteration in his dispositions, excepting solely in the manner to conquer you. The *inferiority* of our cavalry, which the emperor wished to spare, and for which he gave as a supplement his thundering artillery, showed at once his intentions by one of those *sudden illuminations* of which Bossuet speaks: "It is an Egyptian battle," said he to his troops, "a good infantry supported by artillery ought to be sufficient of itself."—Then, rising into a sort of frenzy, this holy personage adds, "One stands transported with admiration before the extraordinary man who has raised our empire to such a prodigious degree of power and glory. He is the soul of his government as well as of his army. One cannot conceive how a mortal could possibly surmount so many difficulties, be sufficient for the performance of so many duties, unite so much activity to so much foresight, such vast extent of conception to so much vigilance in the details."—But we must return from the rhapsodies of Cardinal Maury to the affairs of the campaign.

The conception of this battle, on the part of the allies, was bold and judicious, and the issue not unfavourable. But with their inferiority of numbers, nothing less than a decisive victory could have enabled them to maintain their present position. Buonaparte still followed out his original plan of pushing on to Leipzic, to throw himself on their rear. To guard against this movement, it became necessary to fall back to the Mulda; and as no advantageous position presented itself, which could compensate the numerical deficiency, the combined armies had no alternative, but to retire behind the Elbe. Their retreat was effected slowly, in perfect order, and without loss.—Buonaparte advanced, and on the 8th May, made his entry into Dresden. The French were once more admitted into Torgau, and the Saxon troops returned to submission. General Thielman, indeed, refused in the first instance to admit the French into Torgau without an order from his sovereign; but that order was given, and Lauriston entered on the evening of the 9th. Three days afterwards, the King of Saxony proceeded to Dresden in custody of the French guard, which was sent to receive him some miles from the city. The spectacle, according to Buonaparte, was "a very fine one." The two sovereigns dismounted from their horses so soon as they saw each other, embraced, and then entered Dresden at the head of the guard, "amid the acclamations of an immense population."—The people of Dresden,

who had entreated their king in the most pressing manner to throw off the yoke of Buonaparte, must have been highly pleased to see this Buonaparte in possession of their capital, and their sovereign exhibited to them as a captive. The king, however, thus returned to his vassalage, and Saxony was again a French province.

The allies, finding it vain to attempt defending the passage of the Elbe, determined upon falling back to some stronger position. They had now to choose their line of retreat. They determined not to retire upon Berlin, or to attempt to cover that capital, but to retreat in an opposite direction, through Lusatia, and near the Bohemian frontier. A course similar to this had been pursued during the last Russian campaign; and it seems to have been dictated by the ablest policy. Had the armies retreated upon Berlin, and the central provinces of the Prussian monarchy, these important objects could have been preserved only by fighting at disadvantage, and on the loss of a battle, the capital must have been abandoned. But by falling back in a different direction, the enemy, who could not leave a great army behind, was necessarily drawn into remoter and less important provinces. Agreeably to this plan, an advantageous position was chosen near Bautzen; with the intention, should that be forced, of falling back upon Silesia. To prevent the flying corps of the enemy from penetrating to Berlin, that capital was covered by General Bulow, with a corps partly composed of regulars, and partly of the newly-raised landwehr and militia.

The advance of the different corps of the French army to the Elbe had rendered it necessary for the divisions of Generals Tettenborne, Dornberg, and Tchernicheff, to recross that river; they were accordingly concentrated at Hamburgh. On the 8th May, Davoust collected from 5 to 6000 men in the vicinity of Harburgh; and this force, with the exception of about 1,500 men left in Harburgh, was embarked at one o'clock in the morning of the 9th. Favoured by the ebb tide, and under cover of numerous batteries on the opposite shore, a landing was effected at Wilhelmsburgh, which was occupied by Hamburgh volunteers and a few Mecklenburghers. The number of troops stationed in the island did not exceed 1100 men; the enemy gained ground, therefore, in the first instance; but on the arrival of a Mecklenburg battalion, which was ordered immediately to the support of the volunteers, the French were repulsed. A battalion of Hanoverians and a Lubec battalion attacked the enemy with impetuosity on his right flank; he was compelled to retreat, and in falling back, he set fire to all the houses and mills in the line of his march.—The French, however, renewed their attempt, and succeeded by stratagem. The inhabitants of Hamburgh and its vicinity, when they heard of this second attack, were in the greatest confusion and distress. Numbers of them were seen on the roofs of the houses, watching the progress of the operations, which, at intervals, lighted the whole horizon. A partial fire of musketry was heard amid the cannonade; and as the day broke, and the fire approached nearer the city, it became evident that the enemy had made good his landing, seized the batteries, and driven in the Hamburgh volunteers. The apprehensions of the Hamburghers were soon confirmed by the videttes who galloped through the streets. It was understood in the city, that Davoust, who had expressed himself in the most violent language against Hamburgh, had promised his soldiers five hours plunder. The streets were immediately filled with frightened people, running from their houses, heap-

ing waggons with their furniture and valuables, and endeavouring to escape into the country. The cry every where was, "The French are come;" and even this cry, proceeding, as it did, from a terrified populace, just roused from their sleep, was scarcely to be distinguished amid the trampling of cavalry. About half-past six in the morning, the drums of the burger-guard beat to arms; every thing was in frightful confusion; men hastily equipping themselves with whatever arms they could find, and running to the alarm-posts; women and children of the first families, half dressed, heaped on waggons, in the midst of beds and packages, and flying in silence and tears; expresses hurrying along every moment, and carts passing with the wounded just brought in from the field.

In the course of the morning, when it became evident that the enemy were determined on reaching Hamburgh, the Danish sub-governor of Altona, Blucher, a relative of the Prussian general, proceeded to Vandamme's head-quarters, to remonstrate with him against the attack, and to declare that the Danes would assist in repelling it. The Dane returned, and immediately afterward three Danish gun-boats, filled with men, approached from Altona, and anchored to defend the passage opposite to Hamburgh. In the evening, as the intentions of the French could not be ascertained, all the troops were ordered out. The cossacks, some Danish corps, and 10 pieces of Danish artillery, were drawn up along the sands.—Russian guns were posted close to Altona. These demonstrations had the effect of intimidating the enemy.

In consequence of the approach of a body of Swedes, the Danes evacuated Hamburgh on the evening of the 12th, and retired to their own territory, leaving behind them their artillery for the protection of the town. The Swedes, amounting to 1200 men, entered Hamburgh on the 21st. General Tettenborne, with the Hansiatic legion, went out to meet them, and they were received at the gate by the burger guards. They had been sent forward in waggons, and were not at all fatigued by travelling; but immediately on their arrival mounted guard. Their appearance was martial—their equipments in high order—and they were received by all ranks with joy. They were afterwards stationed in the vicinity of the city, where they remained till the 21st, when they were recalled by an order from their government.

The failure of the negociations betwixt Denmark and Great Britain, and the pretensions brought forward by the Crown Prince of Sweden to Norway, induced the Danes to resume hostilities, and occasioned the immediate occupation of Hamburgh by the French. On the morning of the 30th of May, at eight o'clock, Major-General Tettenborne, with all the military, quitted Hamburgh; and at nine o'clock, 5000 Danes, cavalry and infantry, followed by 1500 French, entered the city under the command of General Bruyere, who took possession of Hamburgh in the name of Buonaparte. A proclamation was issued by the enemy, stating that the persons and property of all those who submitted to the French government should be protected.—Such was the fate for a time of this unfortunate city.

General Tchernicheff, who acted in co-operation with Count Woronzoff on the banks of the Elbe, passed that river on the night of the 16th of May, and proceeded in the direction of Burgstall, where he learned from various letters which had been intercepted by his parties, that a large convoy of artillery, escorted by about 2000 men, was to pass on the night of the 17th, at Halberstadt. The Russian chief resolved, if possible, to seize this convoy.

When he had nearly reached the point of attack, he found that it depended on the energy of the moment whether he should succeed, or be himself overpowered by a superior force of the enemy, which was within a few hours march of him. At Haldenslehen he learned that a second convoy was at Hassen, on the Brunswick road, three miles and a half from Halberstadt, which place it had been ordered to reach in the morning to join the first, with the view of proceeding with the greater safety on its march to the grand army. This last convoy was escorted by 4000 infantry, 500 cavalry, and many pieces of artillery. Notwithstanding the fatigue which his troops had undergone, he resolved to continue his route,—to make an immediate attack upon the enemy at Halberstadt before the arrival of the reinforcement—and to take advantage of the fault which the French had committed in placing their guns and convoy without the town. Upon reconnoitering the enemy, he ascertained that the guns were placed in a square, the interior of which was filled with ammunition-waggons and other carriages, and lined with infantry, the flanks being covered by 250 horse. The whole formed a sort of fortress almost impenetrable to the cavalry. His first care was to cut off the enemy from the town; and a single gate which the French had neglected to close afforded him the means of attaining his object.—The rear of the French troops, while marching out to join the square, was charged and pursued to the guns. Another party of Russians, who had been sent forward in hopes of surprising the enemy, made two very fine charges against the square; but the French having information of this movement, and being upon their guard, the Russians could not make any impression. The enemy now opened a heavy cannonade from 14 guns, to which General Tchernicheff could only oppose two; by the fire of which, however, five of the enemy's ammunition waggons were blown up. At this moment a regiment of cossacks, detached upon the road by which the enemy's reinforcements were advancing, brought intelligence that they were within two miles; this determined the general to make a decisive effort against the square with all the troops. The scattered cossacks were ordered to seize the same moment at which the attack should be made by the regular cavalry. The success of this brilliant attack against a formidable square, defended by 14 pieces of cannon, surpassed expectation. In an instant the batteries were carried, and the allies penetrated the square: here the carnage was great, as the enemy defended himself with valour. More than 700 of the French were killed, and the rest taken—not an individual escaped out of all this corps. Scarcely was this affair terminated, when the enemy's second columns began to appear, and to press upon the cossacks. General Tchernicheff was compelled to support them, that he might gain time to send off the captured guns and prisoners. He succeeded in carrying off 14 guns and 12 ammunition-waggons; he blew up the rest even in the presence of the enemy.—Eight thousand draught horses, above 1000 prisoners, with several officers, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Such affairs as these may seem trifling when compared with the magnitude of the operations which preceded and followed, but they have no inconsiderable influence on the fate of armies and the result of campaigns; and while they do honour to the skill and valour by which they are accomplished, they waste the resources of an enemy, and ultimately reduce him to the most seriousembarrassments.—But events of higher importance will now demand attention.

By the 19th of May, the Prussian

and Russian reinforcements under Barclay de Tolly, Langeron, Sass, and Kleist, had arrived, and the total mass of the combined forces amounted to 150 or 180,000 men. The allies had taken up a position with the Spree in their front; their right extended to fortified eminences, which defended the debouches from that river;—Bautzen formed their centre; and their left was supported by woody mountains Where the ground was open, particularly in the centre, strong works had been thrown up; behind the first position other works of equal strength had been constructed.

After reconnoitering the position of the allies, Buonaparte said, "it was easy to conceive how, notwithstanding a lost battle, like that of Lutzen, and eight days retreating, the enemy might still have hopes in the chances of fortune."—Of the French divisions opposed to the allies, Oudinot's formed the right, Macdonald's and Marmont's the centre, and Bertrand's the left.—Ney, Lauriston, and Regnier, were at Hoverswerda, to the left of the enemy's left wing, and in a position to act as occasion might require, on the right of the allies. The latter began to act on the offensive by a very bold, brilliant, and, as it should seem, on the part of the enemy, a very unexpected operation. They supposed that the three divisions had been posted at Hoverswerda to turn the right of their position, while the remainder of the French army should engage their whole line to the right and left of Bautzen. They accordingly determined to disengage themselves from this mass; and on the 19th, early in the morning, they sent General D'York with 12,000 Prussians, and Barclay de Tolly with 18,000 Russians, to attack the enemy's detached corps. The Russians took post at Kleix, the Prussians at Weissig.—Meanwhile, Bertrand had sent a division to Konigswerder, to keep up communication with Ney and Lauriston; but the general who commanded this division was suddenly assailed by the allies, and driven from Konigswerder.—Lauriston arrived at the same time before Weissig—the battle commenced, and the enemy was entirely worsted on the 19th.

The battle of Weissig was succeeded by the general battle of Bautzen. The whole French army was engaged; Oudinot, Mortier, Macdonald, Marmont, Ney, Lauriston, Regnier, and Bertrand. The two detached corps were scarcely returned on the 20th to their positions near Gattamelda, when about noon, the enemy advanced in columns on Bautzen, and attacked, under protection of a brisk cannonade, the advanced-guard commanded by Generals Miloradovitch and Kleist. The determination of the latter obstinately to defend the heights situated on the side of Bautzen, occasioned a serious engagement.—He had to fight an army, according to the Russian account, four times as numerous as his own, yet he did not fall back to his position until four o'clock in the afternoon, after the enemy had entirely turned his left, and after having resisted the most vigorous attacks on his right flank and front. The obstinacy with which the Prussian General Kleist, and the Russian Generals Rudiga, Roth, and Marcoff, defended those heights, and the conduct of the troops on the occasion, excited the admiration of the whole army.

While the attack was made on this point, the enemy was preparing another on the centre and left; but there also he was vigorously received by Count Miloradovitch and Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg.—Late in the day his tirailleurs endeavoured to gain the woody mountains which commanded the left of the allies, to alarm them with the fear of being turned on that side. The Prince of Wirtemberg sent some

tirailleurs to drive them back.—The Emperor Alexander sent thither Colonel Michaud, one of his aides-de-camp, to direct the movements; and the French were driven back as far as the defile of the mountains by which they made the attack.—The engagement, which the enemy maintained on the points before mentioned, lasted until ten o'clock at night, with an uninterrupted fire of artillery and musketry. It is computed that this affair cost him 6000 men, as he was obliged to force the defile of the Spree under the fire of cannon and small arms.

In the centre, the village of Bautzen, after an obstinate contest, was occupied at seven in the evening.—Oudinot at last got possession of the heights on the left of the allies, who then fell back on their second position; but Soult and Bertrand, who were sent to dispossess them of the heights in the right, failed in their object; and Ney, Lauriston, and Regnier, who were ordered to pass the Spree, and turn that flank, were equally unsuccessful. The allies kept their ground, and cut off Ney from communicating with the rest of the French army.

Such was the issue of the battle of the 20th, which was followed next day by the sanguinary battle of Wurtchen.—And here it were injustice not to pay the warmest tribute to the skill, promptitude, and valour of the allies. No confusion of movement—no surprise—no disorder occurred, although the battle of Bautzen had rendered a change in all their dispositions necessary. All was to be done during the night, and all was well done. Buonaparte was obliged to bring up every man of his reserves; and even by his own accounts, from four in the morning till three in the afternoon, the fortune of the day was in favour of the allies.

On the 21st, by half-past four in the morning, the enemy began by attacking the left of the allies, seconded by a brisk fire of tirailleurs whom he had posted in the mountains. He had also pushed forward some men to Cunevalde, to annoy the allies upon their flank. The Count de Miloradovitch and the Prince of Wirtemberg, however, repelled with intrepidity all the attacks on this side, which were renewed with the same vivacity and the same success at mid-day.—Between six and seven o'clock, the attack commenced by a brisk cannonade, and a smart fire of musketry upon the right wing of the line also, where a corps was posted under the orders of General Barclay de Tolly. The enemy was infinitely superior in numbers, and endeavoured, protected by the forest which covered him, to outflank this corps. General Barclay de Tolly was posted on the heights near Gleina; he extended his line during the battle towards the height, situated near Baruth, named La Voigtshulte.—It became necessary to reinforce this corps; and General Kleist received orders to carry his troops to that point. These generals made an attack, brisk and well combined, and forced the enemy to renounce the advantages which his superiority of numbers had given him. General Blucher arrived to support this attack with his two brigades, and by this sudden movement the enemy was obliged to give up his project of turning the right wing, as he had already abandoned that of turning the left.

During all these attacks, the French kept up a continual fire of artillery and small arms, principally upon the centre, upon which they had yet made no direct attempt. Suddenly, however, they assailed the heights of Kreckevetz, which General Blucher's corps occupied. They took advantage of the moment when the general left this position, with a part of his corps, to sustain that of General Barclay de Tolly. The enemy approached the

heights from three sides at once, with the greater part of his forces, which had been formed into three columns for the attack; and thus he established on this point a decided superiority. General D'York, however, arrived, and the village of Kreikwitz was retaken. The allied troops defended the heights with an obstinacy beyond example.—Four battalions of the Russian guards advanced to sustain General Blucher. In the meantime, the left wing under the orders of Count Miloradovitch had pushed forward, taken many cannon from the enemy, and destroyed some battalions.

The conflict became more sanguinary every moment. The instant was arrived when it was necessary to bring all the means of the allies into action, and risk all, or put an end to the battle,—they determined upon the latter. To expose all to the hazard of a single day would have been to play the game of Buonaparte;—to preserve their forces, to reap advantages from a war, more difficult to the enemy as it was prolonged, was that of the allies.—They commenced a retreat.—They made it in full day-light, under the eye of the enemy, as upon a parade, without his being able to gain a single trophy; while the combined army had taken from him in these three memorable days, 12 pieces of cannon and 3000 prisoners, among whom were four generals and many officers of distinction.

As the French were employed in the course of this battle chiefly in turning the position of their antagonists, their loss was severe—it has been estimated at 14,000 men. The allies admitted their own loss to amount to 6000 killed and wounded.

On the 22d, the combat was renewed near Reinchaback; but it was in a great measure confined to the cavalry of the two armies. In the early part of the day the French were driven back; but they brought up 16,000 cavalry, and the allies retreated. On the 23d, in the evening, Buonaparte was at Goerlitz, on the Neisse.

There is a singular passage in the French account of these battles. "We could not," said Buonaparte, "take any colours, as the enemy always carries them off the field of battle. We have only taken 19 cannon, the enemy having blown up his park of artillery and caissons;—and besides, the emperor keeps his cavalry in reserve till it is of sufficient numbers; he wishes to spare it."

These battles were among the most desperate and sanguinary, even of that dreadful succession which Europe has witnessed. The French stated their own loss at 11 or 12,000 men; a greater number than they had admitted even at Borodino. Among the slain was Marshal Duroc (Duke of Friuli), who held the office of Grand Chamberlain of France, and who, in all the campaigns, had been closely attached to the person of Buonaparte.—His death was commemorated by his master with a profusion of real or affected sorrow.

Buonaparte followed up slowly his hard-won victory. The allies retired upon Schweidnitz, southward through Silesia and along the frontier of Bohemia. They thus adhered to their former principle of drawing the enemy as far as possible from Berlin and the central Prussian provinces. Their rear-guard of cavalry maintained a constant superiority over that of the enemy, and handled him very roughly on several occasions. They were reinforced by some corps which arrived from the Russian frontier, and rendered them as powerful as they had been before the battle of Bautzen. Other divisions of great strength were announced to be on their march. The French army, meanwhile, not only received no reinforcements, but was obliged to leave behind it the corps of Oudinot, for the

purpose of opposing that under Bulow, which was acting in front of Berlin. Some hints were thrown out as if, after the battle of Bautzen, the French army would advance and take possession of that capital. Buonaparte, however, according to his usual system, carried the great body of the army with him into Silesia. Oudinot thus found himself reduced to an attitude strictly defensive, and with difficulty maintained the communication between Dresden and the grand army.

Buonaparte, however, obtained some advantages. He raised the blockade of Glogau, a fortress of great strength, and one of the most important keys of the Oder.—He took possession also of Breslau, the capital of Silesia.—His divisions advanced in front of the allied camp at Schweidnitz, and an attempt would probably have been made to force it, had not an event occurred which, for a time, interrupted his operations. But before proceeding to consider the armistice, concluded about this period, it will be necessary to take a short review of the policy of a state, whose leader was destined to act a conspicuous part in the future operations of the campaign.

CHAP. XIV.

Policy of Sweden.—Dissensions betwixt that Power and France.—The Swedish Government abandons the Continental System, and joins the Alliance of the European Powers.

THE Swedish government had long temporised with Buonaparte, and endeavoured to avoid the evils towards which he was pressing the state, by demanding of it an accession to the continental system and a declaration of war against England. But when the French ruler perceived that no steps were taken by the Swedes to aid his projects, he shewed how much he was mortified, and to what extremities he was disposed to carry his vengeance. In his famous conference with the Swedish minister at Paris, he betrayed all his impatience.—" You signed the peace," said Buonaparte, " with me in the beginning of the year,—you engaged yourselves to break off all communications with England,—yet you kept a minister at London, and an English agent in Sweden, until the summer was far advanced,—you did not interrupt the ostensible communication by the way of Gottenburgh until late, and what was the result of it? That the correspondence remained the same, neither more nor less active.—You have vessels in all the ports of England.—The English trading vessels besiege Gottenburgh—a fine proof that they do not enter there!—They exchange their merchandize in the open sea, or near to the coasts,—your little islands serve as magazines in the winter season,—your vessels openly carry colonial produce into Germany,—I have caused half a score of them to be seized at Rostock.—Is it possible that one can affect thus to be mistaken on the first principle of the continental system:—You have had the address to gain the bad season,—you have time to settle your interests with England,—you have had time to put yourselves in a state of defence,—you have still the winter before you,—there are no longer any neutrals.—England acknowledges none, nor can I acknowledge them any longer. It is only now, that, more and more undeceived with respect to Swedish politics, I have taken a decisive step which I will not conceal from you. Cannon must be fired on the English who approach your coasts; and their merchandize in Sweden must be confiscated, or you must have war with France. I cannot do you any great harm.—I occupy Pomerania, and you do not much care about it; but I can cause you to be attack-

ed by the Russians and by the Danes; and I can confiscate all your vessels on the continent; and I will do it, if within fifteen days you are not at war with England. If within five days after the official act of M. Alquier, the king has not resolved to be at war with England, M. Alquier shall set out immediately, and Sweden shall have war with France and all her allies. I have not positively demanded the state of war before this moment; but I am now forced to it. Let Sweden frankly range herself on the side of England against me and my allies, if such be her interest, or let her unite with me against England. But the time for hesitation is past: when five days have elapsed M. Alquier will depart, and I will give you your passports."

The singular conference from which these passages have been selected, was followed up by the execution of the threats of the French ruler. Assailed by France, by Russia, and by Denmark, the Swedish government announced, in a manifesto, its adherence to the continental system, and declared war against Great Britain. All intercourse with the British dominions was thus prohibited, and the importation of colonial produce interdicted. The British government was, however, well aware of the causes which occasioned this manifesto, and these nominal hostilities made no perceptible difference in the relations of this country towards Sweden. The declaration of war, however, was far from being popular with the Swedish nation. Opinions were propagated throughout the kingdom that it was the design of Bernadotte to enforce the continental system, establish the French power in the Baltic, and finally, by a war for the recovery of Finland, to co-operate with Buonaparte in his designs against Russia.—But Marshal Bernadotte was alive to the critical and singular situation in which his destiny had placed him.—He perceived how great might be the influence of Sweden in restoring peace, or re-establishing a balance of power on the continent of Europe.—Buonaparte soon discovered that his former associate in arms, far from holding out to him expectations of aid, at a time when he required all the strength of Sweden to assist him, evidently inclined to the cause of his adversaries. It was impossible, indeed, that Sweden should remain in a state of neutrality.

Bernadotte accordingly addressed the French ruler in a language which was sufficiently indicative of his sentiments. "Sweden," he said, "had resolved to declare war against England, notwithstanding every thing which her safety opposed to that measure. In the sad condition to which the last war reduced her, she neither should nor could aspire but after a long peace.—It afforded the only prospect of regaining, by agriculture and commerce, the losses she had sustained,—of re-establishing by degrees her finances,—of recruiting her military system, and improving her administration. Yet Sweden had just declared war;—she had hazarded this step without a single battalion ready to march,—without arsenals or magazines;—and what was still worse, without a single sous to provide for the expences of so great an enterprise. Sweden, indeed, possesses in herself the materials of a great force;—her inhabitants are by nature warriors,—her constitution allows of 80,000 men being levied; and the male population of the country is such, that this levy can be easily raised. But armies can only be supported by war; and a great military force, purely defensive, is an expence which Sweden could not support without foreign aid. The constitutional laws forbid the king from imposing new taxes without the consent of the general states; and the war with England had just destroyed one of the principal

branches of public revenue—the produce of the customs, amounting to more than six millions of francs a-year. The contributions now in arrear, and the confiscations made by France, fell upon Swedish subjects, and not upon foreigners, who took the precaution of ensuring payment for the goods imported. The situation of Sweden," continued the Crown Prince, "was most alarming. Nature seems to have destined Sweden and France to live in harmony; and if she had refused Sweden riches, she had endowed her with valour, and all the qualities requisite for the execution of great designs.—There was in Sweden but one wish, that of being sincerely in accord with France, and of participating in her glory—but Sweden had not the means. She was reduced to the most deplorable state; and was without any means of supporting the war which she had just declared. Yet the government had redoubled its efforts in so violent a crisis; but it was not in the power of the King of Sweden to extend the system of confiscations, as the constitution guarantees the rights and property of every individual."

Notwithstanding these remonstrances, Buonaparte demanded that Sweden should place at his disposal a sufficient number of sailors to complete the crews of four ships of the Brest fleet. The French agent, in making this application to the Swedish minister, observed,—"It would be sufficient to meet the desire of the emperor, if the number of officers, masters, marines, and sailors, did not exceed 2000. The emperor will charge himself with all the expence of their journey, and every precaution will be taken in order that the marines and sailors may be properly supported, and the officers fully contented with their treatment. In the critical state in which the Swedish finances are at this present moment, it will, perhaps, be agreeable to his majesty, to diminish the expences of his marine, without, however, leaving inactive the talents and courage of his seamen. The good offices which the emperor requires of his majesty the King of Sweden have already been performed by Denmark. His imperial majesty is convinced that he has not too much presumed upon the friendship of a power attached for such a length of time to France, by a reciprocity of interest and good-will, which has never ceased to exist."

The reply of the Baron d'Engestrom, the Swedish minister, to this communication deserves notice. "The constitutional laws of the state," said he, "prevent the king from acquiescing of himself in the emperor's demand concerning the 2000 seamen.—Rivalling Denmark in the desire to contribute to the accomplishment of his imperial and royal majesty's views, the king, nevertheless, does not think that the example of that country, where the will of the king is an absolute law, can be applicable to Sweden. In consequence of the late events which have placed his majesty on the throne, a constitutional compact has been renewed between the sovereign and the nation, which it is not in the power of any person to infringe. His majesty, in consequence, and in the most lively manner, regrets that the good office which the emperor requires of him should precisely fall on a matter which does not depend on his own will. No new levy can be made, according to the tenour of the constitution, but with the consent of the states. Those to which they have already consented expressly pre-suppose their being intended for the defence of the country; and the number of common seamen is so much diminished since the loss of Finland, that they are scarcely sufficient for the service of the navy, especially under the present circumstances. But if the king could, as he might wish to

do, succeed in putting aside those ties which are imposed on him by the laws of the state, and the rights of the citizens, yet his majesty fears that the 2000 Swedish seamen transferred to Brest, would not entirely fulfil the just expectations of his imperial majesty. Attached to his barren soil, to his domestic relations and habits, the Swedish soldier could not withstand the influence of a southern sky. He would be ready to sacrifice every thing in defence of his home; but when far away, and not immediately combating for it, his heart would only beat for his return to his country. He would, consequently, carry with him into the French ranks that inquietude and discouragement, which destroy the finest armies more than the steel of their enemies. With regard to the officers of the navy, there is no obstacle against their serving in France, and his majesty with pleasure permits them to profit by the generous offer of his imperial and royal majesty."—Such were the powerful reasons assigned by the Swedish minister for refusing to answer the demands of Buonaparte; but they were stated in vain to his unbending mind.

When Sweden decided upon embracing the continental policy, and declaring war against Great-Britain, she avoided a contest which must have proved unfortunate; her wounds were still bleeding; and it was necessary for her to make great sacrifices. But her commerce was instantly reduced to a mere coasting trade, and greatly suffered from this state of war. Privateers under the French flag, in the meantime, took advantage of her confidence in treaties, to capture, one after another, nearly fifty of her merchantmen, till at last the Swedish flotilla received orders to protect her flag and her just commerce against piracies, which could scarcely be avowed by any government. As the depredations of the French privateers on Swedish vessels were still continued, the Swedish envoy at Paris stated to the French minister the immense losses which thence resulted to his nation, and entered a strong remonstrance; but he could never obtain the restoration of the captured vessels. Affairs were in this singular condition, when, with the view of possessing a pledge which might influence the conduct of the Swedish government in the war about to commence with Russia, Buonaparte seized Swedish Pomerania. In the month of January 1812, 20,000 French troops, under General Friant, entered that province, and on the 26th took possession of the capital. When the Swedish commandant, Peyron, informed the French general, that it was his intention to resist the occupation of the Isle of Rugen, the latter replied, by making Peyron his prisoner. Rugen was afterwards occupied by the French; the vessels and packets on the coast were detained for their service, and the French colours were hoisted in place of the Swedish. A fleet, with General Engelbart on board, arrived at Stralsund in the month of February, to ascertain the state of the French troops in Pomerania, and to bring off those of Sweden; but the fleet was not permitted to have any communication with the shore.

The attention of Europe was now fixed upon Sweden. Her conduct assumed a more determined aspect, and it was generally believed that the Crown Prince would become a competitor in the field with his former associate in arms. Great expectations of success were therefore indulged on the supposition, that, as Bernadotte had joined the allies, this circumstance must be a decisive indication of the hopes entertained by that wary general, respecting the result of the campaign, since he must have been fully acquainted with the personal character of Buonaparte,

and the real extent of the French resources.—Notwithstanding the distrust, however, which Bernadotte now felt as to the views of Buonaparte, he still appears to have been anxious to prevent the miseries which were approaching the nations of the continent.

On the 14th of March, 1812, he accordingly addressed himself to Buonaparte, and complained that the arrogance of the French minister in Sweden had offended every one; his communications bore no character of those regards which are mutually due from crowned heads to each other. "Baron Alquier," said Bernadotte, "spoke like a Roman pro-consul, without reflecting that he was not speaking to slaves." That minister had, therefore, been the first cause of the distrust which Sweden had discovered with regard to Buonaparte's intentions concerning her. Subsequent events had added weight to it. Sweden could not but perceive in Buonaparte an unmerited indifference towards her interests; and she owed it to herself to provide against the storm which was about to break out on the continent.—Speaking of the war with Russia, the Crown Prince observed, "if your majesty thinks proper that the king should cause the Emperor Alexander to be informed of the possibility of a reconciliation, I augur sufficiently well, from the magnanimity of that monarch, to dare assure you, that he will willingly agree to overtures, equitable at once for your empire and for the north. If an event so unexpected and so universally desired could take place, how many nations of the continent would bless your majesty! Their gratitude would be augmented by reason of the horror which inspires them against the return of a scourge which has lain so heavy on them, and the ravages of which have left such cruel traces behind."—Sweden, he observed, was already justified for the engagements she might make with the enemies of France, by the menaces and insults of that power. The reiterated attacks of France upon the Swedish commerce; the carrying off nearly 100 vessels destined for friendly ports, and subject to France—the sequestration placed upon Swedish property in Dantzic and other ports in the Baltic; and at last the invasion of Pomerania, done in contempt of treaties, must fully acquit her in the eyes of the world. Yet how just soever the complaints which she had against France, she did not at this time desire war, and did not like to be forced to make it, even to preserve her independence and laws. She was ready to listen to any conciliatory propositions which might be made to her.—"If Sweden was convinced," said the Baron de Engerstrom, in a tone of irony, which must have touched the pride of Buonaparte, "that the Emperor Alexander armed to subjugate Europe, to subject every thing to the Russian system, and extend his states to the north of Germany, Sweden would not hesitate a moment to declare and fight against this ambition; she would be directed by the obvious principle of policy which should make her fear the increase of so dangerous a power; but if, on the contrary, Russia only bore arms in her own defence, to preserve her frontiers, her ports, and even her capital, from all foreign invasion, if in this she did but obey the mandate of necessity, it was for the interest of Sweden not to hesitate a moment in defending the independence of the north. Sweden cannot flatter herself with being able, as a second power, to avoid that servitude with which France threatens states of the first order. A war undertaken to reconquer Finland would not be for the interests of Sweden. Europe is informed of the causes which made her lose it. To undertake a war to re-

possess her of it, would be not to understand the interests of the Swedish people. Such a conquest would occasion expences which Sweden is not in a condition to support, and the acquisition, admitting that it could be accomplished, would never compensate for the risk which she must incur. The English, while she was pursuing this wild career, might give her fatal blows; her ports would be burnt or destroyed, and her maritime towns reduced to ashes. Besides, so soon as a change should be effected in the political system of Russia, whether after success or defeat, her ancient views upon Finland would not fail to make a disastrous war weigh heavy upon Sweden. The gulph of Bothnia separates the two states; no motive of division exists, and the national hatred daily disappears in consequence of the pacific dispositions of the two sovereigns. If France will acknowledge the armed neutrality of Sweden, a neutrality which must carry with it the right of opening her ports with equal advantages for all powers, she has no motive to interfere in the events which may occur. Let France restore Pomerania; but if she should refuse this restitution, which, at the same time, the rights of nations and the faith of treaties demand, Sweden will accept for this object only, the mediation of the emperors of Austria and Russia. Sweden will agree to a reconciliation compatible with the national honour and with the interests of the north."

The government of Sweden, persuaded that all the preparations made by Russia were for a purpose purely defensive, and intended but to prepare for the Russian empire that armed neutrality, which Sweden wished, in concert with Russia, to establish, engaged to use all its efforts to prevent a rupture till a period should be fixed for Swedish, French, Austrian, and Russian plenipotentiaries to meet, and agree, in a friendly manner, upon a system of pacification, which might insure to Europe a durable repose. Such were the sentiments which the Swedish government avowed till the last moment, when it was forced into an open rupture with France, by the obstinate violence of Buonaparte. It is impossible, therefore, to accuse Sweden of precipitation—it is unfair to charge her with enmity towards France, and absurd to pretend, that she did not scrupulously maintain her faith, until every obligation was dissolved by the insolence and perfidy of her enemies.

On the 20th of April, 1812, the King of Sweden assembled the diet of his kingdom at Orebro, and opened the sitting by a speech, in which he announced, in terms by no means equivocal, the policy of his government. "I have called you together," said he, "at a moment when great and important occurrences, out of our native country, seem to threaten Europe with new misfortunes. Guarded by her situation from the necessity of paying obedience to foreign sway, which possibly might not accord with her own interests, Sweden has every thing to hope from unity, valour, and conduct; every thing to fear if she gives herself up to intestine division."—He also announced his determination to unite with his son, (Bernadotte) in defiance of threats from without, and possibly of opinions at home, to maintain the liberty and independence of the country.—The Crown Prince, in his speech, addressed the following remark particularly to the burghers; "you will shew what a nation is capable of effecting, when determined to free its *commercial* industry from all *foreign* yokes,"—thus clearly intimating his opinion of the continental system.

A Russian general had already been sent on a mission to Stockholm; Mr Thornton, the British minister, although appearing in no public charac-

ter, had joined him. But soon after the assembling of the diet, orders were dispatched to the coast, to afford British ships in distress the assistance which they might require; and Mr Thornton was afterwards received at Orĕbro as the accredited minister of Great-Britain at the Swedish court. About the same time a decree relative to commerce was issued, which announced a departure from the continental system.

On the 18th of August the Swedish diet terminated its sittings The king again took occasion to observe, that no foreign power could loosen those bonds of union, which maintain the independence of Sweden. He also informed the diet, that, confident in the maxim, that strong defensive preparations are the best means to ensure the tranquillity of a state, he had found it necessary to pay particular attention to the military force of the kingdom; and he further announced, that on the 18th of July he had concluded a peace with the King of Great-Britain, which had been ratified on the 16th of August. Bernadotte also addressed the diet, and commended the coolness maintained in the deliberations of that assembly, "amid the din of arms resounding from the Dwina to the Tagus, and the animosity of their neighbours."—He added, "that should there be no hope that Sweden might pursue her way in peace, then will your king have recourse to your manly courage, and our watch-word will be—God, liberty, and our native country."

A treaty had for some time been proposed between Sweden and Russia; and a Russian general was at Stockholm for the purpose of opening the negociations. Some difficulties, however, having arisen, a personal interview between the Emperor of Russia and Bernadotte was decided upon.

These personages accordingly met at Abo, in Finland, on the 28th of August; the result of the conference was satisfactory to both parties; and they agreed to make common cause against the measures of France. With a view to the security of Sweden, it was stipulated that Norway should, in the first instance, be conquered for that power; after which, a diversion by their united forces should be made on the continent. The result of this interview was, however, for some time prudently concealed.

The measures adopted by Sweden in 1812 had a considerable influence upon the Russian campaign of that year. The troops assembled in Swedish ports detained a considerable French force in the north of Germany. By dispensing with the immediate fulfilment of the engagements undertaken by Russia, the Swedish government set at liberty a force of 18,000 men, which had been assembled in Poland, and which was afterwards sent to join the army of Wittgenstein, and contributed materially to the destruction of the French on the Berezina.

In the beginning of the year 1813, the Swedish government resolved on decisive measures, and explained its views to all Europe. The numerous injuries which France had inflicted upon Sweden were clearly explained and ably commented on.—"The manifestations of ill-will, on the part of France, it was observed, which, during the course of 1810, had often threatened serious pretensions, at first were confined to the rigid maintenance of the continental system in Pomerania, but were at last openly directed against the independent existence of Sweden. A demand was made to exclude the Americans from Swedish ports. The government succeeded by perseverance and moderation in averting the consequences. It was to be presumed, however, that this fortunate situation affording Sweden the means of recruiting her strength, already exhausted by a destructive war, would not be of any

long duration. Buonaparte had laid down for subjugated Europe a peremptory rule, that he would acknowledge as the friends of France only the enemies of Great-Britain; that neutrality, formerly the bulwark of the weaker states, amidst the contests of the most powerful, no longer had any real meaning; and that all the combinations of policy, as well as every feeling of dignity, must disappear before the omnipotence of arms.

"Scarcely was the declaration of war by Sweden against England published, and the commerce of Sweden abandoned to the discretion of the British cabinet, when the French minister began to develope a plan, pursued without interruption, to force Sweden to take upon herself the same obligations which have brought so many misfortunes on the confederated states. A considerable body of seamen was at first demanded for the purpose of manning the French fleets at Brest,—next, a corps of Swedish troops to be in the pay of France,—then the introduction into Sweden of a tariff of 50 per cent. on colonial produce—and, finally, the establishment of French douaniers at Gottenburgh. All these demands having been rejected, the consequence was, that the measures of the French government towards Sweden soon assumed a hostile character.

"Soon after his arrival, M. Alquier, the French agent at Stockholm, spoke of the necessity of a closer alliance between Sweden and France; and though he received a polite answer, the reply had no effect. He then proposed an alliance between Sweden, Denmark, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, under the protection and guarantee of France. This proposal had for its object to create a confederation of the north, similar in its obligations and in its object to that which combined the strength of Germany under French domination. In the mean time the season fit for navigation arrived, and with it the capture of Swedish vessels by French privateers. The Swedish minister at Paris demanded redress for the injuries done to Swedish commerce; representations with the same view were addressed to the French minister Alquier; his answers had all the marks of a dictator, the character which he had resolved to play in Sweden.

"If the English government viewed with a pitying eye the situation of Sweden, and did not consider her declaration of war as a sufficient motive for directing hostilities against Swedish commerce—if this tolerant system facilitated to a certain degree a vent for the immense stores of Swedish iron, and so far obviated the pernicious effects of the war—still Sweden could not expect that the French government would have built its accusations against her on the forbearance of England. The Swedes were, on the contrary, rather entitled to hope, that the French ruler would see with satisfaction their country treated with forbearance by a power, which had so many means of annoying Sweden.

"The depredations of the French privateers on Swedish vessels were daily augmenting. The Swedish minister at Paris represented, in suitable terms, the losses which thence resulted to the nation; but the prize courts of France always decided in favour of the captors. The privateers being thus secure of impunity, had a fine field for exercising their piracies. Not satisfied with condemning as good prizes Swedish vessels under the pretence that they were provided with English licences—not satisfied with capturing in the Sound small coasting vessels laden with provisions, and the produce of the native manufactures—not contented with seizing such as were in

German ports waiting for cargoes—France even treated as prisoners of war the Swedish seamen. They were put in irons, and sent to Antwerp and Toulon, there to serve in the French fleets. When the season of the year again removed the English fleet from the Baltic, the French privateers renewed their acts of violence with more activity than ever. Sweden then felt herself under the necessity of ordering her marine to seize those pirates who had annoyed her commerce from port to port. The French privateers, which insulted the Swedish coasts, were chased away. The Swedish government learned that the Prince of Eckmuhl, commanding the French army in the north of Germany, had announced that he would order his troops to enter Pomerania, and the island of Rugen, so soon as the ice should permit him. The instructions which the Swedish commandant had received ought to have induced him to defend the German possessions against every foreign aggression. But unfortunately cunning prevailed over duty; the courage of the Swedish troops was paralyzed by the weakness of their chief, and Pomerania was invaded. The events which took place in that province had been made public, that it might be impossible to mistake the true nature of that extraordinary measure.—The insolence of the French cabinet was unabated, and every thing announced an approaching rupture between that power and Russia. The season approached when the British fleets would revisit the Baltic, and there was reason to presume that the British ministry, in return for the tolerance granted to Swedish commerce, would demand a conduct on the part of Sweden more decidedly pacific. Sweden in consequence saw herself exposed, either to the resentment of France, or to the hostilities of Great Britain, supported by the court of Russia. Denmark also had already assumed a menacing attitude.

After the annexation of the duchy of Oldenburgh to the French empire, it was known, with certainty, that differences both on that point and on the continental system had taken place between the courts of Russia and France. The preparations for war, which were made on both sides, indicated open hostilities. France, however, had never testified the smallest desire, nor made any overture to Sweden, tending to engage her in a war with Russia. Although all friendly relations must have have been regarded as broken by the occupation of Pomerania, a proposition was at last made, not officially, but through a channel not less authentic on the part of the French government. After giving a long exposition of the pretended deviations of Sweden from the continental system, which, it was said, had at last compelled Buonaparte to order his troops to enter Pomerania, without, however, occupying it, the French ruler demanded that a new declaration of war should be issued against England; that all communication with English cruisers should be severely prohibited; that the coasts of the Sound should be armed with batteries, and that English vessels should be fired upon with artillery. Finally, that Sweden should organize an army of from 30 to 40,000 men, to attack Russia at the moment when hostilities should commence between that power and France.

But Sweden could not overlook the fact, that a state of active warfare with Russia, the necessary consequence of which must be open hostilities with Great Britain, surpassed her strength and resources; that the presence of an English fleet in the Baltic would paralyze, during summer, the Swedish operations; and that, since the treaty with Russia, there existed no ground of complaint against that power; That,

in the mean time, the Swedish coasts and ports would be abandoned to the vengeance of England; that the complete stagnation of commerce, and the interruption of the coasting trade, would occasion general misery; that the pressing wants of Sweden with respect to grain, imperiously required pacific relations both with Russia and England; that the sudden termination of war between France and Russia would infallibly leave Sweden without any augmentation of territory, especially if the Swedish army, in consequence of the war with England, were prevented from leaving its own confines; and that such preparations, and a single year of war, would require an expenditure of from 12 to 15 millions of rix-dollars. A multitude of other considerations determined the Swedish government to look to nothing but the happiness of the people and the prosperity of the kingdom; and with this view the ports were opened to the flags of all nations.

Ancient habits had long induced Sweden to consider France as her natural ally. This opinion of times past—these impressions generally received—long acted powerfully on the minds of her rulers. But when France wished to interdict peninsular Sweden from traversing the seas which almost surround her, and to deprive her of the right of ploughing the waves which wash her shores, it became the duty of the government to defend the rights and interests of the nation—to avoid the situation of those powers, which, by their submission to France, found themselves without ships, without commerce, and without finances. The alliance of France, while it exacted in the first instance the loss of independence, conducted by degrees to all the sacrifices which annihilate the prosperity of states. To become her ally, it was necessary for Sweden to have no connection with England, and to make good the loss of the revenue of customs, and of the profits of commerce, by imports always increasing. All this must have been done merely for the purpose of supporting the wars into which the capricious politics of France had drawn her during the last eight years. Had Sweden submitted to the demands of France, her sons would have been seen fighting, for a cause the most unhallowed, in Spain, along with Germans, Italians, and Poles. They would have been seen even in Turkey, had Buonaparte conquered the Emperor Alexander. If, to secure the destinies of Sweden, by establishing her safety for the present, and security for the future, the government was compelled to put the armies in motion, this was not done with a view of conquering provinces, useless to the prosperity of the Scandinavian peninsula. The independence of that peninsula was the sole object; and no sacrifice could be reckoned too costly by the Swedes to attain that great and important result. Sweden rejected the degrading treaty which France tried to make her subscribe; she placed herself above a subservient and versatile policy; and she did not fear to make her appeal to the courage, the loyalty, the patriotism, and the honour of her children. The government had formed a just opinion of the Swedes, and its reward was found in the unbounded confidence which they placed in its wisdom.

This developement of the views of Sweden was followed by a treaty betwixt that power and Great Britain, which was signed at Stockholm on the 3d March, 1813. By this treaty, Sweden bound herself to employ a corps of 30,000 men against the common enemy, to act with the troops which were to be furnished by Russia and Prussia; and to grant to Great Britain, for 20 years, the right of entrepot in the ports of Gottenburgh, Carlsham, and

Stralsund. Great Britain on the other hand acceded to engagements already subsisting betwixt Sweden and Russia,—bound herself not to oppose the annexation of Norway to Sweden, but to afford the necessary naval co-operation should the King of Denmark refuse to accede to the grand alliance. The British government also agreed to grant Sweden a subsidy of one million sterling, for the service of the campaign of this year, and to cede to her the possession of the island of Guadaloupe in the West Indies. In return for this last concession, Sweden bound herself to observe the capitulation under which the island submitted to Great Britain—to prevent her subjects from engaging in the slave-trade—to exclude ships of war from Guadaloupe belonging to the enemies of England—to protect British subjects and their property in the colony, and not to alienate the island without the consent of Great Britain.

In deciding upon the justice and policy of these proceedings, it is necessary to take a general view of the state of Europe at the period when they occurred.—While the storm of French invasion was hanging over the Russian dominions, two things were required to give that empire a chance of ultimate sucess;—peace with Turkey, and the co-operation of Sweden. The first object was effected, in a great measure, by the mediation of England; the other was scarcely less important. It was the interest of France to use all the means in her power to secure the alliance and co-operation of Sweden in the attack upon Russia; and Buonaparte, in his usual manner, tried the effect of intimidation, by seizing the Swedish Pomeranian dominions. When he found that threats and insults were unavailing, he changed his policy, and made the most seducing offers to the Swedish government. The restoration of Finland, and other advantages, were proposed through the medium of neutral powers, and every attempt was made to gain the accession of Sweden to the French system; but even these insidious offers failed of effect. Much difference of opinion existed among Russian statesmen as to the real value of the conquests which that power had been making for the last twenty or thirty years; but none of them ever doubted that the acquisition of Finland was highly important, with a view even to the security of the Russian dominions. It was reasonable that Sweden should have some compensation for so material a loss, when about to embark in what was considered as almost a desperate cause. She had engaged to unite with Russia against the common enemy; but in these circumstances it was necessary to her safety that Norway should be added to her dominions; and it was agreed, therefore, between Russia and Sweden, that these powers should, in the first instance, make common cause for that purpose, and afterwards bring their united force to bear against France and her allies.

It may be asked—were Russia and Sweden justified in entering into these engagements,—was Great Britain justifiable in acceding to such a treaty—and was it wise or politic to accede to it? It seems clear that Russia and Sweden were justified in entering into these engagements. It is an important fact, which has often been kept out of view, that Denmark formed part of the confederacy against Russia. Denmark engaged to assist the object of Buonaparte by occupying the north of Germany with her troops; this was as complete a co-operation with France as if the Danish troops had marched to Smolensko and Moscow. The countries which Denmark agreed to occupy were in alliance with Russia; the duchy of Oldenberg, for instance, had been in some degree the origin of

the last dispute between Russia and France. Denmark thought it for her interest to adhere to France; she was following the steps and co-operating in the objects of that power.—The accession of Great Britain to the engagements between Russia and Sweden may easily be defended, for England was at war with Denmark; Danish seamen manned the French fleets; Danish ports were shut to the English; Danish privateers covered the seas in that quarter, annoying the trade of England. Was not Great Britain as much justified in conquering Norway as in conquering any other place belonging to her enemies? The project of annexing Norway to Sweden was not new. Sweden had lost Finland, by her refusal to accede to the treaty of Tilsit,—a treaty by which Sweden was involved in a war both with Russia and France. An expedition sailed from this country, under the late Sir John Moore, to co-operate with Sweden in the conquest of Norway, as a compensation for the loss of Finland. As Sweden had co-operated so powerfully with England, and evinced a determination to support her independence, she had a strong claim upon the liberality of this country to promote her objects in any legitimate contest. Great Britain was fully *justified*, therefore, in making common cause with Russia and Sweden.

The *policy* of acceding to the engagements between these two powers was not less manifest. No object, except the independence of the Spanish peninsula, seemed so important to Great Britain, as that Norway should belong to a power able and willing to preserve its independence against France. Norway is a maritime country, full of harbours, from which England procures a considerable portion of her naval stores. Not that for this reason, solely, the crown of Denmark ought to have been deprived of this appendage of the monarchy; but if it could with justice be placed in the hands of a power more willing to co-operate in the great cause of Europe, it was highly desirable, with a view to the interests of this country, that such a change should be accomplished.—The British government was completely justified in acceding to the treaty for annexing Norway to Sweden; it was for the interest of England that Norway and Sweden should be united; for so long as Denmark declined to sacrifice her German dominions for her insular independence, her dependence on France was inevitable. But it had been the policy of Denmark (whether wise or not signifies little) to cling to her German possessions; and while Norway was annexed to Denmark, it was therefore under the controul of France. In the existing state of Europe it was most important, with a view to the interests of Great Britain, that Norway should belong to Sweden. Even in the course of the autumn of 1812, a Swedish force in the north kept a French Marshal in check; and although an engagement had been entered into by Russia to employ a considerable force solely for Swedish objects, yet at the very moment when Buonaparte was marching to Smolensko, 18,000 Russians, who were in Finland, were released by the friendship of Sweden, and left at liberty to act against the French. The destruction of the French army on the Beresina may be ascribed to the junction of this Russian corps with Wittgenstein; and to the co-operation and good-will of the Swedes, resisting, as they had, all the offers of France, and making common cause with Russia, might the successes of the Russians in that quarter be ascribed. The Russians felt this, and were anxious that Great Britain should accede to the agreement sub-

sisting between them and Sweden.—She did accede, and the most beneficial results were secured.

While Sweden was resisting France at all points, Denmark, so far from exhibiting in the hour of danger any manifestations of good-will to the common cause, was actively concurring with the common enemy against Russia. When Buonaparte was marching in full force towards the Russian capital, Denmark was appealed to by the Russian government, and answered, that she was determined to stand or fall with France. Was it immoral, then, to refuse to forego the aid of an important ally—for what? out of tenderness to a power which had exerted all its means of injury against us!—There can neither be sense nor policy in any line of conduct, except that which serves to conciliate our friends and to punish our enemies. After the evacuation of Moscow by the French, the Danish ambassador at St Petersburgh had indeed shewn some disposition towards a reconciliation. But what was the consequence? When this fact was known at Stockholm, endeavours were made on the part of Sweden to follow up the supposed pacific disposition of Denmark; but the professions of the Danish envoy were instantly disavowed by the government at Copenhagen. Perhaps the ambassador acted without instructions; or, if he was instructed to act in this manner at the time of Buonaparte's greatest danger, yet the escape of the French ruler had occasioned a complete alteration in the Danish councils. It was only after the entire destruction of the French army that formal overtures were made by Denmark;—in the doubtful state of Europe, she might wish to keep well with both parties, and to unite at last with those who might prove the stronger. Was the friendship of a power which had done its utmost to support the common cause to be relinquished for the sake of accommodating a government whose views were so equivocal?

One question remains—Did the Swedish government shew a disposition to perform the treaty? Never was there an instance of more complete and zealous exertion than that of Sweden.—Her troops were dispatched to the very point where they could act with the greatest effect. As to the compensation given for her exertions, it may be remarked, that the measure of ceding a West India island to that power was not new; and never was there a case in which it was less detrimental to England to make such a cession, than on the present occasion. In return for this boon, a depot for British commerce was opened in Sweden; and it may be asked whether such an effectual departure from the continental system was not an advantage to be purchased, even at a considerable price?—It was the duty of this country, above all others safe and prosperous, to set the example of generosity; and it would have been madness in her to treat in the same manner the friends and the enemies of France. Those who take the field must be paid by others in whose cause they fight. This is but common justice; and the principle fully warranted the pecuniary aid of 100,000l. a month, which, by the treaty, Great Britain engaged to bestow upon Sweden.—The wise policy, indeed, which dictated this alliance was signally manifested in the course of the campaign.

Early in the month of May, the Crown Prince of Sweden visited Stockholm, and reviewed the troops assembled for embarkation. When they were embarked, he proceeded to Carlscrona, and on the 14th of May, departed for Stralsund. Before leaving Carlscrona, he addressed the Swedish army in the interior, and announced the objects of the war.—"The king,"

said he, "in directing me to take the command of his army in Pomerania, has charged me to leave in Sweden two corps of the army, sufficiently numerous to ensure the safety of the frontiers of the kingdom, and to act offensively wherever the honour and interests of the country require. In separating from you for some time, it is not to disturb the repose of nations, but to co-operate in the great work of a general peace, for which sovereigns and nations have sighed for so many years. A new career of glory, and sources of prosperity, are opening to our country. Treaties founded upon sound policy, and which have the tranquillity of the north for their object, guarantee the union of the people of Scandinavia.—Let us make ourselves worthy of the splendid destiny which is promised us; and let not the people who stretch out their arms to us have cause to repent their confidence.—Our ancestors distinguished themselves by their bold, daring, and steady courage. Let us unite to these warlike virtues the enthusiasm of military honour, and God will protect our arms."

On the 18th of May, Bernadotte arrived at Stralsund to take the command of the army. A Swedish force of 3000 men had been stationed near Hamburgh for the protection of that city. On the 21st of May, it was directed by the Crown Prince to fall back; and the commanding officer was ordered to repair to Stralsund, to be brought before a court-martial, for having made an application of his troops which had never entered into the plans of the Swedish government. The Swedish army, in consequence of this order, retired, although Count Walmoden made the most pressing representation to induce them to remain. To explain this resolution, which excited suspicions at the time, it is necessary to state some particulars.

To induce Sweden to take an active part in the operations on the continent, Russia and Prussia had engaged to place at her disposal an army of 50,000 men. The corps which was organizing in the north of Germany, under the protection, and at the expence of England, was, together with these Russian and Prussian troops, to be placed under the command of the Crown Prince. Bernadotte was thus to have an army of 90,000 men, including his Swedish troops. The Swedes to be brought into co-operation with the allies in Germany were not to exceed 30,000; and of these a proportion necessarily remained at Stralsund, where an entrenched camp was preparing for 15,000 men.—But a part of the Swedish force had not at this time arrived, and Bernadotte had not received the expected reinforcements of Russians and Prussians. He could have detached only a small force, therefore, to the Elbe, which, being exposed to the joint attacks of the French and Danes, might have been entirely cut off. At this period the main armies of the allies were retiring from the Saale and the Elbe; and as the whole course of the Lower Elbe, from Magdeburgh to Hamburgh, was but partially guarded by small detachments, the river might have been easily crossed at any point by a superior French force.—By attempting to defend Hamburgh under these circumstances, the Crown Prince must have risked the destruction of his army in detail, as all support from his allies was remote and uncertain.

The importance of preserving Hamburgh on principles of humanity, as well as of general policy, must have been obvious to Bernadotte; and he must have been dissuaded from attempting it on military considerations alone. Every military man would object to a plan by which a corps of troops should be thrown into a large town, unfortified, and placed in a *cul de sac*, of which

the chief protection, a river, had been destroyed by the appearance of a new enemy who commanded the right bank. It would appear also, that at this period the Crown Prince was left in the dark as to the views of the Russians and Prussians. He had already been disappointed of their promised support; while their inadequate exertions, their retrograde movements, and the experience of their conduct in former contests, gave him reason to apprehend that an armistice, and afterwards a peace, might be concluded without his concurrence or approbation. In such circumstances, he could not have been justified in committing, beyond the reach of support, or the power of retreat, the disposable military force of Sweden, or in risking the destruction of the whole, or a part of his army, when its only security might have depended on its being kept together in a formidable body at Stralsund.

CHAP. XV.

An Armistice concluded by the Intervention of Austria.—Proposals for a Congress.—The Armistice denounced, and Austria joins the Allies.—Movements of the Armies.—Successes of Blucher and of the Crown Prince.—Repulse of an Attack on Dresden.

THE Emperor of Austria had, during the Russian campaign, taken but a reluctant part on the side of France, and after witnessing the disasters which befel that power, he gradually withdrew his troops into a neutral position. The Austrian cabinet, however, took a deep interest in the passing events; nor was it a timid or inactive neutrality which this court was prepared to maintain. Armaments of unexampled magnitude were completed in every part of the Austrian territories; troops were poured into Bohemia, and placed in an attitude of observation. It appeared probable that the scale into which this power might throw herself would at once preponderate; and to court her favour became the grand object of the belligerents.—Buonaparte, before leaving Dresden, published a bulletin, announcing that he had acceded to a proposition made by Austria for assembling a congress at Prague. Austria afterwards declared that no such proposition had been made to her; and an assertion thus unauthorised appeared singular and offensive. This power, however, was not unwilling to interpose; and as she viewed with uneasiness the progress of the French arms, and saw her frontiers in danger of being again encircled by them, she determined to take an active part in putting a stop to further hostilities. Under her mediation an armistice was accordingly concluded; hostilities between the contending armies ceased on the 1st of June, and the armistice was signed and ratified on the 4th. By the terms of this convention the line of demarcation for both armies took its departure from the frontiers of Bohemia; that of the allies passing through Landshut to the Bober,—following that river to Ruderstadt, and towards Bolkenhiem and Striegau,—pursuing the course of the Strieganerwefar to Canth, and extending to the Oder through Olfaschin and Althof. The line of the French army, on quitting the Bohemian frontier, stretched to Alt Ramhitz and the Bober, as far as the town of Lahn; thence it traversed the territory between the Bober and the Katzbach to the Oder. Breslau was between the two armies, and was declared neutral; it was not to be occupied by any troops, not even by the Landsturm.—Such was the line of demarcation

between the two main armies. The line which separated the detached corps was continued from the mouth of the Katzbach along the Oder to the frontiers of Saxony and Prussia, where it joined the Elbe. The French were of course to occupy Hamburgh, one of the articles stating "that they were in possession of the isles in the Elbe, and *every thing which they occupied* in the 32d military division on the 8th of June at midnight." The besieged and blockaded fortresses were to be revictualled every five days. By the 10th article it was stipulated, that on the 12th of June, all the corps of the combined army beyond the Elbe, or in Saxony, were to return into Prussia. Buonaparte was thus left undisputed master of the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser. The duration of the armistice was fixed to the 20th of July inclusive. It was agreed that six days notice should be given of the resumption of hostilities.

Preparations on an extensive scale were, in the mean time, carried on throughout all the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, as well as the districts of northern Germany, which had been liberated from French influence. The events of the recent campaign afforded on this subject a most salutary and important lesson. Every private object gave place for the moment to the grand views of national safety. Levies for the augmentation of the regular army were made to a very great extent. A numerous and well-disciplined militia, called Landwehr, was also raised; to which was added a levy *en masse*, under the appellation of *Landsturm*.

Austria was scarcely less indefatigable in completing her establishments—in raising new levies—and in pouring numerous corps into Bohemia. From the moment that the Russian arms acquired the ascendancy, an extraordinary impulse was given to the councils of this power. All the men of influence began to exclaim, that now was the time to retrieve at once so many losses, which had reduced Austria to a state of degradation. Russia offered, now that she had delivered herself, to assist in the liberation of other nations; and from all the neighbouring states ample co-operation might be with certainty expected.—Austria, however, after such a succession of disasters, and so many disappointments, shrunk from taking at once any decided step. She even employed a considerable share of dissimulation to conceal from the French the change which had taken place in her councils.

Buonaparte lavished offers, entreaties, protestations; half of the Prussian monarchy was to be the reward of the co-operation of Austria, which would restore to him all his former ascendancy. Austria turned a deaf ear to such proposals; she recalled the auxiliary corps which had acted with the French army, and remained a mere spectator of the campaign in Saxony and Silesia. She had, however, already gone too far to render it safe for her that France should resume its former power, and again surround her territories with its armies. Such views of policy rendered her active in negociating an armistice, and in forwarding the assemblage of a congress at Prague. They determined her also to support no terms of peace, which should not have for their basis the limitation of the French influence in Germany. The precise character of the overtures first made by her has not been ascertained; but it is certain that from the moment they reached the ear of Buonaparte, he accounted her his enemy, and determined again to try the fate of arms.

Efforts were made accordingly by the French ruler to draw reinforcements from every quarter. Some corps of the army of Spain, which had hi-

therto been left untouched, began their march for the Elbe. Eugene Beauharnois repaired to Italy, and assembled an army upon the Adige, with the view of overawing Austria on that side. Buonaparte, at the same time, interposed every species of delay in the negociation, by complaints relative to the character of the persons sent to the congress, and by disputes upon matters of form. His object, which he scarcely hesitated to avow, was, that hostilities should be renewed during the continuance of the negociations. Thus he probably hoped to deceive Austria, and prevent her from immediately taking an active part in the war; and if he should succeed in driving the armies of Russia and Prussia beyond the Vistula, and cutting them off from all communication with the Bohemian frontier, he might then give the law to all his enemies. Austria, however, had formed her resolution, and had fully determined, if the war should be renewed, to take the most decided part in it. At the expiration of the armistice, she proposed an extension of it for three weeks, to which Buonaparte reluctantly acceded. His views evidently were of such a character as to remove all prospects of a pacific termination to the discussions; and Austria had, perhaps, no other object in this delay than to mature her preparations, and arrange the plan of the approaching campaign. Buonaparte still continued to raise difficulties; and as there appeared to be no prospect of his acceding to reasonable terms, the armistice was denounced, and Austria issued her declaration of war. This event, which will be ever memorable in the annals of Europe, and which of itself involved the complete re-establishment of the long-lost balance of power, occurred on the 10th of August, 1813.

Before entering on hostilities, the cabinet of Vienna issued a manifesto explaining its principles and policy. This paper began by declaring his imperial majesty's love of peace, and by assuring the world that he was free from all thoughts of conquest and aggrandisement, and had entered upon war only to avert the danger to which the social system was exposed of becoming a prey to a lawless and ambitious power. The emperor complained of the destructive system adopted by the enemy, by which commercial intercourse, and, indeed, almost all intercourse, was suspended between nations.—The manifesto touched upon the marriage of the Austrian princess to Buonaparte,—a marriage consented to with the hope of inclining him to a sense of moderation and justice—a hope in which his majesty was the more justified, because when this union was accomplished, Buonaparte had reached that point of his career, when the desire of preserving his conquests seemed to be more natural than a restless struggle to acquire new possessions. If these flattering prospects were destroyed, the misfortune was not to be imputed to Austria.—The year 1810 was not yet closed, when, in an evil hour, Buonaparte resolved to seize a large portion of North Germany, and to rob the free cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck, first of their political, and then of their commercial existence. This scheme was adopted upon the arbitrary pretext, that the war with England required it; and seemed to be the forerunner of greater usurpations, by which one half of Germany was to become a French province, and Buonaparte the absolute ruler of the continent.—Alluding to the war against Russia, and the motives which determined the policy of Austria in that war, it was remarked in the manifesto, that—"The campaign of 1812 furnished a memorable example of the failure of an undertaking supported by gigantic power, conducted by a captain of the first

rank, when, in the confidence of great military talents, he despises the rules of prudence, and o'ersteps the bounds of nature." Then was brought on an important revolution in all the political relations of Europe. The confederacy of Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, presented a point of union to all neighbouring states. Prussia seized that favourable moment, and threw herself into the arms of the allies. The hatred of foreign dominion burst forth on all sides. The crisis was not neglected by the Emperor of Austria. In the beginning of December, steps had been taken to dispose Buonaparte to a quiet and peaceful policy. But a striking constrast was soon observed between the sentiments of Austria and the conduct of Napoleon. He declared, he would hear of no proposition for peace that should violate the French empire in the French sense of the word. At the same time eventual conditions, with which this self-created boundary did not seem to have any relation, were spoken of at one time with menacing indignation, at another with bitter contempt, as if it had not been possible to declare in terms sufficiently distinct the resolution of Buonaparte, *not to make to the repose of the world even one single nominal sacrifice.*

These hostile demonstrations were attended with this particular mortification to Austria, that they placed even the invitations to peace, which this cabinet, with the knowledge and apparent consent of France, made to other courts, in a false and disadvantageous light. The sovereigns united against France, instead of giving any answer to the propositions of Austria, for negociation and mediation, laid before her the public declarations of the French ruler. And when, in March, his majesty sent a minister to London, to invite England to share in a negociation, the British ministry replied, they could not believe that Austria still entertained hopes of peace, when Buonaparte had, in the mean time, expressed sentiments which could tend only to perpetuate war.

In the month of April, Buonaparte suggested the dissolution of the Prussian monarchy as the natural consequence of a defection from France, and observed, that it depended upon Austria herself to add the most important and flourishing of the Prussian provinces to her own states. Austria, however, felt that the restoration of the Prussian monarchy was the first step to be taken.

With reference to the assertion of Buonaparte, that he had proposed a congress to be held at Prague, the Austrian cabinet declared, that it was only acquainted with this proposal through the public prints. Aware of all the obstacles to a general peace, Austria had long considered the possibility of obtaining the object progressively, and first by a continental peace —not that the Emperor of Austria, "imagined that the continent could exist, if the separation of England were not considered as a most deadly evil." Towards the close of the month of June, the Austrian cabinet (said the manifesto,) sent a minister to Dresden, and a convention was concluded, accepting the mediation of Austria in the negociation of a general peace; if that could not be effected, of a preliminary continental peace. The congress was to be opened on the 5th July; and the armistice was afterwards extended to the 10th August. In the mean time Austria resolved once more to try the British government. Buonaparte received the proposal with apparent approbation, and offered a passage to the Austrian messenger through France. But difficulties arose, the passports were delayed from time to time, and at last refused. During the interval, the Russian and Prussian plenipotentiaries were

named, and arrived at Prague. The negociations were not to be protracted beyond the 10th August, unless they afforded a confident hope of a favourable result. But it was soon evident that France procrastinated; a French minister arrived, but had no orders to proceed to business until the appearance of a plenipotentiary, who did not join the congress until the 28th of July. Formal and minute discussions rendered all the endeavours of the mediating power abortive. The powers of the French negociator were unnecessarily circumscribed; and it was not till the 6th of August that he gave in a new declaration, by which the negociation was not brought one step nearer to a close. After an useless exchange of notes, the 10th of August arrived—the congress was at an end, and Austria had no remedy, no resource, but to take up arms.—Such was the substance of this important document.

The French army, at the close of this discussion, equalled perhaps in numerical amount those of all the other powers united. At no former period, probably, had Buonaparte been at the head of one more numerous. The main body, under his own immediate command, may be estimated without exaggeration at 300,000 men. He had established a strong fortified line to the Bohemian frontier, beginning at Wittenberg and passing through Torgau and Dresden to Konigstein and the entrenched camp at Pirna—a fine military line, no doubt, to resist an army advancing against him from the Silesian frontier. Between this line and the Silesian frontier his main army was stationed; in Upper and Lower Lusatia, Mortier was posted with 70,000 men, including a large force of cavalry at Luckaw; and Ney, with about the same numbers, occupied Bautzen. The Saxons were at Goerlitz. On the Maine there was an army of reserve under Augereau; and an army of Bavarians, about 25,000 strong, was stationed near Munich. A considerable force under Davoust defended Holstein and Hamburgh, and threatened Pomerania. The communication of this corps with the army at Dresden, and the preponderance of the French on the middle Elbe, were imperfectly maintained by the garrison of Magdeburgh.

The allies occupied a line of much greater extent. The accession of Austria, besides making a large addition to their force, brought with it also the advantage of turning the barrier of the Elbe, as that river flows for many miles through Bohemia, and might thus be passed by the allies without opposition. In Bohemia, therefore, the grand army took its position. It consisted of the whole Austrian force, augmented by large Russian and Prussian detachments from Silesia. The head-quarters were at Toplitz, whence the combined armies threatened Saxony and the rear of the French army. Blucher commanded a very large force in Silesia, consisting partly of Russian and Prussian regulars, and partly of a large body of well-organised militia, the whole amounting to about 100,000 men. The Crown Prince of Sweden, who had his head-quarters at Berlin, commanded the army of the north of Germany. This force was composed of the whole Swedish army, of large corps of Russian and Prussian regulars, of the militia of Brandenburgh, and the troops levied in the Hanse Towns and other districts which had thrown off the French yoke. On one side, this army observed Davoust and the garrison of Magdeburgh; on the other it covered Berlin, and was prepared to act as circumstances might require against the French grand army. It was estimated at 120,000 men.

This position of the allies does not, with a view to military movements,

appear extremely advantageous. Their whole force was divided into three corps, acting separately, at a distance from each other, and maintaining only a circuitous and imperfect communication. The French army was in the centre, completely united, and ready to direct its entire force against any of the allied divisions. Such a position was very unfavourable for offensive movements, which yet were evidently contemplated. To have brought the whole mass of the allied armies into Bohemia, whence offensive operations could best be undertaken, would appear to have been more eligible. Silesia and Brandenburgh might have been covered by small detached corps, quite adequate to such a purpose, since the French army, with so large a force behind it, could not have sent any considerable bodies of troops against them. Such appear, in a military point of view, decidedly the best arrangements.--Other circumstances, however, may have influenced the conduct of the allied chiefs. The force of the Prussian states, consisting in a great measure of militia, may have been unwilling to march into a remote and foreign district; and may also, to render it efficient, have required the addition of regular troops. There may have been advantages in point of supply and subsistence also, in the arrangements which were actually adopted.—The allied generals understood and obviated the disadvantages of their position. They were always careful, when the enemy approached in superior force, to retire and watch the favourable moment for attack, when that force had withdrawn to another point. This plan, which depended for success upon accuracy of information, was greatly aided by their possessing in the cossacks the best light cavalry in the world; and, by a happy combination of skill, caution, and valour, they were enabled to prevent the difficulties under which they laboured, from affecting the final issue of the campaign.

The crisis now approaching promised great events. Military talents of the highest order were to be exerted, armies formed on the most gigantic scale were to be put in motion; and operations, in comparison of which many of the most renowned battles which fill the pages of history were mere skirmishes, were about to be undertaken. Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, Portugal, and Spain, were ranged on the one side; France, Holland, Denmark, Italy, Bavaria, Saxony, and the other states of Germany, on the other; and whether we reflect upon the vast tract of country over which the desolations of war were to sweep, the wide waste of human life, or the vast issue at stake,—the prolongation of a system of oppression and violence which had filled all Europe with woes, or the emancipation of millions of our fellow men from a rapacious and restless ambition,—no preceding period, since the political formation of modern Europe, had borne interests so mighty, and occurrences so pregnant with curses or blessings suspended in the uncertain balance of military fortune. The allies were strong in the justice of their cause. The right, it is true, does not always prosper; but violent aggression, by a law of Providence and nature, which tyrants have in vain endeavoured to abolish, creates a power of re-action against itself, which seldom fails ultimately to over-power it. Buonaparte had already felt this without profiting by his experience. He had felt it in Spain; he felt it in Russia; and the mighty preparations now organised against him, were but the effects of that re-action which his attempts upon the sovereignty of the continent had provoked. If ever nations could appeal to the equitable decisions of that power which controls the universe, the

allied nations could make that appeal. If the justice of a cause can inspire vigour into the breasts of those who support it, then the allied armies must have been roused by the force of this motive to deeds of the greatest heroism.

And here it is proper to mention, that the cause of the allies was now to have the assistance of a man distinguished as one of the greatest soldiers of modern times. General Moreau having acceded to the wishes of the Emperor Alexander, that he should give his aid on this great occasion, an application was made to the British admiral, Cockburn, for a licence to enable an American ship to proceed to Europe. The licence was granted; and on the 21st of June, Moreau embarked and sailed from America. He landed at Gottenburgh on the 26th of July, and on the 4th of August he again embarked at Ystadt, in a Swedish brig of war, for Stralsund. The Prince Royal of Sweden, who was then at Berlin, set off to give his early friend a meeting, and to concert with him a plan of military operations. It was determined by these two experienced officers, that they should organize a separate *corps d'armee*, to be composed of French prisoners, and called "Moreau's Legion." This body was to be decorated with the white or national cockade, to bear the motto *pro patria*, to fight for the deliverance of Europe, and in particular for the emancipation of Frenchmen. A part of the plan agreed upon was, that General Willot, who was expected from America, and General Rewbel, (the commander in chief of the Westphalian army when the Duke of Brunswick escaped, and who was disgraced by Buonaparte on account of that event) should organize such of the French prisoners as they could raise in England, and disembark with them in the north of France. The execution of this plan, however, from which little good, after all, could be expected, was soon interrupted by a melancholy event, which closed the career of the unfortunate Moreau.

The first movements of any importance made by the French army after the denunciation of the armistice, were in the direction of Berlin, the head-quarters of the Crown Prince of Sweden. All the reports of the secret agents having announced, on the evening of the 21st of August, that the French were concentrating the corps of the Dukes of Reggio, Belluno, and Padua, and of Generals Bertrand and Regnier, amounting to more than 80,000 men, in the environs of Bareuth, and every thing announcing, on the part of these troops, a rapid march upon Berlin; the Crown Prince placed two divisions of the third Russian corps, commanded by Bulow, between Kernersdorf and Klein Berin. One division already occupied Mittenwalde, and another Trebbin, in order to mask the whole movement. The fourth Russian corps, under Tauentzen, united at Blakenfelde. The Swedish army left Potsdam on the 22d, proceeded upon Saarm, passed the defiles, and took post at Ruhlesdorf. The Russian corps followed the Swedish, and took post at Gutergatze. General Tchernicheff guarded Beletz, and Treunbritzen, with 3000 cossacks and a brigade of light infantry.—Affairs were in this state when the enemy attacked General Thumen, at Trebbin, on the 22d in the morning. The superiority of the French determined the general to evacuate that post. The enemy advanced successively, and occupied the interval between Mittenwalde and the Saare, covered by woods and flanked by marshes. The advanced posts of the Crown Prince's army fell back slowly, and covered the front of the line. On the 23d, in the morning, the corps of General Bertrand attacked General Tauenzein; the latter repul-

sed him, and made some prisoners.—The village of Gross Beren, against which the 7th French corps and a strong reserve was directed, was taken. The Duke of Reggio's corps proceeded upon Ahrendorff. By the occupation of Gross Beren, the enemy was at the distance of 1000 toises only from the centre of the camp of the combined army. General Bulow received orders to attack the village; he executed it with the decision of a skilful general. The cannonade was warm for some hours. The troops advanced under the protection of the artillery, and fell with the bayonet upon the 7th French corps, which had deployed in the plain, and which marched upon the camp. The Russian and Swedish armies were also in battle, and waited the deploying of the other enemy's columns, to attack them at the same time. General Winzengerode was at the head of 10,000 horse, and the Count de Woronzow at the head of the Russian infantry. Marshal Count Stedinck, in front of the Swedish line, had his cavalry in reserve. The village of Ruhelsdorff, situated in front of the Swedish camp, was furnished with infantry to keep open the communication with General Bulow. The other corps of the enemy's army not having moved from the woods, the Russian army could not engage. The enemy, however, having menaced the village of Ruhelsdorff, and having already pushed his tirailleurs against the light Swedish troops placed in front of that village, the Crown Prince ordered some battalions, supported by artillery, to reinforce the advanced posts, and to push on with a battalion of flying artillery to take the enemy in flank; in this movement they succeeded. The French, after having sustained a severe loss, retired without attempting to bring on a general engagement, and fell back in the direction of Dresden.

While the army of the north of Germany was thus employed, General Blucher, who commanded the army of Silesia, advanced, passed the Bober, the boundary of Lusatia, and drove in all the French corps by which that river was defended. On the arrival, however, of a great reinforcement, headed by Buonaparte himself, he immediately measured back his steps. Buonaparte then crossed the Bober at Lowenberg, and pushed forward into Silesia. Blucher took up a strong position near Lignitz, on the Katzbach, a river rendered famous by a signal victory gained by Frederick on its banks. Here he was attacked by Buonaparte, and fought with his wonted intrepidity. He made 18,000 prisoners, including a general of division, two brigadier-generals, and a number of colonels. He took also 103 pieces of cannon, 250 waggons, and two eagles. The enemy did not immediately renew the combat, but retreated over the Bober and the Queiss, pursued by the allies. "Silesia is delivered from the enemy," said the old general, "let us prostrate ourselves before the Lord of Hosts for the glorious victory he has gained us."

When General Blucher moved from Silesia upon Lusatia, threatening the enemy in front, Buonaparte conceived that he had discovered the grand plan of the allies, and he immediately repaired in person to meet and repel their main attack. But Blucher's orders were to avoid any general engagement, and retire before superior numbers.—On learning, after the sharp conflict which has been described, that powerful reinforcements were advancing to support the enemy, who prepared to renew the attack, Blucher withdrew without disorder behind the Katzbach. Buonaparte thought he thus defeated the designs of the allies in Silesia. But their views were otherwise directed. The advance of Blucher was intended to mask their movements in another

quarter; and while the veteran general was making his supposed serious demonstrations on the Bober, they were issuing in great force from the passes of Bohemia. They advanced from the frontiers on the 20th and 21st of August; the Russian and Prussian armies, which formed their right wing, approached by the passes of Peterswolde, leading to Pirna; the Austrians by the long *detour* from Commotau. This powerful mass moved upon Dresden. An error occurred in the execution of the movement,—the neglect to secure the pass at Gobehr. The right wing of the allies, however, got into action on the 22d, with St Cyr, at Zehista, near Pirna. The French general was driven back, and retired into Konigstein, the entrenched camp at Liebenstein, and the works round Dresden. The grand armies pressed forward, and on the 26th, the people of Dresden saw them upon the heights above the city. The enemy retired to the protection of their works; and after a partial attack of the Russian and Prussian light troops upon the gardens, the whole allied army moved to the assault at four in the afternoon of the 27th. The artillery, though brought up at the close of the evening to within one hundred paces of the wall, could not make any practicable breaches; and the allies retired at night to the heights which they had occupied in the morning.—On the 28th, Buonaparte issued from Dresden with 130,000 men. The battle was chiefly confined to the cavalry and artillery; the main bodies of the infantry of both armies did not come into contact. No impression could be made on the positions of the allies, and the action ceased. But as they apprehended that Buonaparte might throw over a body of troops at Konigstein and Pirna, to seize the passes in the rear of their march, they retired from their position on the 28th in the evening, in perfect order, towards the Bohemian frontier. They had judged correctly. Buonaparte had made the movement which they anticipated, but happily it produced only defeat and destruction to the troops employed in it. On two successive days the enemy were attacked, and at last put to a general route; they threw down their arms, abandoned their guns and standards, and retreated in all directions. Vandamme and six other generals were taken. Sixty pieces of artillery, six standards, and about 10,000 prisoners, rewarded the exertions of the allies.—The fugitives were closely pursued by the cossacks and light cavalry of the combined armies.

Such were the operations near Dresden and on the Bohemian frontier.—General Blucher, in the mean time, having retired upon Janer, re-advanced on the 24th against Macdonald, who occupied a good position, which he had strengthened with a numerous artillery. He was, however, attacked by Blucher upon the morning of the 26th, and after a sharp contest, driven from every part of his position, leaving fifty pieces of artillery, thirty-nine tumbrils and ammunition waggons, and more than ten thousand prisoners. The contest was renewed with fresh vigour, and with equal success, by Blucher on the 27th and 28th; and the result was, that thirty pieces of cannon and five thousand prisoners were taken during these two days.

Although no general battle had been fought, a succession of sanguinary combats thus followed each other, and the loss on both sides was considerable. Several officers of distinction fell; but the chief interest was excited by the fate of Moreau. In the battle of the 27th, before Dresden, as he was on horseback by the side of the Emperor Alexander, a ball passing through the horse, carried off both his legs. This dreadful wound did not immediately prove mortal. His limbs were ampu-

tated, and he was carried in a litter to Bohemia; but after lingering for a few days, he expired in great agony.

The presence of Moreau in the allied army had excited much enthusiasm throughout Europe; and a fate so tragical and untimely produced equal sympathy and regret. Yet when we come to reflect upon his conduct, there may be room for a difference of opinion. Unjust expulsion from the political community may seem to destroy the ties by which an individual is united to it, and to absolve him from the duties of allegiance. When this injustice is exercised by a state against one to whom it has been greatly indebted, the trial to individual fortitude becomes the more severe. Yet the general sense of mankind seems to pronounce that there is something indelible in the relations between men and the country which gave them birth, and that no wrong, no suffering, can ever efface them. Moreau professed, indeed, (and in this he was sanctioned by the declarations of the allies) to make war, not against France, but against the usurper who ruled it. Had the object been to change the government, to restore either a free constitution or the ancient monarchy, Moreau might have had a fair ground of justification. But the allies disclaimed any such intention; they professed no other object but to re-establish against France the ancient balance of power, and to level her present overwhelming preponderance in the system of Europe. They were not thus, perhaps, doing her any real injury, since extended conquest does by no means constitute the real happiness of nations. Yet it is not viewed in this light by mankind in general; and in the mind of a great commander it can scarcely be doubted, that with military successes the grandeur and prosperity of his country will be in a great degree identified. The conduct of Moreau, therefore, can scarcely be vindicated by the feelings of patriotism; it can be defended only upon the principles of universal philanthropy. Such principles, however, from their vague and flexible nature, ought to be viewed with extreme suspicion, particularly when they point to some object which may afford gratification to private ambition or resentment. There is one circumstance in the case of Moreau which, if not explained, appears extremely suspicious. He came only to bask in the sunshine of that fortune which had attended the allied arms; for so long as the cause of Europe languished he had taken no part in it. He was not found in Spain, where the most just of causes was to be defended; not even in Russia, when that country was invaded, and in danger of being over-run. He came not till a succession of victories, and the formation of a grand confederacy, had rendered the triumph of the allied cause almost certain. All this may admit of explanation; he may not have been invited; a proper opening may not have been offered to his exertions. But some such explanation seems necessary to account for the inactivity of his philanthropic principles, till the moment when their exertion was less necessary and less meritorious. But whatever opinion may be formed upon this subject, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the allied sovereigns were fully justified in availing themselves of the acknowledged talents of this commander, for the promotion of their own just cause. A very absurd opinion, however, was almost universal at the time,—that the success of that cause depended chiefly upon Moreau, and that Buonaparte could only be opposed by commanders trained in the same school with himself. Such an idea is totally inconsistent, not only with subsequent events which could not be then taken into account, but

even with the occurrences of the preceding campaign. Buonaparte had been humbled, and the finest army he ever commanded had been annihilated, without any aid from France; and there could be no reason to suppose, that with similar means similar successes might not continue to crown the arms of the allies. The only operation at which Moreau assisted, and which, if not planned by him, received his sanction, was the attack upon Dresden; an operation which does not reflect much credit on those with whom it originated.

The north of Germany, where the Crown Prince commanded, became the theatre of events of great importance. After the retreat of the French from Berlin, the Swedish and Prussian army pressed close upon them, and gained several partial advantages; and the Crown Prince finding that he was not opposed by an equal force, determined to take advantage of his superiority. He moved towards Rosslau, intending to cross the Elbe, and march upon Leipzig. He took with him the Swedish and Russian troops, while General Tauentzein was left with 40,000 Prussians at Juterbock, for the purpose of covering Berlin. The allies having retired from before Dresden, Marshal Ney returned to his army,—brought with him the divisions which had been withdrawn from it, and, observing the two corps of the Crown Prince's army detached from each other, he conceived the design of attacking them separately. That part of the French army, therefore, which had been brought to the left bank of the Elbe to oppose the enterprizes of the Crown Prince, suddenly re-passed the river at Wittenberg, and marched towards Juterbock, where Tauentzein was posted. The Crown Prince set out on the 6th of September, at three o'clock in the morning, from Rabenstein, and collected the Swedish and Russian armies upon the heights of Lobesson. He was waiting the reports of General Tauentzein, when he received an account from General Bulow, announcing that the whole French army was in full march upon Juterbock. The Crown Prince ordered Bulow to attack immediately the flank and rear of the enemy, before General Tauentzein, who defended the approaches of the town, should be overwhelmed by numbers. The Swedish army, which had marched upwards of two German miles, proceeded towards Juterbock, which was yet at a considerable distance; it was followed by the Russian army, with the exception of the advanced guard, under the orders of the Count Woronzoff, and the corps of General Tchernicheff, which continued before Wittenberg. The cannonade began immediately between the Prussian troops and the army of the enemy. The Russian and Swedish corps, after their forced marches, were obliged to halt for a moment in order to form in order of battle. The Prussian army, amounting to 40,000 men, sustained in the mean time, with a courage truly heroic, the repeated efforts of 70,000 of the enemy, supported by 200 pieces of cannon. The struggle was unequal and murderous. The Prussian troops, however, were not disconcerted; and if some battalions were obliged to yield the ground which they had gained, they did not fail to re-occupy it the moment after. While these events occurred, 70 battalions of Russians and Swedes, 10,000 horse of both nations, and 150 pieces of artillery, advanced in columns of attack, leaving intermediate spaces for deploying. Four thousand Russian and Swedish cavalry advanced at full speed to support some points on which the enemy principally directed his attacks.—Their appearance checked him, and the arrival of the columns completed his confusion. The fate of the battle

was instantly decided. The enemy sounded a retreat; the cavalry charged him with a boldness resembling fury, and carried disorder into his columns, which retreated with great precipitation upon the route of Gahna. The French force was composed of four *corps d'armée*, those of the Duke of Reggio,—of Generals Bertrand and Regnier,—of the Duke of Padua, and of from three to four thousand Polish troops; the whole under the command of Marshal Ney.—The result of this battle, which was fought near the village of Dennevitz, was in the first instance 5000 prisoners, three standards, from 25 to 30 pieces of cannon, and upwards of 200 ammunition waggons. The field of battle, and the roads over which the enemy passed, were covered with dead and wounded, and with the arms which had been abandoned. Vigorously pursued, the enemy, who endeavoured to retire towards Torgau, did not reach the Elbe before he suffered losses yet more considerable.—General Wobeser, who had been ordered to proceed with 5000 men from Luckau upon Gahna, attacked the French in that town, where the Prince of Moskwa, and the Dukes of Reggio and of Padua, had taken up their quarters with part of the defeated army, and made 2500 prisoners. The half of Marshal Ney's escort was killed. The loss of the Prussian troops was also great, and amounted to between 4 and 5000 men killed and wounded. "The result of the battle, however," said the Crown Prince, "ought to contribute to the consolation of every true patriot, who will find the triumph of the cause of his country insured by the death of these brave men." The loss of the Swedish and Russian troops was not great. "The different corps," added the Crown Prince, "vied with each other in courage and devotion. The heroic conduct shewn on this occasion by the Prussian army, is calculated to exist for ever in the annals of military fame, and to inspire all those who fight for the independence of Germany. The Russian and Swedish troops, who took part in the engagement, valiantly seconded the efforts of their brethren in arms. General Bulow displayed the coolness and bravery of a warrior, who had no other object than the glory of his king and the defence of his country. The officers under his command imitated his honourable example. The Prince of Hesse Homberg distinguished himself in the most brilliant manner. General the Count de Tauentzein gave proofs of his talents and *sang-froid*. During the whole affair, he sustained most vigorous and repeated attacks of the enemy, and was of great assistance towards the successful result of the struggle, by the boldness he discovered, and by the admirable choice of his position."—Every day brought fresh proofs that the consequences of the battle of Dennevitz were greater than was at first expected. The light troops did not desist from following the French, and taking prisoners, ammunition waggons, and baggage.

The Silesian army, under Blucher, was not less successful. This distinguished general paused not a moment after the victory over Macdonald which has already been mentioned,—he pursued the enemy, and again attacked him on the Bober. He gained another victory still more complete than the former. The heavy rains and the overflowing of the rivers cut off all retreat. One division of French, which fought with its rear to the Bober, was entirely captured, and most of the others were destroyed. The wreck of Macdonald's army fled through Lusatia. Blucher successively crossed the Bober, the Reiss, and the Queiss, and arrived almost at the gates of Dresden.

Nor was the grand army of Bohemia inactive during these important opera-

tions. It re-advanced on the 5th of September towards Dresden,—drove the enemy almost under the walls of the city, and occupied Dohna and Pirna. On the 8th, Buonaparte left Dresden,—attacked General Wittgenstein at Dohna, with a very superior force, and compelled the Russians to fall back to Peterswalde. General Ziethen's corps, which was attacked at Pirna, retired next day, and took post in the mountains on the Bohemian frontier. Buonaparte continued his advance till the 12th, when he reached Nollendorff, and advanced towards Culm. The allies, meanwhile, called in the troops which had been sent to Chemnitz and Freiberg on the left, and to Aussig and Leitmeritz on the right; and on the 12th, having collected 100,000 men and 800 pieces of cannon, they offered battle to the enemy, which, however, was declined.—Buonaparte then began his retreat, breaking up the roads towards Dresden in every direction,—a circumstance which rendered it impossible to pursue him with advantage.

The ardent desire of Buonaparte to annihilate the combined army of the north of Germany, occasioned him the loss of much time and many men, in marches and counter-marches. To support the operations of Marshal Ney, he sent the corps of the Duke of Ragusa to Hoyerswerda on the 7th of September. This corps, about 25,000 strong, had orders to proceed to Berlin, and there effect a junction with Ney. A strong detachment was at the same time sent upon the right flank of General Blucher, to force him to retreat.—The Duke of Ragusa arrived early on the 8th at Hoyerswerda; but on receiving intelligence of the battle of Dennevitz he hastily retreated, and marched by way of Konigsberg to Dresden. In the retreat of the 8th, he was attacked at Hoyerswerda by the detachment of Colonel Fignier of the Russian guards. The colonel, at the head of 800 horse, pursued him to Konigsberg, killed many men belonging to his rear, and took 1000 prisoners. Continuing without intermission the pursuit of the enemy's rear, this officer fell in with the baggage, took the greater part of it, killed a great number of men, and carried off with him 400 draught horses. Turning upon this towards Grossenhayn, he put to the rout two squadrons of the enemy.—Some spies, whom this officer had sent to Dresden, assured him on their return that the city was at this time provided with no more than a fortnight's necessaries for the army, and that nothing was left for the inhabitants. The Saxon court, formerly so tranquil, thus saw its capital exposed to all the horrors of a siege. The king himself was a wretched witness of the calamities which oppressed his people, without the possibility of alleviating them,—without any other prospect than that of seeing them still further aggravated. The Saxon nation was sensible of its own and its sovereign's degradation; it was desirous of resuming its rank among independent states; a patriotic spirit was already manifested; but it was restrained by circumstances from aiding effectually the great cause of Europe. A Saxon legion, however, was forming at the same time with that of Baden; and the Germans demonstrated that they were not unworthy of their fathers. It was expected that in a short time all the nations from the coast of the Baltic to the right bank of the Rhine, would rise in a mass to drive back the oppressors of the continent to the left bank of that river. Fear could not deter them much longer,—for 400,000 victorious warriors were ready at all points to support and assist them.

While events so unfavourable to the French army took place around Dresden, in Silesia, and in the north of

Germany, their situation on the secondary theatre of war, on the Lower Elbe, was less disadvantageous. At the breaking out of hostilities, Davoust marched from Hamburgh,—took possession of Schwerin, and thence threatened Stralsund and Berlin. The disasters of the grand army, however, rendered this advanced position no longer secure; and Davoust fell back upon the line of the Stecknitz, which covered Holstein. His situation, however, being on the whole better than that of his master, Buonaparte wished to draw from him some relief. With this view, General Pecheux was dispatched with 5 or 6000 men, with orders to march up the Elbe and reinforce the grand army. General Walmoden, however, having received notice of this movement, suddenly crossed the Elbe, and falling upon Pecheux, totally defeated him, made prisoners of a great part of his army, and compelled the remainder to fall back upon Hamburgh. The object of the expedition was thus frustrated.

Bernadotte, who seems to have engaged with perfect sincerity and the utmost zeal in the cause of the allies, and who was anxious to assist it by his pen as well as his sword, about this time addressed to Buonaparte a very singular letter of remonstrance. His treachery to the Spanish royal family, his measureless ambition, his disregard of the lives of his soldiers, his extreme concern for his personal safety, his singular conduct in abandoning his army, his want of foresight as a general, the frantic folly of his continental system, his attempt to change the order of nature, his ignorance of history, were all touched upon. "From the moment," said Bernadotte, "when your majesty plunged into the interior of Russia, the issue was no longer doubtful. The Emperor Alexander already, in the month of August, foresaw the termination of the campaign, and its prodigious results: all military combinations seemed to guarantee that your majesty would be a prisoner. You escaped that danger, sire; but your army, the *elite* of France, of Germany, and of Italy, exists no more! There lie, unburied, the brave men who served France at Fleurus—Frenchmen who conquered in Italy—who survived the burning clime of Egypt—and who fixed victory under your colours at Marengo, at Austerlitz, at Jena, and Friedland!—May your soul, sire, be softened at this heart-rending picture; but should it be necessary to complete the effect, recollect also the death of more than a million of Frenchmen, lying on the field of honour, victims of the wars which your majesty has undertaken.

"Your majesty invokes your right to the friendship of the King of Sweden. Permit me to remind you, sire, of the little value your majesty attached to it, at times when a reciprocity of sentiment would have been very useful to Sweden. When the king, after having lost Finland, wrote to your majesty to beg you to preserve for Sweden the isles of Aland, you replied to him, "apply to the Emperor Alexander,—he is great and generous;" and, to fill up the measure of your indifference, you caused it to be asserted in the official journal (Moniteur of the 21st of September, 1810,) at the moment of my departure for Sweden, that there had been an *interregnum* in tha kingdom, during which the English were carrying on their commerce with impunity.

"Your system, sire, would interdict to nations the exercise of that right which they have received from nature,—that of trading with each other, of mutually assisting each other, of corresponding and living in peace; and yet the very existence of Sweden depends upon an extension of commercial relations, without which she would be insufficient for her own subsistence.

Sire, the lessons of history repel the idea of an universal monarchy; and the sentiment of independence may be deadened, but cannot be effaced from the heart of nations. May your majesty weigh all these considerations, and at last really think of that general peace, the profaned name of which has caused so much blood to flow.—In politics, sire, neither friendship nor hatred has place,—there are only duties to fulfil towards the nations whom Providence has summoned us to govern. Their laws and their privileges are the blessings which are dear to them; and if, in order to preserve them, one is compelled to renounce old connections, the prince, who wishes to perform his duty, can never hesitate which course to adopt. Was it not your majesty who interrupted our commercial relations, by ordering the capture of Swedish vessels in the bosom of peace? Was it not the rigour of your orders which forbade us every kind of communication with the continent for three years, and which, since that period, caused more than 50 Swedish vessels to be detained at Wismar, Rostock, and other ports of the Baltic? The Duke of Bassano observed, that your majesty will never change your system, and will consider this as a civil war; which indicates that you mean to retain Swedish Pomerania, and will not renounce the hope of giving laws to Sweden, and thus degrading, without running any risk, the Swedish name and character. By the phrase civil war, you doubtless mean a war between allies; but we know the fate to which you destine them.—As to my personal ambition, I acknowledge it to be lofty; it has for its object to serve the cause of humanity, and to secure the independence of the Scandinavian peninsula. To attain that end, I confide in the justice of that cause which the king has commanded me to defend, upon the perseverance of the nation, and the fidelity of its allies."

Buonaparte's situation had become critical; and he felt the necessity of resorting to the most decided measures for increasing his force.—"It is necessary that numerous battalions should arise in the bosom of France," said he to his minister, Maret, at Dresden; and at Paris the Empress Queen and Regent quickly explained the nature and amount of this demand. She proceeded to the senate, and announced the commands of Buonaparte for a fresh tribute of blood from the French people. In 1812, he demanded half a million; in 1813, he began with a requisition of nearly as many; and now he demanded no less than 280,000.—The speech of the empress formed a most important document indeed,—it contained the confession of Buonaparte, that he was unable to make head against his opponents,—that he no longer hoped to make a successful stand beyond the Rhine. He knew the war upon his principles and views to be odious in France; and, degraded and humbled as she was by submission to his authority, he scarcely expected fresh sacrifices from her, unless he could persuade her of their absolute necessity to prevent invasion. In the short speech of the empress, more than in any other document, the altered fortunes of the French ruler were indicated. A year before he thought he had but one step to take to render himself the uncontrouled master of the continent. He despised the experience of all former times,—he disdained the warning voice of history,—he forgot, to use the language of the Crown Prince, that "the lessons of history reject the idea of universal monarchy, and that the sentiment of independence, though it may be deadened in the hearts of nations, can never be destroyed." What was the consequence of his presumptuous ambition? A mil-

lion of men had been sacrificed in less than two years; and instead of being near the accomplishment of his wishes, he was now forced to tell France, that she might expect to be invaded, unless she consented to make unparalleled efforts. The empress endeavoured to raise a suspicion, that the allies meant to dismember France; but they had already declared, that "they had no designs against France; but that they were determined to be governed by their own princes and their own laws." For the "agitations of a degraded throne, and a crown without glory," to which the empress alluded in her speech, Buonaparte had to blame himself alone.

The increasing embarrassments of the French army no longer admitted of concealment. Sir Charles Stewart, an accurate observer, and a very able man, made some judicious reflections, in one of his dispatches written about this period. "His (Buonaparte's) plan seems to have been," said Sir Charles, "to attack the allies, if he could do so with an evident advantage; if not, to impede their advance, and by menaces gain time either to extricate himself from the dangerous predicament in which he stands, or to manœuvre the allies out of their position. The latter he had not done, for after all his marches to and from the Bohemian frontier, the grand allied army remained on the spot to which it retired after the attack upon Dresden; and Buonaparte had entered the Bohemian passes one day, only to quit them the next. So that in this quarter his movements had been of no avail, while time had been given to the allied armies in other parts to press forward and close upon him. Meanwhile his numerical strength was decreasing daily. The sword had done much, sickness had scarcely done less, and repeated defeats, with the accompanying privations, depressed the spirits and hopes of the whole army."—Upwards of 5000 letters were seized upon a French courier.—"These," said Sir Charles, "give the most doleful details of the French army and their defeats; the whole are in the most desponding style."

Great, however, as were the advantages of the allies, yet in the present relative position of the armies there was little prospect that they might immediately inflict any fatal blow by the superior forces which they had at their disposal. Buonaparte, from his central situation, could still command a temporary superiority at any point which was seriously threatened. The grand army had appeared before Dresden, but had again retreated. Blucher had repeatedly approached from the other side of the Elbe; but 100,000 men defended the passage of the river; and he beat in vain against that impregnable barrier. The Crown Prince, however, was preparing to pass at Rosslau, and to advance. This operation led to a series of skirmishes.

Buonaparte had given orders that his generals should take Dessau, cost what it might. Information of this was received, by the Crown Prince, in sufficient time to give Major-General Schulzenheim notice to evacuate the place, and retire upon the works at the *tete-du-pont*. This service was performed without loss; and the enemy did not undertake any thing against Schulzenheim. The party covering the workmen at the *tete-du-pont*, however, advanced to reconnoitre nearly as far as Dessau; the posts of the enemy, having ventured out of the city, were driven into the streets, and the reconnoitering party retired behind the entrenchments. Bernadotte soon after obtained information that the enemy at Dessau had received reinforcements, and was advancing against the *tete-du-pont*. Field-Marshal Count Stedingk accordingly sent Col. Bjornes-

tierna against him with 1000 infantry, some cavalry, and two pieces of artillery. The enemy hastily retired into the town, and shut the gates; a few young officers and soldiers, hurried on by too much bravery, threw themselves, in spite of the enemy's shower of bullets from the houses and walls, on a gate, and endeavoured to cut it open with axes; but nails and iron bands rendered this impossible. Colonel Bjornestierna ordered his troops to fall back to the *tete-du-pont;* but when he had retired about one hundred yards, the enemy opened the gate, and fired on him with three pieces of artillery. The colonel halted, returned the fire with his artillery, and marched on the enemy, who retired into the town, and fastened the gates after them. In the evening the enemy again left the town, and took a direction towards the bridge across the Mulda, which was entrusted to a battalion under the command of Colonel Aldercreutz. This officer crossed the bridge, attacked the enemy, and drove him briskly into the town, the gates of which were again closed.

The enemy once more shewed himself with a corps of 7 or 8000 men between the Mulda and the Elbe. As the allies had drawn their posts in, the enemy seemed disposed to march against the entrenchments, and to force them. Lieutenant-General Sandals put himself at the head of three battalions, and advanced from the lines upon the enemy. He overthrew him and drove him briskly back. As this general had received orders to return to the *tete-du-pont*, he executed them with such precision as could not have been excelled on the place of exercise. The French in this affair lost upwards of 600 men.—The Swedish army having thrown a bridge of boats over the Elbe, at Rosslau, passed the river, and again moved upon Dessau. Its advanced posts extended to Raguhn and Janitz, and a junction with Blucher's army was thus accomplished. As the third Prussian *corps d'armée*, under the command of General Bulow, and the corps of General Tauentzein, had already crossed the Elbe, General Thumen remained before Wittenberg. This general was induced to continue the siege with vigour, since it was obvious that the possession of Wittenberg must render the allies masters of the Elbe, as this fortress would at once cover Berlin, and serve as a depot for the allied armies.

An expedition undertaken by General Tchernicheff against Cassel was attended with brilliant success. Never were boldness, talents, and valour, more eminently displayed than on this occasion. The general marched on the 24th to Eksleben, the 25th to Rosslau, and, avoiding a Westphalian corps under the orders of General Bastinellar, posted at Heilligenstadt, he made a lateral movement, passed through Sondershausen, and arrived on the 26th, in the evening, at Muhlhausen. Thence he marched upon Cassel. Investing the city on every side, he ordered the cossacks and the hussars of Jzum to attack the enemy's battalions, stationed at Bettenhausen, with six pieces of cannon. By a brilliant charge the guns were taken, the enemy dispersed, and more than 400 prisoners made. The fugitives were pursued into the city; but, as the streets were barricadoed, the Russians at length fell back.

Jerome Buonaparte, the intrusive King of Westphalia, collected two battalions of guards, and a thousand horse, and fled from Cassel by the road leading to Frankfort. Colonel Benkendorff charged four squadrons of light horse, forming part of the escort, not one of whom escaped; he took 250 men and 10 officers.—Tchernicheff received information that General Bastinellar, with a French corps, was advancing to the relief of Cassel. He

marched during the night of the 28th upon Melzulgan, in order to meet the enemy with his entire force. The hostile corps dispersed; only twenty cuirassiers and two guns were taken. The troops who followed the king dispersed in like manner; more than 300 of them joined General Tchernicheff, and marched with him on the 30th against Cassel. The Russian general made use of the artillery captured from the enemy, and cannonaded the town. The Leipzig gate, with the cannon planted there, was carried by Colonel Benkendorff. Tchernicheff then offered terms of capitulation to the general of division Alix, who obtained a free passage for the French and Westphalian troops with their arms and military baggage. The city was occupied on the evening of the 30th by the Russians; the joy of the inhabitants was enthusiastic. The greater part of the Westphalian troops ranged themselves under the banners of the allies; and a fatal blow was thus struck against the influence of the French in the kingdom of Westphalia.

This chapter may be concluded, by a recapitulation of the important events which had lately occurred. In the month of August, the French attempted to invade at once Mecklenburgh, Swedish Pomerania, the Middle Mark, Silesia, and Bohemia. In the month of September, after vain efforts, repelled on all sides, they were driven across the Elbe near Hamburgh, wedged into a corner of Lusatia, expelled from Bohemia, with considerable loss of men and cannon, and disturbed in their line of communication between Dresden, Altenburg, Leipzig, and Erfurt. Towards the end of the month, the combined armies passed the Elbe. Victory opened to the corps of General Walmoden, the Old Mark, Luneberg, and the route of Hanover and Bohemia; made the Crown Prince master of the duchies of Anholt, and other provinces formerly Prussian, and secured to Blucher the passage of the Elbe at Elster, his march upon Leipzig by turning Wittenberg, and his communication with the army of the north of Germany.

The Russian and Prussian armies, immoveable in the position which they had chosen in Bohemia from Toplitz to the Elbe, waited the enemy in the fatal valley of Culm, received him with courage, drove him back as often as he dared to descend from the mountains, wasted him with famine, and demoralized his armies. Dresden, instead of being a point from which Buonaparte attacked, now became to him a point of retreat. Meanwhile, the Austrian army extended itself on one side as far as Freyberg, Chemnitz, and Altenburg; and on the other towards Thuringia and Bavaria; it pushed forward strong detachments, and covered powerful diversions, accomplished by partisans at once brave and fortunate. Where was Buonaparte during the whole of September? At Dresden and its vicinity; again at Dresden and its vicinity. He sent his sick and wounded to Leipzig and Erfurt; kept the King of Saxony and his whole family at Dresden, to give himself the semblance of security, and continued to exercise a despotic sway, which was now confined to the capital of a petty kingdom. From Dresden those bags of letters were dispatched, which being intercepted and published, communicated just ideas of the true situation of the French army, and of the disposition of the troops.

The treaty of alliance, concluded at Toplitz, between Austria, Russia, and Prussia—the negociations opened with Bavaria—the unequivocal movements of the grand combined army towards the Maine—the siege of Wittenburg resumed with vigour—the junction of the army of Blucher with that of the Crown Prince, proved to Buo-

naparte the difficulties of his situation more effectually than his minister and generals had hitherto been able to do.

Russia, Austria, and Prussia, mutually guaranteed their states on the footing of 1805; they set out with the unchangeable principle of not permitting a single French bayonet to remain in Germany. Already the sceptre of the intrusive King of Westphalia was broken in pieces. The city of Cassel, by the exertions of General Tchernicheff, had placed its keys in the hands of the Crown Prince. The old order of things succeeded to the most oppressive tyranny. The trenches were opened before Dantzig, Stettin, and Glogau. These garrisons were destitute of necessaries; they had many sick. Magdeburg also was ill provisioned; and Buonaparte was placing even the fortresses on the Rhine in a state of defence.

CHAP. XVI.

Grand Movement of the Allied Armies.—Decisive Battle of Leipzig, and Rout of the French.—Their Flight to the Rhine.—The Combined Armies pass the French Frontier.

THE operations of the allied armies, although they had already been attended with important results, had not been of so decisive a character as to interrupt altogether the communications, or to break the strength of the grand French army at Dresden. Should Buonaparte be able to maintain his ground in that capital, until the immense levies now raising in France could arrive to his support, it became evident that the contest might be prolonged to an indefinite duration; the allies, therefore, perceived the necessity of more vigorous efforts. Their forces had been augmented by the arrival of General Beningsen, at the head of a Russian corps of 40,000 men. Platoff, the cossack chief, who had been for some time absent from the scene of active operations, now re-appeared; his warriors formed part of Beningsen's corps which joined the grand army in Bohemia. So great and seasonable a reinforcement determined the leaders of the Bohemian army to make a grand movement on their left, and, ascending from Bohemia, to interpose between Dresden and the communication with the Rhine. Platoff, with his cossacks, led the advance, and cut up a French corps, under Lefebvre, which had been sent by Buonaparte to clear the road from Dresden. The Bohemian army proceeded in three divisions towards Chemnitz and Freiburgh,—the Russians by Commotau,—the Prussians by Brix, and the Austrians from Toplitz. The force of the Russians and Prussians amounted to 90,000, that of the Austrians to 100,000 men.

General Blucher and the Crown Prince at the same time advanced, and formed a junction.—The march of Blucher was truly astonishing. He had with him about 60,000 men;—he brought also all his cannon and baggage and a bridge equipage; and yet he effected this great movement with incredible velocity. The Crown Prince having forced the Elbe on the 3d of October, and carried the entrenched village of Wertemberg, passed over his whole army the next day at Acken and Rosslau. Ney immediately fell back from Dessau. Bernadotte established his head-quarters there on the 4th, and proceeded next day to Reguhn, on the

Mulda, to the southward of Dessau. His vanguard occupied Cothen, between the Mulda and the Saale, and Bernbourg, which is situated on the last mentioned river. The armies of the north of Germany, and of Silesia, amounting together to 130,000 men, made a combined movement on the 5th towards Leipzig.—Schwartzenburgh, with the main body of the Bohemian army, was at Chemnitz on the 8th,—Generals Kleist and Wittgenstein were near Altenberg.—At Lutzen, the Bohemian army communicated with the advance of the other combined armies under Count Woronzoff; so that a line was formed, in Buonaparte's rear, from Aileben to Altenberg, Chemnitz, and the Bohemian frontier.—Never, perhaps, had a grander movement been accomplished. The allies had now effected their great object of placing themselves in the rear of the enemy; and it is impossible not to admire the skill, boldness, and activity displayed upon this occasion.

An event now occurred of the most embarrassing nature to the French. Bavaria had long been the ally of France, but whether attached by fear or favour, it had been difficult to determine. Buonaparte had certainly been liberal to her; he had aggrandized her at the expence of Austria; he evidently wished to raise up this state as a barrier to protect the French territory.—There were many circumstances, however, which might prevent Bavaria from being deeply affected by these benefits.—She had been treated as a vassal, she had been obliged to unite her troops to the French armies, and to send them to the extremities of Europe, to shed their blood in wars in which she could take no interest. The tenure by which crowns at the disposal of Buonaparte were held, could not inspire Bavaria with much confidence. When his own brothers, whom he had raised to thrones, were, in a moment of caprice, at once precipitated from them, the destinies of others connected with him by no natural ties, could not be considered as very secure. Such sentiments on the part of the Bavarian monarch, were more than seconded by the people, who shared the flame of patriotism by which every German breast was filled. In the army this feeling was very ardent; and remonstrances from that quarter are said to have had considerable influence in producing the determination of the cabinet. A superior Austrian corps, under Prince Reuss, had already entered the Bavarian territory; and the French army assembled on the Maine, and from which Buonaparte had promised assistance to Bavaria, had in the exigency o his affairs been directed to repair to the Elbe. The king therefore suddenly determined to dissolve all the ties which united him to France, and to afford to the cause of the allies his full and cordial co-operation. A treaty of alliance and concert between Austria and Bavaria was accordingly signed by Prince Reuss and General Wrede, on the 8th of October. Wrede, with 35,000 Bavarian troops, and 25,000 Austrians, which were placed under his command, immediately co-operated with the combined armies.

In this most critical state of affairs, Buonaparte had but one part to act. He had no choice but to quit Dresden without delay, as he could no longer indulge any reasonable hope of maintaining it; and, with the utmost expedition, to concentrate his whole forces upon Leipzig, and the line of the Saale. He might thus have impeded the movements of the two great portions of the allied army, and might have been enabled to maintain himself for some time in his new position. A succession of similar movements might indeed have manœuvered him out of Germany. For the present, however,

he remained unbroken, and might have established himself on the line of the Maine, a most advantageous position, which defended France by threatening the flank of any enemy who might enter it, and, at the same time, afforded an opening into the very heart of Germany. But his mind was not yet brought down to the level of his fortune; he refused to bend beneath the fate which pressed on him, and persisted to act upon principles suited to other times and other circumstances than those to which he was now reduced. He was thus led to prefer a bolder plan, which the allies had left open for him. He resolved to cross the Elbe; to extend himself along the opposite bank from Dresden to Magdeburg, and thence to push detached corps into the heart of Prussia, and even upon Berlin; but this course was imprudent and chimerical Inferior in the field, and with the entire population hostile, he had no chance of obtaining a footing in the Prussian territory; while, by suffering the allied armies to operate in his rear, he laid the sure foundation of disaster, if not of total destruction.

This plan, however, being resolved upon, no immediate obstacle opposed its execution. On the 7th of October, Buonaparte set out from Dresden, preceded by the greater part of his army, which directed its march, not upon Leipzig or the line of retreat, but upon Wittenburg, and the bridges by which the Swedish and Prussian armies had crossed. There was nothing to make head, against him: The bridges were taken or destroyed; the blockade of Wittenberg was raised; General Tauentzein, with his small army of 10,000 men, was driven back precipitately upon Berlin, and the utmost alarm seized that capital.

The Crown Prince and Blucher, upon learning this new direction of the French army, although they could not anticipate from it any unfavourable issue to the contest, felt the necessity of making a corresponding change in their own arrangements. They determined to follow close in the rear of Buonaparte, and to be ready to act against him wherever he might be found. With this view they repassed the Saale and the Elster, and were preparing to gain the other side of the Elbe, when they learned that a complete change was observable in the movements of the enemy. The divisions which had passed the Elbe and threatened Berlin had been recalled, and all the different corps were moving apparently in the direction of Leipzig. Buonaparte, in fact, was now hastening, with all his forces, to that field of action where the fate of Europe was so soon to be decided.

The reason assigned by Buonaparte himself for so sudden a change of plan, was the intelligence just received, that Bavaria had not only dissolved the alliance which had so long united her to France, but had concluded with the allies a treaty of co-operation, and that her armies were about to act in conjunction with those of Austria. Such events might no doubt have afforded a sufficient reason for this change of movement, had other reasons been wanting; yet very slight reflection might have sufficed to convince him of the absurd nature of the plan upon which he had been acting. This instance of vacillation in his councils, however, was the source of irreparable injury to his affairs. By not marching at once to Leipzig and the Saale, he suffered the allied armies to conduct their operations unmolested in his rear; and he was afterwards driven to retrace his steps when it was too late to reap the benefits which might have been derived from more vigorous and seasonable measures.

When Buonaparte arrived at Leip-

zig, the place was still in the possession of his troops; but hostile armies were on every side, within view of its walls. The united armies of the Crown Prince and of Blucher extended on the north from the Mulda to the Saale; the army of Silesia communicated along the Saale with the grand army, which extended on the south from that river to the Mulda. The two armies touched each other only at this extremity; they were thus in some degree separated at other points; but their opposite lines were so near that they could communicate by signals, and hear the sound of each other's cannon. They thus obviated, in a great measure, the danger of separation; and the French gained little or no benefit by their interposition. They were obliged to divide their force to make head against the northern army on the one side, and the grand army on the other; and as they were pressed into so narrow a space, those bold and sweeping manœuvres which they were accustomed to practise with so much success were altogether precluded.

The 16th of October, the day immediately following the arrival of Buonaparte, was fixed upon by Prince Schwartzenberg for a general attack on all the French positions around Leipzig. On the north, the French line extended from that city through Delitch and Bitterfeld to the Mulda. The army of the Crown Prince formed the left of the opposite line, reaching from Wetten to Zarlug. But as General Blucher was on the right, and had his head-quarters pushed to Gross Kirgal, he was nearest Leipzig; and it was therefore determined that on his side the grand effort should be made.—Having made his dispositions, the Prussian general accordingly attacked, in the morning, three French corps commanded by Marshal Ney. The enemy made a desperate resistance; several of the villages in dispute were five or six times taken and retaken; but at length the French were driven from all their positions, and forced to retire behind the Partha, which immediately covered Leipzig. The French lost in this battle forty pieces of cannon, and 12,000 prisoners; General Blucher's loss was estimated at 6 or 7000 killed and wounded.

On the same day, a simultaneous attack was made on the other side by the grand Bohemian army in the neighbourhood of Wachar and Liebert Walkowitz. The Russians began by storming two fortified positions which covered the front of the enemy's centre. Buonaparte, however, collected the whole mass of his cavalry, which, commanded by Murat, succeeded in breaking the centre of the allies. The moment was critical; total defeat might have been the consequence; but six regiments of Austrian cuirassiers advanced, gallantly withstood the efforts of the enemy, and succeeded in checking his progress. The French gained some ground; but, upon the whole, this desperate and sanguinary action made no material change in the relative position and strength of the two armies.

On the 17th, the allies made a pause, with the view of bringing up their reinforcements. General Benningsen had, on the advance of Prince Schwartzenberg, been left to observe Dresden with a large army; but when Buonaparte quitted that capital, and left it defended by St Cyr alone, with a garrison of 16,000 men, so great a force was no longer necessary for the purposes of observation, and active operations against Dresden could be delayed with perfect safety till the great battle was decided. Benningsen was therefore directed to leave merely a detachment before Dresden, and with his whole remaining force to push for-

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ward as expeditiously as possible to join the grand army.

It is difficult to account for the inactivity in which Buonaparte remained during this important day. Aware, as he must have been, of the advantages which the allies were deriving from the delay, a wise policy surely dictated that he should either have attacked them before their reinforcements could arrive, or that he should have seized the opportunity of effecting his retreat with less molestation. It was inconsistent with his usual system thus to linger, and allow the allies to choose their own time for attack.—Some minor changes, however, were made in the dispositions of the French army; it was drawn closer round Leipzig. On the north it was withdrawn behind the river Partha, which afforded an advantageous defensive line; on the south, it retired from Liebert Walkowitz, and Wachar, where the battle of the 16th had been fought, into the interior line of Conneivitz, Prolistheyda, and Steteritz. The French succeeded also on this day in making an opening through the allied line along the Saale, in the direction of Weissenfels. Thus they at once secured to themselves a retreat, and cut off the communication, unless by signals, between the allied armies.

The allies, however, having brought up all their reinforcements, determined on the following day to execute their designs, and to bring the fate of Europe to this final crisis. The great battle which followed was not distinguished by any bold manœuvres, or striking vicissitudes. The efforts of the allied armies were chiefly confined to storming, by prodigious efforts, the French positions. On the north, the leading attack was made by the Crown Prince, who was now much farther advanced than he had been on the 16th. Being at the head of the Partha river, by which the passage is least difficult, he was in the most advantageous position for approaching Leipzig. Blucher, therefore, to enable him to act with greater effect, reinforced him with 30,000 men from his own army. The passage was effected almost without resistance, and 3000 prisoners were taken at Taucha. The enemy fell back towards Leipzig, covering his retreat by the villages of Sonnerfelt, Parmsdorf, and Schonfelott. From these, however, he was finally driven. The success at this point was greatly promoted by an unexpected event; a large body of Westphalian and Saxon troops, the latter bringing with them twenty-two pieces of artillery, came over from the opposite army; for although their sovereign still fought on the side of France, they considered the allied cause as *theirs*. They accepted at once the invitation of the Crown Prince, who offered to head them as they turned their guns against the enemy. A delay in the arrival of the Swedish cannon rendered this unexpected supply of the highest importance.

On the side of the grand Bohemian army, although the enemy had directed to that point his chief efforts of resistance, the success was still more decisive. The allied corps, pressing in from all quarters, carried every thing before them. Towards evening, they formed a junction with the army of the north; and the united forces of all the powers were established beneath the walls of Leipzig.

Buonaparte felt at length, and too late, that no means remained to him of further resistance. A great part of his army had perished in the preceding battles; and the preponderance of his enemies, already considerable, had been largely augmented. Of those who remained in his ranks, a great proportion were secretly hostile to him, and were the more formidable that they had not yet openly declared themselves. All

his outposts and fortified lines were gone; and no prospect now remained for him, since the victorious armies were prepared to storm his last retreat. He no longer hesitated, therefore, to retire by the only way which still remained open, and the evening had scarcely closed when the whole French army began to defile by the road leading to Weissenfels. The passage, narrowed as it was at present, was attended with extreme difficulty. Five or six rivers, running parallel, and near to each other, and requiring bridges over each, formed a long and narrow defile, through which an encumbered army could march only slowly and with difficulty. Day broke, and a part of the troops were still in Leipzig. Buonaparte ordered the magistrates of Leipzig to send a deputation, requesting that hostilities might be suspended, for the purpose of arranging a capitulation. The object of this demand was evident; he wished to retreat unmolested, and to extricate his army from their present embarrassments. It was accordingly determined that such a respite should not be granted. The Emperor Alexander received the messenger in person; and, in presence of the army, announced to him this resolution. The allied forces were then led on to the attack; after a short resistance the city was carried; and about eleven o'clock of the forenoon, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Crown Prince of Sweden, arriving from different quarters, met in the great square of Leipzig, amid the acclamations of the army and of the people. Buonaparte had quitted the city about two hours before, leaving a large party of his army. To them the disaster was greatly increased, when the confederate forces, on entering the city, were joined by all the remaining Saxon and other German troops. The French, now attacked and fired upon from all quarters, no longer knew whither to turn; the narrow bridge was soon choaked by crowds of fugitives trampling upon each other. The passage was stopped; prisoners were taken by thousands; and of the few who endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, the greater part perished in the waters. The whole rear-guard of the French army, including some of its most distinguished commanders, fell into the hands of the confederates. Among the prisoners were Regnier, Brune, Vallery, Bertrand, and Lauriston. Macdonald with difficulty gained, by swimming, the opposite bank; but Prince Poniatowsky, endeavouring to do the same, sunk, and was drowned. The wounded, to the number of 30,000, were all taken; and the King of Saxony, with his whole court, ranked among the prisoners. It was now too late for this monarch to obtain any merit by joining the cause of the allies; and, as against his orders the whole of his troops had already ranged themselves under their standard, he was no longer capable of rendering them any service. It was judged proper to inflict some chastisement for that injury which, on a former occasion, the common cause had sustained from him, and he was sent, under a guard, to the castle of Eysebnach.

Some striking passages are to be found in the account of these great operations given by the Crown Prince. "As the enemy was obliged," says Bernadotte, "to make his retreat by the defiles of Pleisse, the baggage, cannon, and troops, pressed pell-mell through the narrow passes which remained open to them, and which were soon choaked up by this general disorder. None thought but of making his own escape. The advanced guards of the army of Silesia and of Benningsen entered, almost at the same time, through the other gates of the city.

"The results of the battle of Leip-

zig are immense and decisive. He did not quit Leipzig in person until ten o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Finding that a fire of musketry had already commenced at the Ranstabt gate, towards Lutzen, he was obliged to depart by the Pegau gate. The allied armies had taken 15 generals, and amongst them Generals Regnier and Lauriston, commanding *corps d'armée.* Prince Poniatowsky was drowned in attempting to pass the Elster. The body of General Dumorestier, chief of the staff of the 11th corps, was found in the river, and more than 1000 men were drowned in it. The Duke of Bassano escaped on foot. Marshal Ney is supposed to have been wounded. More than 250 pieces of cannon, 900 caissons, and above 15,000 prisoners, have fallen into the hands of the allies, besides several eagles and colours. The enemy has abandoned more than 23,000 sick and wounded, with the whole of the hospital establishment.

"The total loss of the French army must exceed 60,000 men. According to every calculation, the Emperor Napoleon has been able to save from the general disaster not more than 75,000 or 80,000 men. The allied armies are in motion to pursue him, and every moment are brought in prisoners, baggage, and artillery. The German and Polish troops desert from the French standards in crowds; and every thing announces that the liberty of Germany has been conquered at Leipzig.

"It is inconceivable how a man, who commanded in thirty pitched battles, and who had exalted himself by military glory, in appropriating to himself that of all the old French generals, should have been capable of concentrating his army in so unfavourable a position as that in which he had placed it. The Elster and the Pleisse in his rear, a marshy ground to traverse, and only a single bridge for the passage of 100,000 men and 3000 baggage waggons. Every one asks, Is this the great captain who has hitherto made Europe tremble?"

Such was the termination of this succession of combats; the annals of Europe, ensanguined as they are, had never yet presented any thing on so grand a scale. Famine and pestilence, which follow in the train of war, did their part, and co-operated with the sword in the work of death. The retreat of Buonaparte was such as might have been expected; a powerful army was behind, and clouds of light troops were far advanced before him. A daily loss of artillery, baggage, and prisoners, marked his course from the Saale to the Maine.

All hope of making head against the allies in Germany, on the Rhine, or even on the French side of the Rhine, seemed chimerical. Buonaparte had never before been in a dilemma like the present. When he witnessed the destruction of his fleet at the battle of the Nile, his retreat, indeed, was cut off from a field of ambition, on which he had rashly entered; when he was beaten before the walls of Jaffa, his way to Egypt was still open, and he escaped without interruption; when he slept amid the ashes of Moscow, although the vision of glory which led him thither deserted his pillow, he dreamt not of the withering blasts which were to cut off his army on its return. Amid all these calamities his spirit never forsook him; but the perils of his present situation were manifest in all their appalling aggravations. A victorious army was already in the south of his no longer "sacred France;" his army in Germany was nearly annihilated; and the conquerors were ready on all sides to bear him down.

The retreat of Buonaparte was beset with difficulties. The Bavarian troops, 35,000 strong, had taken post at Hannau to impede his movements.

Had Blucher followed by the same route which the French army had taken, its destruction would have been inevitable; but the Prussian general, by an unfortunate, though very natural, calculation, supposed that, as the Bavarian army was on the Maine, Buonaparte would not retire by that route, but would cross the Rhine at Coblentz. Upon this place Blucher accordingly directed his march. Buonaparte, therefore, on approaching Hannau, could turn his whole remaining force, amounting to 70 or 80,000 men, against the Bavarian army, which did not exceed 30,000. Wrede, however, with the most gallant determination, resolved to stand the unequal contest; and for two days this army maintained itself gloriously, with severe loss indeed, but without any signal defeat. Wrede himself received a wound, which, at first, threatened to prove mortal, but from which he fortunately recovered. It was impossible, however, with forces so far inferior, to avoid being pushed aside; and Buonaparte was thus enabled to proceed on the road to Frankfort. He did not stop in that city, but continued his march; and on the 7th of November he crossed the Rhine with his whole army, leaving behind him all his conquests, and all his towering hopes of universal dominion.

He returned to Paris on the 9th, having sent before him twenty stands of colours taken by his victorious armies in the battles of Weissen, Leipzig, and Hannau! These trophies were presented with much solemnity to Her Imperial Majesty. Cardinal Maury pronounced an appropriate oration over them, in which he proved that Buonaparte's late resolution to retire upon the Rhine was a proof of his wisdom and genius, no less signal than his former plan to maintain the line of the Elbe!

In the midst of these solemn and interesting proceedings, new disasters were in preparation for the ruler of France. Holland, by a great movement, emancipated herself from the French yoke; and, by a bloodless counter-revolution, asserted her ancient rights, and proved her undiminished attachment to the house of Orange. Commissioners, deputed by the provisional government, repaired to England, to invite the return of the Prince of Orange, and to renew the friendship and alliance of the Dutch with Great Britain. Nothing was ever effected with more wisdom than this counter-revolution. The Dutch, instead of revenging upon the engines of French tyranny the insults and oppressions of twenty years, contented themselves with dismissing them, and establishing a provisional government until the arrival of the Prince of Orange. The inhabitants of the different towns formed themselves into municipal guards, to preserve the public tranquillity, and to prevent the people from breaking out into excesses against the enemy.—But the interesting events which occurred in Holland will demand a separate chapter.

By the movements of the army of the north of Germany, the regency of the electorate of Hanover was re-established, and the enemy now occupied on the Lower Elbe only Harburg, Stade, and the small fort of Hasse. The inhabitants of all classes displayed at Hanover, and at other places of the electorate, proofs of the most touching affection for their sovereign. Bernadotte, whose fortune it formerly was to command them as an enemy's general, had the happiness to receive testimonies of their gratitude for the manner in which he had then acted towards them.

The head-quarters of the grand allied army were removed to Frankfort. Thus, then, the great efforts of France in 1813, had the same results as those she made in 1812. "The French le-

gions," said Bernadotte, "which caused the world to tremble, are retiring and seeking safety behind the Rhine, the natural frontier of France, and which would be still a barrier of iron had not Napoleon wished to subjugate all nations, and to ravish from them their liberties. Although these limits appear fixed by nature, the Russian army presents itself before them, because Napoleon went to seek the Russians at Moscow; the Prussian army appears before them, because in breach of his sworn faith Napoleon still retains the fortresses of that monarchy; the army of Austria appears before them because she has insults to revenge, and because she recollects that after the peace of Presburg, the title of Emperor of Germany was torn from her supreme chief. If the Swedes are there also, it is because, amid profound peace, and in violation of the most solemn treaties, Napoleon treacherously surprised them at Stralsund, and insulted them at Stockholm. The allies regret the misfortunes of the French; they lament the calamities which the war brings in its train; and, far from being dazzled, like Napoleon, by the success with which Providence has favoured their arms, they are ardently desirous of peace. All nations sigh for that boon of Heaven, and Napoleon alone has hitherto placed himself in opposition to the happiness of the world. Hence all the princes, lately his allies, hastened to abjure the ties which connected him with them; even those whose states had been aggrandised in consequence of his power or influence, renounced the aggrandisement which they owed to his pretended friendship. In pursuing the noble object of all its efforts, that of a general peace, the army of the north of Germany could not permit an enemy's force to be cantoned upon its communications.—Pamplona," continued this spirited writer, "has capitulated. The victorious troops of the Marquis of Wellington are now upon French ground; it is for having attacked the Spaniards in the bosom of peace, that the peaceful inhabitants of the Adour behold an enemy's army upon its banks. The Emperor of Russia's, the Emperor of Austria's, the King of Prussia's, and other formidable armies, are upon the banks of the Rhine. One single object directs these masses—a general peace, founded upon natural limits, the sole guarantee of its solidity. Amid the miseries which have so long desolated the continent, the instruments have been as much to be pitied as the victims; and it is the happiness of Frenchmen, as well as that of their own nations, that the allied sovereigns desire. War can have but one honourable object—a conquest which alone is desirable and just—peace. Millions of voices demand it of the French people. Will they be deaf to the voice of humanity, of reason, and of their dearest interests? Where is the Frenchman who has not been profoundly affected in reading the reply of Napoleon to the senate? The president of that assembly, in the name of France, demands peace of the emperor; and this sovereign, who for two years has been the witness of the death of 600,000 men, replies coldly, and merely says, 'that posterity shall acknowledge that the existing circumstances were not above him.' Thus the Emperor Napoleon does not wish for peace; and as Europe desires it, she ought to prepare to obtain it by means of arms. Let us hope that the wishes of the French will unite with those of Europe."

The grand allied army, consisting of the Austrian, Bavarian, and part of the Russian and Prussian armies, was now on the Maine, the respective sovereigns being at Frankfort. Dresden, with its garrison of 16,000 men, under St Cyr and Count Lobau, sur-

rendered to the Russians. The French were not allowed terms of capitulation; the whole of their troops became prisoners of war; and the Russian force, which had been employed before this capital, was now at liberty to undertake other operations.—The Crown Prince, with about 40,000 Russian and Prussian troops, had left Bremen for Holland, where General Winzengerode's corps had already arrived; General Bulow was between Munster and Arnheim; Benningsen and Walmoden, with the Hanoverians, and General Aldercrantz with the Swedes, were marching against Davoust and the Danes.

The town of Arnheim, important on account of its position, was taken by General Bulow on the 30th of November; the garrison was put to the sword. This severity was inflicted as some retaliation for the cruelties committed by the French at the little town of Woerden in Holland. The annals of the revolution, sanguinary as they are, record nothing more atrocious than the conduct of the enemy at this place. The town was taken by a small detachment of Dutch national guards on the 23d, and the French garrison was permitted to retire without injury or molestation. The next day they returned, reinforced by troops from Utrecht, and retook the town by storm. Then was acted a scene the most revolting to humanity. The old and the young were indiscriminately massacred; three generations were at once swept away. The heart sickens at the contemplation of such a scene; but the recollection of it, as it nerved the arms of the Prussians for vengeance, so it may serve to justify their inexorable determination.

Buonaparte now proposed to treat for the surrender of all the fortresses on the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula: his proposal was rejected, as the fortresses were in the last stage of resistance, and might be expected to fall by the end of the year. Many of them had already offered to surrender, on condition that the garrisons should be allowed to return to France. But the consequence of such an arrangement would have been to give Buonaparte an army of above 50,000 men; the garrisons of Magdeburg, Dantzic, Torgau, and Wittenberg, amounted to that number. They might have promised, indeed, not to serve against the allies for a certain time, or until they had been regularly exchanged; but the allies were too well acquainted with the character of the French government to place confidence in such engagements.—Before the armistice expired in the month of August, the allies had offered, through the medium of Austria, to treat for the evacuation of the Prussian fortresses, but Buonaparte rejected these offers with indignation. Now that he was beyond the Rhine, however, he was willing to negociate for their surrender.

It was generally supposed, that this offer to negociate concerning the fortresses had a reference to other objects. In the Austrian manifesto, certain expressions occurred, from which Buonaparte might have been induced to believe that negociation was still practicable, if he chose to accede to reasonable terms. This belief probably led him to risk the hostile operations which terminated so fatally for him. Perhaps he said to himself, "I will at least try the chances of war. I may be victorious, and then I shall be able to negociate on better terms; but if beaten, I shall be able, at all events, to treat upon the same terms which I now reject." He appears to have been but imperfectly aware of the great changes which recent events had produced. His retreat had been a flight after one of the most signal defeats experienced by any general—a flight, in which the conqueror was so close upon him, that his escape was a matter of the greatest

difficulty. He had on the Elbe 220,000 men; he carried to the Rhine not more than 50,000. While he remained on the Elbe, many of the German princes were his allies; when on the Rhine, not a single German ally was left to him. While he was on the Elbe, Hanover, Westphalia, and Holland, were still under his yoke; he was now on the Rhine, with Hanover, Westphalia, all Germany, and all Holland against him. The people of the Netherlands were ready to throw off his authority; and the combined armies, in tremendous force, were ready to pass the Rhine. In such circumstances did the allies reject his insidious offer for the abandonment of the fortresses.—The evacuation of the important fortresses of Breda, Wilhelmstadt, and Helvoetsluys, in Holland, without the slightest resistance, proved that the necessities of Buonaparte were now so great, as to induce him to relinquish his former policy of keeping strong garrisons, in every place of importance, occupied by his armies. Some of these fortresses were capable of making a vigorous resistance, and of standing a long siege. Buonaparte, however, fought no longer for conquest, but for safety—not with the hope of re-establishing his former power and reputation, but for existence. Fortresses were comparatively of little importance to him; his great object was to collect and concentrate an army, to enable him to oppose a barrier to the torrent which threatened to overwhelm him. The allies, therefore, did not pause in their career to besiege fortresses; they marched on against the enemy's main force, aware that if they could beat down the grand army, the fortresses must afterwards fall of themselves.

The combined armies had now advanced to the Rhine; and on the first of December, the sovereigns issued the memorable declaration of their views and policy. The French government, they remarked, had ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts. The motives of the *senatus consultum* to that effect, contained an appeal to the allied powers. They, therefore, found themselves called upon to promulgate anew, in the face of the world, the views which guided them in the war; the principles which formed the basis of their conduct, their wishes, and their determinations. They did not make war upon France, but against that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France itself, the Emperor Napoleon had too long exercised beyond the limits of his dominions. Victory had conducted them to the banks of the Rhine. The first use which they had made of victory had been to offer peace to the French emperor. An attitude strengthened by the accession of all the sovereigns and princes of Germany had no influence on the conditions of that peace. These conditions were formed on the independence of the French empire, as well as on the independence of the other states of Europe. The views of the powers were just in their object, generous and liberal in their application, giving security to all, and honourable to each. The sovereigns desired that France might be great, powerful, and happy; because the French power, in a state of greatness and strength, is one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. They wished that France might be happy—that French commerce might revive—that the arts might again flourish; because a great people can only be tranquil in proportion as it is happy. They offered to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France under her kings never knew; because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank, by having in its turn experienced reverses in an obstinate

and sanguinary contest, in which it had fought with its accustomed bravery. But the allied powers also wished to be free, tranquil, and happy themselves. They desired a state of peace, which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, might thenceforward preserve their people from the numberless calamities which had overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty years. They would not lay down their arms until they obtained this great and beneficial result—the noble object of their efforts.—They would not lay down their arms until the political state of Europe should be re-established anew—until immoveable principles had resumed their rights over [illegible] pretensions—until the fidelity of treaties should have at last secured a real peace to Europe.

The most important parts of this declaration, are those which expressed a readiness to make peace with Buonaparte, and intimated an intention of leaving to France a more extended territory than she possessed before the revolution. Such a line of policy was by many persons considered as extremely absurd, and utterly at variance with the recorded sentiments of the allied sovereigns. The Austrian declaration distinctly stated, that "Buonaparte would not make any sacrifice to obtain peace." The answer to Buonaparte's attack in the Leipzig Gazette, upon the Crown Prince, in substance, contended that a safe peace with the French ruler was impracticable. The bulletins of the Crown Prince asserted that Buonaparte was not desirous of peace. The object of these papers, and indeed of all the others published by the allies, was to shew, that a solid peace with Buonaparte could not be expected. Yet they were now ready to make peace with him! It might have been argued, that their avowal of a different policy, of a resolution never to make peace with him, would have amounted to an interference in the internal government and affairs of France. Yet it might with justice be answered, that every nation was entitled to refuse to make peace with the ruler of a people who had proved his utter contempt of all engagements.—But although this policy, which appeared the safest and wisest, might not be the policy of the allies, every one expected, that before making peace, they would deprive the French ruler of his preponderance. Yet how did they provide against this preponderance? They offered to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France under her kings never possessed; "because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank, by having in its turn experienced reverses in an obstinate and sanguinary contest, in which it has fought with its accustomed bravery." Thus, although they knew that France with her ancient territory, and under her ancient family, whose ambition was moderation itself when compared with the ambition of her new ruler, was almost too strong for the repose of Europe, the allies were willing to conclude a peace, leaving in the hands of Buonaparte, and confirming to him, not France, as old France, but an "extent of territory which France under her kings never knew." After such reverses as France had experienced, no sovereign, Buonaparte excepted, would have refused terms such as these, which might have given him the means of disturbing again, in a few years, the repose of Europe, and of reducing the continental powers to the necessity of again uniting their strength against him. But Buonaparte did refuse these terms; and the world owed a great obligation to his obstinacy.

On the 4th of December, the corps of the Prince Royal's army moved forward; and on their crossing the Strecknitz, Marshal Davoust precipi-

tately retired upon Hamburgh, leaving exposed the right wing of the Danes, which was posted at Oldeslohe. The French Marshal was pursued by General Woronzoff, who moved beyond Bergedorff, and defeated the whole French cavalry in a sanguinary engagement at Wandsbeck. General Walmoden marched upon Oldeslohe; Marshal Stedingk manœuvered on Lubeck; and General Tettenborn, with his light troops, pushed into the interior of Holstein by Trettau, and hung on the flanks and rear of the French. He cut off all communication between the French and Danes, and took from the latter a number of prisoners, carriages, and ammunition waggons. He likewise intercepted some important dispatches.—The enemy did not hold out against these combined movements, but commenced a precipitate retreat on the Eyder. Lubeck was evacuated by the Danes, who were defeated on the 7th of December by the Swedes, and vigorously pursued by General Walmoden, when an obstinate engagement ensued betwixt a part of his troops and the whole Danish force. The action was well conducted, and the Danes were finally compelled to retire to Rendsburg.—The communication between General Dornberg (who had been detached upon the right bank of the Eyder) and General Walmoden was momentarily cut off. The enemy was reinforced at Sleswick by four battalions—a regiment of cavalry—and ten pieces of cannon, sent from the interior. The critical position of General Dornberg obliged Tettenborn to direct his operations towards Sleswick, which place he was preparing to attack, when intelligence arrived that an armistice had been concluded with the Danes by the mediation of Austria.—The Danish cabinet, however, was not yet weaned from its attachments to French politics; and the armistice was soon terminated. In the course of three days, the whole duchy of Sleswick was occupied by the light troops under General Tettenborn. This officer had, in conjunction with General Dornberg, so completely invested the fortress of Rendsburg, that neither the garrison, nor even the cavalry belonging to it, could find an opportunity of making a sally, for which orders had been given, on account of the scarcity reigning in the town.—The list of conquests made by the army of the Crown Prince every day increased,—Holstein was conquered—Sleswick overrun—and General Tettenborn had established his head quarters within a mile or two of Colding, the frontier town of Jutland.—On the 14th of January, however, a treaty of peace and alliance with Denmark was signed by Mr Thornton on the part of England, and by Baron de Witterstedt for Sweden; according to which 10,000 Danes, who were at Rendsburg, were immediately united with the army of the north of Germany.—"There is no longer any rivalship among the nations of the north," said Bernadotte, on this occasion; "they have acknowledged that they have the same interests. United for the noblest object, they will combat together for the liberty of the continent, the independence of sovereigns and of nations! The nations of the north do not look upon the French as enemies; they recognise no other enemy but him who has done every thing to prevent their union; him who, it cannot be too often repeated, has wished to enslave all nations, and to ravish from all their independence."

By the peace with Denmark, Bernadotte was enabled to move his victorious legions to the Rhine, and to give the support of his auxiliary troops to the grand undertakings of the allies. Accordingly General Benningsen was left with 30,000 men to form

the siege of Hamburgh, and 5000 to blockade Harburg, while the remainder moved forward to the principal scene of action.

Bernadotte probably felt the delicacy of his situation, now that he was about to invade his native country; and he was anxious to explain his motives, and the principles of his policy, to the people of France. "At the command of my king," said he, "I have taken up arms, for the purpose of defending the rights of the Swedish people. After having revenged the insults which they had suffered, and assisted in effecting the liberation of Germany, I have passed the Rhine. At the moment when I again see this river, on the banks of which I have so often and so successfully fought for you, I feel the necessity of again apprising you of my sentiments. The government under which you live has continually had in view to treat you with contempt, in order that it might debase you; it is high time that this state of things undergo an alteration. All enlightened people express their wishes for the welfare of France; but they at the same time desire that she may no longer be the scourge of the earth. The allied monarchs have not united themselves to make war upon the people, but to force your government to acknowledge the independence of other states. This is their sole motive and aim, and I will pledge myself for the integrity of their sentiments. Adopted son of Charles the 13th, and placed, by the choice of a free people, at the foot of the throne of Gustavus, I can in future be animated with no other ambition, than that of securing the happiness of the Scandinavian peninsula. At the same time, it will give me great satisfaction (after having fulfilled this sacred duty to my adopted country) to secure the future happiness of my former countrymen."

As the allied powers had no alternative but to prosecute the war, and as it appeared that the invasion of France might be best accomplished through Switzerland, deputies were sent to Zurich to learn the disposition of the cantons. The Swiss in these circumstances affected to adopt the extraordinary determination of remaining neutral. When they could be of service to Buonaparte by their active hostility against the allies, they thought not of neutrality; now that this neutrality must, if regarded, have protected the most vulnerable part of the French frontier, they declared themselves neutral. If Switzerland thus shifted her attitude and character as it might suit the policy of Buonaparte, she could not complain that the allies considered and treated her rather as the associate of the common enemy, than as a neutral acting with strict impartiality towards the belligerent powers. The law of nations says, that "should a neutral favour one of the parties to the prejudice of the other, she cannot complain of being treated by him as an adherent and confederate of the enemy."—The neutrality of Switzerland was a fraudulent neutrality, of which no nation could consent to be the dupe.—The head quarters of the allies were accordingly removed to Frieburg, in the Brisgau, within a few miles of Basle; a step which formed a preliminary to the movement in contemplation, of passing through Basle, for the purpose of invading France on the side of Franche Comté.

Buonaparte, after several adjournments, met his legislative body on the 19th December, and, as usual, entertained that venerable assembly with a speech. He alluded to the recent offers of the allies to treat with him, and to the existing state of France. "Negociations have been entered into with the allied powers," said he; "I have adhered to the preliminary basis which

they presented. I had *then* the hope that before the opening of this session, the congress of Manheim would be assembled; but *new delays*, which are not to be ascribed to France, have deferred this moment, which the wishes of the world eagerly call for."—There was much obscurity in the above allusion. While Buonaparte was at Dresden, and after Austria had declared against him, some overtures were understood to have been made, which he rejected. These overtures proceeded upon the basis, that all the Prussian fortresses should be evacuated, and that the French should retire behind the Rhine, before the assembling of a congress for peace. But after they had been beaten across the Rhine, their ruler offered to treat upon the same basis as before; the offer was, of course, rejected by the allies.—This was the negociation with the allies to which he alluded—this the basis to which he said he had adhered. He expected that his adherence would lead to a congress, which he proposed should be held at Manheim in the electorate of Baden, the only district of Germany which still remained attached to him.—It was evident, however, that the hopes which he entertained from a congress were become less confident, or had entirely vanished. He spoke of *new delays*, which could not be ascribed to him; he was anxious to throw the obstacles to the re-establishment of peace upon the allies. "On *my* side," said he, "there is no obstacle."—But he accompanied these expressions about peace with a demand for numerous levies, and an increase of taxes.—Italy, at all events, it may be remarked, would have been an obstacle *in limine*, not only to peace but to negociation; for in a letter from Buonaparte, dated the 16th of November, to the Duke of Lodi, he declared that he would not, *under any circumstances*, abandon his people of Italy.

The secrets of the *previous* negociations to which Buonaparte alluded, have never yet, indeed, been fully explained to the world. It was generally known, however, that during the armistice, and even subsequently to it, different proposals and *projets* were submitted to him through the medium of the Emperor of Austria, who, although he had assumed the attitude of a belligerent, still wished to act as a mediator. Before he joined the allies, he submitted the following as a basis of negociation; the cession to himself of the Illyrian provinces and of Venice; the erection of Dantzic into a free city, and the evacuation, as already mentioned, of the Prussian fortresses. This proposal having been rejected, Austria joined the allies. The course of events induced Buonaparte to do that by compulsion which he had refused to do from choice; and he was driven across the Rhine. A few days after he arrived at Metz, an officer was dispatched to Frankfort with a declaration of his readiness to open a negociation upon the preliminary basis which had been formerly proposed. In the altered situation of affairs the allies rejected this overture; but in their turn they are said to have made offers to him, to which they alluded in general terms in their declaration, viz. to leave France more powerful than she had ever been under her kings. In reply to this, Buonaparte is said to have consented to the independence of Germany and of the peninsula—a mighty concession from him who had no longer a foot of ground in those countries! This proposal was answered by a declaration on the part of the allied sovereigns, that the French empire must be bounded on the side of Italy by the Alps. To this Buonaparte would not accede.

The project of making peace with France, even on such terms, gave great offence in England. It was justly

remarked, that by peace, France would gain every thing. She would have restored to her at least 300,000 of her best troops—one half of her best officers—and seamen sufficient, in numbers, to man 50 sail of the line. The obstinacy of Buonaparte had thrown away the military means of France. Never again might Europe expect to find her so much reduced in her armies, so exhausted in her finances; never again could Europe expect to see a more formidable military force opposed to the ambition of this power. The crisis was great; it was in favour of the allies, not only beyond expectation, but beyond example; and if they did not reap the full advantage of it, they might soon have cause to repent their folly. In six months after peace, France might have fifty sail of the line, well manned, and an army of half a million of men, commanded by a great military genius. One victory might give him possession of Vienna, and Europe might be replunged into all the difficulties against which it was now in her power to erect an effectual barrier. This barrier might be found in the confinement of France to her ancient limits, as existing in 1789. Even those limits had been found scarcely compatible with the balance of power in Europe; and shall we, it was asked, extend them now that we have it in our power to lay the foundations of a better and wiser system of policy?

That Buonaparte had not any serious intention of concluding such a peace as the allies could prudently accept, was manifest from a passage in the speech of M. St Jean D'Angely, his favourite orator, who was appointed to explain his views. "Less powerful, less strong, less rich, less fruitful was France in the year eight, when, threatened on the north, invaded on the south, torn to pieces in the interior, exhausted in her finances, disorganised in her administration, discouraged in her armies, the seas brought her hope, the victory of Marengo restored her honours, and *the treaty of Luneville brought back peace to her.*"—Now if France was more powerful at the close of 1813, than she was in the year 1801, the inference was obvious,—that she might insist upon being placed in a better situation than she was by the peace of Luneville. If France, with inferior means in 1801, was able to dictate the terms of peace, with greater means she would demand better conditions.—In what situation did that peace place her? Absolute mistress of the Netherlands, the Frickthal, and of Italy, with the exception of the city of Venice, which was reserved for Austria.—Buonaparte thus announced by one of his agents, that he would not hear of any proposition which should reduce him to the position in which he stood at the peace of Luneville; that he would not be contented with Italy and the Netherlands alone. He understood, of course, that more than this was meant by the proposal of the sovereigns, to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory "which France under her kings never knew."—No reasonable man could any longer question the policy which demanded a continuance of the war till the French ruler and his adherents should be brought to a just sense of their condition; and a sure basis should be laid, in their entire discomfiture and humiliation, for the future repose of the world.

CHAP. XVII.

Affairs of Holland. Causes and Progress of the Revolution. Restoration of the Prince of Orange.

THE rapid advance of the allied armies in the autumn of the year 1813, and the panic which seized the French authorities in Holland, must undoubtedly be considered as the immediate causes of the late revolution. But the eagerness with which the Dutch people seized the opportunity thus afforded them of restoring the Prince of Orange, and the union of formerly discordant parties in his favour, must be traced to more distant sources, and will be found chiefly in the evils which Holland had endured in the course of the preceding nineteen years, and which united all parties in opposition to the influence of France.

The misfortunes to which the Dutch had been exposed by their connection with France were severe almost beyond example. Before the union of Holland with the French empire, all that part of the territory of the United Provinces, which is situated beyond the Waal, had been ceded to France. The kingdom of Holland consisted of the departments of the Zuyder Zee, the mouths of the Maese, the Upper Yssel, the mouths of the Yssel, Frizeland, and the western and eastern Ems; and the population of the whole did not exceed 1,800,000 souls. When Louis Buonaparte abdicated his throne, he left a regular army and a navy, composed of 18,000 men, who were immediately taken into the service of France; and, in the course of three years and a half, their numbers were increased to 49,920, by the operation of the French naval and military code. Thus about a thirty-sixth part of the whole population was employed in arms. The persons included in the maritime conscription were entirely employed in the navy; the "national guards," a branch of the military force, were always on service, and were generally employed to guard the naval establishments, and to perform garrison duty,—they were composed of those persons who were exempted from the conscription. The "cohorts," as they were called, were, by law, liable to serve only in the interior of the French empire, which extended from Hamburgh to Rome; but, after the Russian campaign, even this limitation was disregarded, and the French and Dutch cohorts formed a principal part of Napoleon's army at the battle of Bautzen.

The law respecting the ordinary conscription proceeded upon this principle,—that every male of a certain age was absolutely at the disposal of

the state. The age fixed upon was a little under or above twenty years, regulated in such a manner, that every youth, who had entered his twentieth year at any time in the calendar year preceding that of the conscription, was liable to be drawn. On an appointed day in the spring of every year, all those who were liable to that year's conscription were required to appear before the proper officers in their respective parishes. Those who were by law exempted from military service, were placed at the depot, and considered as at the disposal of government in cases of emergency. The remainder proceeded to ballot, and the contingent was taken from those who drew the lowest numbers. The surplus was called the "reserve;" and the individuals composing it escaped for the present, but were still liable to be called upon. They were not permitted to go out of the department without an express permission from the government. It has been calculated, that, on an average, nearly one-half of the male population, of the age of twenty years, was annually claimed by the conscription. Escape by flight was hardly ever attempted; for if a young man quitted his country, to avoid the conscription, his nearest relation or guardian was condemned to heavy fines, and sometimes to imprisonment. Very few exemptions were allowed under this rigorous system, except to those who procured substitutes or deputies (*remplacants*) A substitute was one who, having drawn a high number in the ballot, on that account belonged to the reserve, but by taking the place of one who had drawn a low number, was called into immediate service. A "*remplacant*," or deputy, was one who, being entirely exempted from the conscription, agreed, nevertheless, to serve in the place of a conscript. The exemptions thus procured, however, were not secure or complete. Those who had obtained substitutes still belonged to the reserve; and if a deputy deserted within two years after his arrival at the depot, his principal was obliged to replace him, either by serving in person, or by procuring another deputy, whom he was bound to convey and guard, at his own expense, to the depot to which the deserter belonged; but the principal was still liable to be called upon to serve in the burgher guard, and might be chosen a member of the emperor's guard of honour, which the French government avowedly composed as much as possible of those who had provided deputies for service under the conscription. The most fortunate event which could occur for the principal was, that his deputy should be killed, or taken prisoner, since he thus escaped all military service, except as a member of the guard of honour.

The price of a deputy was subject to variations, arising partly from the difference of the services to which the French troops were exposed, and partly from the number of conscripts required for the year. Sometimes it amounted to so much as 800*l.* sterling; but the ordinary price in Holland may be taken at 3000 florins, or about 300*l.* sterling. The expense, however, did not occasion the only difficulty in providing deputies. It was required that each deputy should belong to the department of his principal; and he was not accepted if his age exceeded thirty-two years, or if the slightest personal defect could be discovered by an exact and minute examination, which was instituted for that purpose.

The conscripts were told that their service should not extend beyond the term of five years: but as in France no on ever knew an instance of a soldier's being discharged, without having been declared unfit for service, it might reasonably be expected in Holland, that the service of a conscript

would terminate only with his life. The regulations also respecting the conscription were annually changed; and thus the code became intricate and confused. The explanation of any doubt rested with the persons intrusted with the execution of the law, the rigour of which was not mitigated by the construction they adopted.

But the conscription, how oppressive soever, was general in its operation.—Buonaparte's guard of honour was formed in a manner entirely different, and, in many respects, more oppressive. The members were arbitrarily taken from among the most noble and opulent families, and especially from among those who were deemed inimical to the French government;—the individuals who had already provided deputies for the ordinary conscription were generally chosen. But the selection depended altogether on the prefect, who might name the persons most obnoxious to him, without regard to their rank or occupation, or even to their health. No exemption or excuse was allowed to any one, not even to those who, on account of mental or bodily infirmity, had been declared unfit for military duty. The victims, by a refinement of mockery, were considered as volunteers in their services; they were bound to provide themselves with horses, arms, and accoutrements, and to march to the place appointed for their reception, where they were probably considered as hostages for the fidelity of their relations.

Such were the conscription laws. The taxes imposed were extremely severe. The most oppressive were those levied on land and houses; of which the former usually amounted to 25, and the latter to 30 per cent. of the clear annual rent. Other direct taxes were levied on persons and moveable property, on doors and windows, and on patents granted for the exercise of trades and professions; and then followed the long list of stamps, and all the various impositions on bridges, passage-boats, and carriages; on spirits, wine, beer, tobacco, and salt; on legacies and all sales of property, either real or personal, &c. There was much inequality in the operation of the taxes on land and houses, as the amount was fixed for each department, and then divided among the circles and parishes of which it was composed; for if the original rate of taxation, which was 20 per cent. of the rent, did not produce the contingent of each parish, the deficiency was supplied by increasing the proportion to be paid by each individual. Thus the rate of the land-tax increased in proportion as the rents fell; and as many persons destroyed their houses to avoid paying the taxes levied on them, the weight was thrown with additional severity upon the others. The personal tax was at first levied equally upon every individual inhabiting the same parish, and consisted of the price of three days labour, which was fixed by the prefect at a rate varying in the different parishes, from half a franc to a franc and a half for each day. If this assessment did not produce the contingent of the parish, the residue was levied on the personal property of those who had been assessed in proportion to the value. The taxes on doors and windows, on the patents on trades and professions, on the manufacture of tobacco, and some other duties, were regulated by tariffs, increasing the amount to be paid in proportion to the population of the parishes in which the taxes were raised. The whole sums annually obtained from Holland, by these means, amounted to about 30,000,000 of florins, being at the rate of about 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling from every individual inhabiting the country.

But the greatest of the misfortunes to which the Dutch were exposed, appeared in the shape of the continental

system; the chief object of which was to destroy the resources, and ruin the prosperity, of Great Britain, by excluding her from all commercial intercourse with the continent. But England was mistress of the seas, and could not be placed in a state of political excommunication, without compelling the nations of the continent to relinquish their foreign trade. The greatest military force that has ever appeared in modern Europe under one chief, has been annihilated in this strange attempt, which is not likely to be renewed; but the misery which the experiment inflicted upon Holland cannot be described, and can be fully understood by those only who have witnessed its lamentable results.

The population of Amsterdam was, by this system, reduced from 220,000 to 190,000, of whom a fourth part derived their whole subsistence from charitable institutions, while another fourth part received partial succour from the same sources. At Haerlem, where the population had been chiefly employed in bleaching linen, made in Brabant, and in preparing it for sale, whole streets were levelled with the ground, and more than 500 houses destroyed. At the Hague, at Delft, and in other towns, many inhabitants had been induced to pull down their houses from inability to pay the taxes, or keep their habitations in repair. Ruin was every where imminent. The preservation of the dikes, requiring annually an expense estimated at 600,000*l*. sterling, was greatly neglected. The sea inundated the Polders, and threatened to resume its ancient dominion over a great part of the country. Meanwhile, all classes of the people were crushed under a load of suffering. Even the most opulent families escaped abject poverty only by diminishing their establishments, and adopting the most rigid œconomy; and there remained no source of wealth or distinction, and no object of ambition to which a Dutchman could aspire. Commerce was extinguished; and no one would voluntarily enter the army or navy, as he would thus be compelled to fight for the worst enemy of his country. The calamities of the Dutch were aggravated to the highest degree; they were compelled to sacrifice themselves in a cause which they abhorred, and in the service of a power which had robbed them of their independence, and reduced them from freedom to slavery, from prosperity to misery, and from a high pitch of national glory to the lowest state of national degradation.

It is the happy impulse of tyranny, inevitably to pursue the road to its own destruction; and, in Holland, the grievous oppressions of France inspired every heart with an earnest desire to throw off the yoke. In the continuance of severe suffering, all the parties which agitated and ruined this unhappy country had undergone a salutary change. The remembrance of former evils and discontents had faded away, while the blessings which had once been enjoyed under the mild government of the house of Orange were borne in mind, with regret for the past, and hope for the future. A great portion of the people, including all the lower classes, had retained an undiminished and faithful attachment to this illustrious family, whose ancestors had fought so nobly for their independence, and whose name is inseparably united with almost every memorial of the prosperity and glory of the Dutch. The patriots, by whose factious spirit the country had been first betrayed to the common enemy, had long since been taught, that no hope of freedom or prosperity could be reposed in France; they were now united in desiring an opportunity of resistance; and, as they were convinced that the restoration of the Prince of Orange could alone afford relief to their ha-

rassed country, they held themselves ready to give their sincere and active assistance in promoting his return.—The Orangemen, in general, had not only maintained their fidelity, but some of the principal persons had contrived to keep up a clandestine correspondence with his most serene highness. Under these circumstances the leaders of the different parties were closely united. The people, however, bestowed their confidence upon the old and tried friends of the House of Orange alone. Some of the Orange leaders had, at the express desire of the prince, communicated to them at the peace of Amiens, accepted a share in the government of the Batavian republic, with the view of alleviating the calamities of their country, and preparing the way for the return of the exiled family. Others had been compelled to continue in office by Buonaparte, who, perhaps, hoped to derive some advantage from the employment and co-operation of those who exclusively possessed the confidence of the Dutch nation. It was on these persons, who were well known, and still more on others of the same party, who had steadily refused to accept any share in the government, after Holland was united to France, that the people placed their reliance. The patriots, though converted from their former opinions, were treated with suspicion by those who had no means of being acquainted with their sincerity. But, in fact, all important differences of opinion had been obliterated; the wishes of the patriots corresponded with those of the people; and, at the end of the year 1813, it may safely be affirmed, that the Dutch nation was unanimous in the desire of expelling their oppressors, and recalling the Prince of Orange. When the crisis arrived, the prejudices of the people made it necessary to intrust the management of the revolution to the Orange party alone*; but much assistance was willingly afforded, not only by the members of the old patriot party, but also by many persons who had voluntarily entered into the service of Buonaparte, and obtained the confidence of the French government. The French authorities very soon discovered that they were betrayed on every side, and that most of the natives of Holland, in the service of Buonaparte, how contrary soever it might seem to their interest, were his secret or avowed enemies. All confidence was thus destroyed, and, after the first explosion of popular feeling, terror and vacillation marked the conduct of the persons against whom it was directed.

Such were the causes which prepared the Dutch people for the happy change accomplished in their government towards the close of the present year. Even before this period, however, some important proceedings had taken place, of which it may be proper to give a short account.

The disasters experienced by the French army in the Russian campaign having inspired hopes that the deliverance of Holland might, at some future period, be effected, the chiefs of the Orange party at the Hague met frequently, in secret, towards the end of the year 1812, to consult respecting the measures which might enable them to seize the first favourable opportunity of shaking off the yoke of France, and restoring the Prince of Orange. They found means of communicating with several respectable persons in different towns of Holland, whom they knew to be well disposed to their cause, and who promised their assistance so soon as they were informed of the object which the confederates had in view. The confederates were well aware, that, while the power of France continued, any attempt at insurrection, on the part of the Dutch nation, would be hopeless; but, as there seemed to be a

prospect, that the limits of this dominion might be contracted, they were determined to do their utmost, to prepare for the assertion of their independence. They proceeded, in the whole affair, upon the conviction, that their efforts, so soon as they should declare themselves, would be aided by the British government.

Holland remained in a state of tranquillity during the spring and summer of the year 1813; and the French government seems to have been deceived by this appearance. Troops were from all quarters marched off to join the army with which Buonaparte was about to attack the Russian and Prussian forces; and no serious apprehensions were entertained respecting the conduct of the people of Holland until after the battle of Leipzig. The French do not appear to have foreseen the possibility of a serious insurrection, drained as the country was of native troops, of arms, of ammunition, and overawed by numerous fortresses.

In the month of April, indeed, some partial disturbances ensued, in consequence of the enrolment of the national guards,—a measure which was peculiarly obnoxious to the lower classes of the people. The mob accordingly, without any previous concert with the confederates, rose upon their oppressors at Alphen, the Hague, Rotterdam, Oud-Beyerland, and Zandam,—destroyed the parish registers necessary for the enrolment,—took the town of Leyden, and hoisted there the Orange flag amid incessant cries of "Orange Boven!" The confederates endeavoured in vain to calm the populace, who, at the Hague, and other towns, fought desperately with the French military force in the streets; but as they wanted fire-arms, and were without a leader, this revolt was soon suppressed, though not without the loss of several lives on both sides.

From this period to the month of October following, Holland remained tranquil. When intelligence of the battle of Leipzig, however, and of its result, began to transpire, the confederates at the Hague judged that the time was now come to secure the services of a respectable band of men; and in order to effect this object, without committing the safety of the whole to the discretion of a numerous body, the following plan was adopted:—Each of the confederates selected from among his friends four individuals, who, without any mutual concert or knowledge of each other, engaged to be ready whenever called upon by the selector, and implicitly to obey his command. The persons whose co-operation was thus secured, were then directed to make sure of four others,—each of whom, in like manner, was to engage to be ready at a moment's warning, with whatever arms he could procure. None of these persons was made acquainted with the plot, except as to its final object; nor informed of any name except that of his immediate selector. To avoid detection, nothing was committed to paper,—no written engagement was entered into; but the individuals thus chosen received verbal instruction, in case of any tumults, to repair immediately to the spot, mingle with the crowd, and there await the orders of their chief. Thus the confederates formed a band of nearly 400 respectable adherents, selected chiefly from among the burghers of the town. This class possessed in a high degree the confidence of the people at large, and was well disposed to the cause of the Prince of Orange. If, however, contrary to all probability, any of the persons so chosen had been induced, either by corruption or intimidation, to reveal to the French police his knowledge of the plot, he could have betrayed only one name upwards in the scale, namely, that of his

immediate selector, whose individual safety thus depended upon his prudence in the choice of his instruments.

Besides this band, Count Styrum succeeded in securing the services of Pronck, an inhabitant of Schæveningen, a village on the coast, about a mile from the Hague. This person possessed great influence among the sailors and fishermen in the neighbourhood; and engaged to furnish, on the shortest notice, fifty men, who should implicitly obey the orders of the confederates. No measures were taken (for none were necessary) to influence the people; it was perfectly clear that their good-will and co-operation might be depended upon, the moment leaders were presented to them in whom they could confide; so that this enterprize was free from the dilemma which attends most conspiracies, and has been the ruin of so many,—viz. the necessity of gaining over the multitude, and the difficulty of accomplishing this without risking a premature discovery of the plot.

Count Styrum, whose zeal, courage, and activity were remarkable, was entrusted with the military details, which consisted in preparing such arms and ammunition as could be collected without exciting suspicion, and obtaining authentic accounts of the state of the French military force, and of the dispositions of foreigners in the service of France. He succeeded in gaining over the whole of the Dutch national guard, consisting of 300 men; whose commander, Colonel Tulling, warmly embraced the cause of the Prince of Orange, and yet conducted himself with so much circumspection as to retain to the last the confidence of the prefect.

So many drafts of French troops had been made by this time from Holland, that the whole military force in the country did not exceed 10,000 men. The extraordinary successes and the advance of the allies could no longer be concealed. Meanwhile, all the natives of France employed in the civil service, who could find any pretext for their departure, quitted the country with their families, and endeavoured to sell or carry off their property. This circumstance added to the increasing and ill-dissembled terror of those who were obliged to remain, and the exaggerated reports which were every day circulated of the disasters of the French army, excited a great fermentation among the populace.

Affairs were in this state, when, on the 13th of November, towards evening, the turf-carriers, (who are at the Hague a formidable body,) governed by chiefs of their own election, assembled in considerable numbers at the town-house, and, together with the populace, demanded, in a very tumultuous manner, that M. Slicher, who had formerly been burgomaster, should resume his functions. This gentleman deserved and possessed the confidence of the people,—and though not one of the confederates, was a faithful adherent of the Prince of Orange. Count Styrum and M. Repelaer immediately repaired to the spot; and, as they thought that the favourable moment was not arrived, and that a premature explosion would ruin the cause, they easily succeeded in dispersing the mob by means of their adherents, who, according to their general instructions, had mixed with the crowd upon the first appearance of a tumult. A few moments after this the prefect arrived, accompanied by a military force, and was surprised to find no vestige of a disturbance.—The dispersion of this mob was the first essay which the confederates made of their power, and the success surpassed their expectations.

The French authorities, perceiving the danger of their situation, made an attempt to disunite the confederates and the Orange party, by employing

them under government. But this artifice did not succeed, although the consequence of the attempt was, that the views of the Dutch leaders were discovered to the prefect.

The middle and lower orders were, throughout the whole of Holland, impatient to throw off the yoke of France, and to declare for the Prince of Orange. Those who had much to lose, though equally well disposed, were more circumspect; and this was particularly the case at Amsterdam. The powerful and wealthy inhabitants of that city dreaded the result of a popular commotion; the excesses which had been committed there in the revolution of 1787, when the populace of each party pillaged in different quarters of the town, were still fresh in their memory, and they expected at all events very soon to be delivered from the French, by the advance of the allies.

The populace, however, were anxious at once to declare their sentiments; and the national guards, a body of 1500 men, were ready to co-operate in any measures which might tend to free them from the government of Buonaparte. This corps, which was commanded by Colonel Van Brienen, had been previously gained over by one of its officers, Captain Falck, who was in communication with the confederates at the Hague, and was the chief instigator of the events which ensued. The principal obstacles opposed to him were the French government and the Dutch corporation; the members of the latter, though generally well disposed, were restrained by the fear of letting the people loose, and overawed by the vicinity of an army under General Molitor, at Utrecht. In these circumstances, Captain Falck conceived that the only way of accomplishing his object was to intimidate the French authorities, and induce them to abandon their posts through fear of popular vengeance; and, at the same time, to persuade the corporation to accede to the wishes of the people, and form a provisional government, in order to avoid the excesses of popular violence. When this step was once taken, he judged that it would be no difficult matter to bring about a declaration in favour of the Prince of Orange. It was necessary, however, for the accomplishment of his plan, to excite the people to some overt act of opposition to the French. This was no difficult task. Accordingly, on the 15th of November, the populace being already in a state of great fermentation, a mob was collected, which immediately proceeded to burn the wooden huts in which the douaniers, or excisemen, levied the duties; and to pillage the house of a receiver of the customs, who refused to take down the French arms. This tumult, which had the appearance of being purely accidental, succeeded in both its primary objects; it terrified the French authorities, who, on the next day, quitted the town; and the corporation having applied to the national guard to disperse the mob, this body, on being assured that a provisional government would next day be formed, proceeded to quell the tumult. This commotion must be considered as the signal of the revolution; and to the populace of Amsterdam, exclusively, belongs the honour of having been the first to raise in Holland the standard of revolt against the government of Buonaparte. No principals, however, had hitherto committed themselves; on the contrary, the national guard had quelled the tumult, which was still of a nature to be considered and represented only as an accidental popular commotion.

Next day a proclamation was issued, in which twenty-four persons were called upon by name, to assume the administration of affairs; the French authorities having thought proper to

quit the city. The confederates at the Hague received, on the evening of the 16th, intelligence of the insurrection at Amsterdam, and of the occurrences which had followed. These circumstances persuaded them that the moment was at length arrived to put their design into execution. It was considered, that if the events which had taken place in the capital were allowed to pass by without any corresponding demonstrations in the other parts of the country, the most lamentable results might ensue for that city, and for the cause. In addition to this it was urged, that a general insurrection in Holland would, no doubt, accelerate the advance of the allies, who would lose no time in profiting by so favourable an occurrence; and that at all events the Dutch might be confident of receiving, as promptly as possible, whatever assistance England could afford. These considerations prevailed; and accordingly Count Styrum was, by the confederates, immediately appointed governor of the Hague in the name of the Prince of Orange.—An instrument was also drawn up, summoning a meeting of the ancient regents,—that is to say, of those persons who had been members of the states of Holland in the years 1794 and 1795; and this meeting was appointed to take place the next day. A proclamation was also issued by the new governor in the name of the Prince of Orange, announcing the happy change. This proclamation was received by the people with every possible demonstration of joy; an Orange flag was hoisted on the tower of the Hague, and colours were hung out, as signs of rejoicing, from almost every window in the town.

At the moment when the confederates declared themselves so nobly, and proclaimed the Prince of Orange with so much solemnity, their whole force consisted of 8 or 900 men badly armed. The country having been for three years and a half annexed to France, had been plundered of all its resources. The necessities, as well as the policy, of the French government had entirely drained it of arms, ammunition, military stores, accoutrements, artillery, and horses. The confederates had no funds but their private fortunes. It was for some time impracticable to continue the levy of the existing taxes, as the persons employed in the collection of them had absconded, and had destroyed, or taken away, all the papers, registers, and necessary documents; and the balances of public money which remained in hand had been all carried off on the first alarm. The prince, in whose name the confederates had taken up arms, had been 19 years in a state of exile; and it was not known whether he was in England or in Germany.

It was in such circumstances, and with such means, that half a dozen private gentlemen, aided by an unarmed populace, declared war against Buonaparte, whose troops were at this moment in possession of all the fortresses and strong places in the country, and had not even evacuated the open towns. No tumult had hitherto occurred at Rotterdam;—Amsterdam had refused to declare itself for the Prince of Orange. General Molitor had an army of 4000 regular troops at Utrecht, only twelve leagues from the Hague, and there was a French garrison at Gorcum. The confederates, indeed, confidently depended upon assistance, both from the British government and from the combined armies; but the force of the allies in Holland consisted only of a few cossacks, and the easterly winds which prevailed would probably delay the arrival of troops from England.

It was ascertained about the same time, beyond all doubt, that General Bulow had *instructions not to pass the*

Yssel, and that it did not form part of the military plans of the allies to advance into Holland beyond the line of that river. This communication was extremely discouraging; the sword was, however, drawn, and it was impossible to recede.

The assembly of the ancient regents, which had been convoked by the proclamation of the confederates, took place at the house of M. Van Hogendorp. The persons, who had been members of the provisional states, in the years 1794, and 1795, were considered as those who could with most propriety take upon themselves the government of the country till the arrival of the Prince of Orange; but when called upon at this meeting, to form themselves into a provisional council, they all declined having any share in the administration of affairs. They objected to the confederates, that they were acting without any authority from the Prince of Orange, of whose place of residence even they were ignorant; that they were surrounded on all sides by French troops, who still retained possession of every fortress in the country; and that the French, though they had, in a moment of sudden panic, been expelled from a few open towns, would not fail, when they discovered the weakness of the confederates, to return with reinforcements from Utrecht and Gorcum, and complete the ruin of the country. To this the confederates replied, that although they had no specific instructions on the present occasion, they had previously received assurances from the Prince of Orange, of his cordial cooperation in any measure that might tend to throw off the yoke of France, and restore him to his country; that messengers had been already dispatched to apprize him of the events which had taken place; that with regard to the means which were at their disposal, they were not so contemptible as had been represented; for although not sufficient to effect a revolution, unaided by other powers, yet with courage and prudence they might serve to keep out the French until the arrival of troops from England; that if their ancestors had wasted that time which they employed in action, in nice calculations of the probabilities of success,—if they had been appalled by the disproportion of force between them and their oppressors, their descendants would have remained the victims of the Inquisition, and Holland would never have existed as a free country; that experience and history prove, that when the will of the people is firmly expressed, it must be ultimately triumphant; that the French had been taught by their reverses to appreciate the truth of this remark, and were disposed to dread the results of an unanimous insurrection of a nation headed by firm and resolute chiefs; that the character of the Dutch is neither fickle nor inconstant; and that it would be no novel event in their history to find the natives of Holland risking their lives and fortunes on the most fearful odds, in defence of their liberty and national independence; that the vengeance of their oppressors was already excited to the utmost, and could only be averted by the boldest efforts; and finally, that as to the ruin of their country, they had been taught by 19 years of tyranny and oppression, that the only certain ruin for Holland was submission to the yoke of France.

These representations were received with general, and probably sincere assurances, of good-will to the cause; but the regents concluded the conference by distinctly declaring, that as the confederates had embarked in this enterprize without their knowledge or advice, they must carry it through without any assistance from them as a body; although, as individuals, they would each perform every duty of a

good citizen, and do every thing to maintain public tranquillity. When the assembly separated, the confederates requested that those persons who might be disposed to give their assistance, would meet two days afterwards (on the 20th) at the same place; and added, that several notables would be convened at the same time, in order that some decisive measures might be taken to provide for the defence and government of the country, until the return of the Prince of Orange.

As it was of great importance that the prince should be informed, as soon as possible, of the events which had taken place, an officer had already been dispatched to the head-quarters of the allies at Frankfort, with a letter for his most serene highness; and on the same day, (the 19th) M. M. Perponcher and Fagel set sail from Schœveningen, with a favourable wind, for England, to offer the sovereignty to his most serene highness, and to invite him to come over and assume the government. Messengers had also been dispatched in different directions; some to the English fleet; others to the nearest points said to be occupied by the allies. M. Vander Hoven was now sent on a similar mission, with general instructions to use every effort to hasten the advance of the combined armies.

On the 20th, the adjourned meeting of the ancient regents was held at the house of M. Van Hogendorp— Some of the most wealthy persons of the town had been summoned to attend, and about fifty persons assembled. The same arguments which had been before used, were repeated with as little effect. No circumstances had occurred to brighten the prospects of the confederates; on the contrary, the allied armies, which had been represented as advancing, were known to have no considerable force in Holland, the provinces beyond the Yssel being but feebly occupied by small parties of cossacks. After some time had been spent in warm discussion, the assembly broke up, the persons present having resisted all the persuasions of the confederates, and refused to appoint any provisional government. The result of this conference cast a general gloom over the minds of the people; they began to think their cause desperate, since those individuals, who, from their station, were considered as the best qualified to assume the direction of affairs, refused to commit themselves, or to embark in the enterprize. Confidence was, however, in some measure restored by the appointment, on the 21st, of M. Hogendorp and Maasdam to the general administration of affairs at the Hague,—an appointment of which these gentlemen accepted.

On the 23d of November, M. Van Stissen was dispatched by the confederates to the provinces beyond the Yssel, now occupied by the allies; he found that their whole force consisted of 4 or 500 cossacks, under the command of Prince Lapupkin. The Frieslanders were every where disposed to declare for the Prince of Orange, and to enlist as volunteers in his name; but the magistrates could not be prevailed upon to take any decisive measures. An application for assistance having been made by M. Van Stissen to P. Lapupkin, he replied, that he should be glad to see a general armament and declaration in favour of the Prince of Orange, and that he would afford every facility in his power; but that he was resolved not to controul the wishes of the inhabitants. He expressed great admiration of what had been done at the Hague, and promised to order the immediate advance of a body of cavalry to assist the confederates.

The provisional government, which had been established at Amsterdam, and which had neither acknowledged the Prince of Orange nor abjured Buo-

naparte, continued in a state of indecision; the enemy was known to meditate a general attack upon the lines, from Amsterdam to Dordrecht; the contrary winds precluded all hope of the arrival of immediate assistance from England, and the bad state of the roads obstructed the advance of the artillery, and retarded the march of the allies. Alarm was spread on all sides by the pusillanimous. In this emergency, M. Scholten and Professor Kemper determined to make another attempt to induce the magistracy to declare for the Orange cause, and the efforts of these gentlemen, aided by the approach of 300 cossacks, prevailed. The Prince of Orange was solemnly proclaimed at Amsterdam on the 23d, the people shewing the most enthusiastic joy, and hailing him by the title of King of Holland.

The confederates and their adherents had already made very considerable advances of money from their private fortunes; and the government began to experience much inconvenience from the want of supplies. The difficulties of collecting the existing taxes, and the fear of imprudently committing their authority by levying new impositions, induced them to issue a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants for voluntary subscriptions —a measure, which was productive of little good, and served only to discover their poverty and weakness. On the same day, however, intelligence was communicated to the public, that an officer, who had been dispatched to the English squadron, had returned with promises of speedy assistance; and General de Jouge, having informed Count Styrum, that Woerden was occupied by a very feeble French garrison, that officer was ordered to advance from Badegrave with the force under his command, and take possession of the town. Colonel Tulling was accordingly dispatched with the Orange guard; and the French garrison, after some negotiations, evacuated the place, and retired upon Utrecht. Woerden was immediately occupied by the Dutch troops, who placed a cannon and twenty-five men in an out-post. The proper precautions, however, were not taken by the raw volunteers, who had made themselves masters of the town; so that the French, having marched from Utrecht, surprised the out-post, took the cannon, escaladed the town, and after some resistance got possession of the place, and took Colonel Tulling prisoner. It was with much difficulty that the Orange guard made good its retreat upon Leyden. The French committed here the most barbarous outrages, and despondency for a moment seized the patriots.

On the morning of the 25th, the anxiety of the public was at the highest pitch. The state of the wind still continued adverse to the arrival of assistance from England; its slightest alterations were watched with the greatest interest; the road from the Hague to Schœveningen was crowded with persons of all ages and sexes, who spent the day on the coast, watching every sail, and who were often deluded by false reports of the arrival of the English. In the midst of this anxiety, (on the 26th) a boat was seen to approach the shore, and the report was instantly spread that an English officer was on board. He landed amidst the loudest acclamations; and the populace, without waiting for any explanation, and deaf to all remonstrances, conducted him in triumph to the governor's house. The person who had been thus mistaken for a British officer proved to be a gentleman named Grant, who had come over on a mercantile adventure, and had brought with him English newspapers, which contained accounts of the great preparations made to embark troops for Holland. The effect produced by his

arrival suggested the idea of keeping up the delusion; and, at the request of M. Van Hogendorp, Mr Grant dressed himself in an English volunteer uniform, and shewed himself in every part of the town. The expedient succeeded for the moment beyond expectation, in inspiring the disheartened people with confidence, and in intimidating the French, who, upon hearing that troops had arrived from England, and that the cossacks had occupied Leyden, retreated towards Utrecht, and abandoned their intention of advancing upon the Hague. The Dutch people, however, were become so incredulous, by the constant succession of false intelligence, that they very soon suspected this story to be a contrivance of the government; and some asserted, that the supposed British officer was an inhabitant of Rotterdam, who had been selected for the occasion. Mr Grant, however, afterwards rendered more essential service to the Dutch cause, by carrying accurate intelligence to Admiral Ferrier of the state of affairs in Holland, and of the dangers to which the confederates were exposed.

About this time, Admiral Kichert repaired to M. Van Hogendorp at the Hague, and signified to him his determination of declaring for the Prince of Orange; he then produced a plan of operations to secure the navigation of the Maese, from the Briele to Gorcum. The execution of this plan required, however, the immediate advance of 50,000 florins (5000*l.*) M. Van Hogendorp having given the admiral his note of hand for that sum, he returned to Rotterdam, raised the money among the friends of the confederates there, and immediately commenced his operations, by a proclamation abjuring the government of Buonaparte, and declaring for the Prince of Orange. This event decided the provisional government of that city to follow his example. Thus the navigation of the Maese was secured to the confederates, and all the sailors having immediately hoisted the Orange flag, vessels were armed and manned without delay, and dispatched up the river to straighten William-Stadt and Helvoetsluys, which were still occupied by the enemy.

The confederates were, by these means, protected from any sudden irruption on the side of Gorcum; but the greatest apprehension still existed of an attack from Utrecht. The French army there, under the command of General Molitor, which originally consisted of 4000 regular troops, had been augmented by the arrival of detached corps, which had been driven in by the peasantry from the surrounding country. There was nothing to impede the advance of this army upon Amsterdam and the Hague, for it was superior in numbers and discipline to any force which the confederates could have opposed to it. Their troops, which consisted of a few hundred men only, were for the most part raw volunteers, badly armed, and without any military experience. It is difficult, in such circumstances, to account for the inactivity of the enemy, otherwise than by supposing him deceived and intimidated by the accounts which were continually circulated of the arrival of the British and Russian troops. The Dutch, about this time, displayed great ingenuity in the transmission of false intelligence to the French, who were thus foiled at their favourite weapon.

On the 27th, Mr Fagel arrived from England, and brought a letter from the Prince of Orange to M. Van Hogendorp, promising the prompt arrival of succours, and stating the prince's intention of sailing as soon as possible for Holland. This letter induced the confederates to hope that they might be able to keep the French in check till

the debarkation of the British troops. It was printed and dispersed without delay, and put an end to the hesitation of the magistracy of Leeuwarden and Groningen, who, on the receipt of it, immediately gratified the wishes of the inhabitants of Friezland, by declaring for the Prince of Orange.

After the Orange flag had been hoisted at the Hague, Captain Wautier was dispatched to the head quarters of the allies, which were then at Frankfort. On the 22d, he found General Bulow at Munster, and communicated to him the events which had taken place in Holland. The General observed, that this insurrection would be no less advantageous to the allies than a successful campaign; but regretted that his instructions did not permit him to advance beyond the Yssel. He was, however, subsequently induced to deviate from his orders, and to act upon his own responsibility. An unsuccessful application to the same effect was made to General Winzingerode; but an order for his advance from the Crown Prince of Sweden, under whom this general served, was afterwards obtained by the confederates.

On the 28th of November, four English men of war appeared off Schœveningen; Captain Baker immediately landed from the Cumberland, and proceeded to the Hague, which had just been entered by a detachment of sixty cossacks. Still, however, the people were alarmed and incredulous as to the arrival of English troops; particularly as Admiral Ferrier sailed with two of the above ships from Schœveningen to the Texel, and the transports, which had been erroneously announced as accompanying the fleet, did not appear. An event which occurred in the middle of the night increased the consternation. A large building in the centre of the town, which had been inhabited by the French attorney-general, was discovered to be on fire. All the papers belonging to the office had been left there; in three hours the whole edifice was consumed; and as the fire could not be considered accidental, it was supposed to be a concerted signal given to the French by their emissaries at the Hague. To dispel the general gloom, Captain Baker directed as many marines to be landed from the Cumberland and Princess Caroline as could be spared, without endangering the safety of those vessels. Accordingly, on the following day, (29th) 200 marines were disembarked. The people were overjoyed at their arrival; and each contended for the satisfaction of having an Englishman billeted in his house. All their former terrors and anxieties were forgotten in the joy for their deliverance; and from the most excessive despondency they passed to the opposite extreme. Their confidence was at the same time increased by intelligence, that the enemy had retired upon Gorcum after evacuating Woerden and Nieuwersluys. The day was spent in rejoicings and in preparations for the arrival of the Prince of Orange, which seemed now the only event wanting to complete the general happiness. The prince, who had embarked on the 26th at Deal, on board the Warrior, with Lord Clancarty and the English embassy, arrived on the 30th off Schœveningen. In the course of the voyage they fell in with the Cumberland; and Captain Baker having communicated to the prince the state of affairs at the Hague, the apprehensions which were entertained of the return of the French, and the feeble means of defence possessed by the confederates, Lord Clancarty was induced to order Captain Baker off his station, and to send him to Admiral Young with a statement of these circumstances. The admiral soon dispatched 300 marines, who were landed at Schœveningen,

and employed to make a demonstration on Helvoetsluys.

When his most serene highness approached the Dutch coast, various reports were conveyed to him of the surrender of the Brielle, and it was proposed to sail for that port; but another opinion fortunately prevailed, and the original intention was persevered in, of bearing up for Schœveningen. The Brielle was still in the possession of the French, and much risk would have ensued, had the plan of landing there been adopted. Although doubts were entertained respecting the state of affairs on shore, the prince was with difficulty persuaded, when he arrived off Schœveningen, to permit M. M. Perponcher and Hoppner to precede him to the Hague, that they might obtain information, and communicate, by signal, whether it would be safe for him to land. His impatience was, however, so great, that, without waiting for this signal, a few minutes after these gentlemen had left the ship, he got into a boat, from which he was conveyed in a cart to the shore, under a royal salute from the English ships. An immense concourse of people had rushed into the water to receive him; and it was with difficulty he could disengage himself from the crowd which pressed round from every side to congratulate him on his return. The day was remarkably fine, the beach was covered with spectators, and the cry of Orange Boven was heard from all sides, accompanied by demonstrations of joy approaching almost to phrenzy.

Amid the disgusting scenes of base and unprincipled adulation which have disgraced a neighbouring country, it is with pleasure the mind turns to the contemplation of the honest joy of a people whose applause confers honour upon its object, because it has never been lavished upon a tyrant.

On the arrival of the Prince of Orange at the Hague, he proceeded to the house of Count Styrum, which was thrown open, and all were admitted into his presence. At night the town was illuminated; and, as the people every where proclaimed William the First sovereign prince, it was proposed that he should immediately assume that title. It was, however, after some consideration, decided, that no step of this nature should be taken till his most serene highness had visited the capital. The prince was desirous of proceeding the next day to Amsterdam, but was detained by the meeting of a council of war, which was attended by Lord Clancarty, and by Generals Bulow and Benkendorf. At this council the future military operations were decided upon.

The whole military force at the Hague consisted of about 1500 men, including the 200 English marines landed by Captain Baker. These troops would not have been sufficient to prevent the advance of the French; but the arrival of the Prince of Orange inspired the Dutch with fresh courage, and induced the French to form an erroneous opinion, that he was attended by a powerful army from England. From this time the success of the revolution was considered by the people as certain; yet the more enlightened were not without serious apprehensions, when they considered the feeble means of defence which the government possessed. The enemy still occupied the greater number of the fortresses, and the whole of Zealand, including the Island of Walcheren, so that the Prince of Orange, in fact, had nothing more than the open towns. His situation, indeed, was so critical, that Lord Clancarty deemed it prudent to detain the Warrior some days upon the coast, as a resource in case of any reverse.

The Prince of Orange, convinced that unanimity in a nation is the only source of strength, lost no time in gi-

ving the Dutch people a pledge of the principles and conduct of his future government. Accordingly, on the 1st of December an address was distributed, in which it was stated, that after nineteen years of absence, the prince received, with the greatest joy, their unanimous invitation to return among them. That he now hoped, by the blessing of Providence, to be the instrument of restoring them to their former state of independence and prosperity. That this was his only object; and he had the satisfaction of assuring them, that this was also the object of the combined powers; that it was particularly the wish of the Prince Regent, and of the British nation. That this great truth would be proved to them by the aid which that powerful and generous people would immediately afford them, and which would restore those ancient bonds of alliance and friendship, so long a source of happiness and prosperity to both countries. That he had come among them determined to pardon, and to forget all that was past, and that the spirit of party must be banished for ever.

While these events were passing at the Hague, a Russian force, consisting of 2400 men, and six pieces of cannon, under the command of General Benkendorf, arrived at Amsterdam. These troops had embarked on the Zuyder Zee to avoid the French army at Utrecht; and a Prussian corps was also at this time known to be advancing against the fortress. Nor was this all; for on the same day the important fortress of Brielle was taken. This place was garrisoned by 500 men, the half of whom were Prussians and foreigners, who were disaffected to the French government, and daily deserted. The people of the town, profiting by this circumstance, rose upon the French, and, aided by the national guards, who were all Dutch, after fighting in the streets for an hour and a half, compelled the garrison to surrender, and hoisted the Orange flag.

On the 3d of December, the Prince of Orange, accompanied by the English embassy, made his entrance into Amsterdam. He was received with unanimous applause by all classes, and proclaimed Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands. The next day an address was published, in which the new title of his serene highness was alluded to, and a determination was expressed to establish a free constitution.

During the stay of his royal highness at Amsterdam, intelligence was received of the capture of Arnheim, which had been stormed with the greatest bravery by the Prussian troops under the command of General Bulow. Thus all apprehensions from the army of General Molitor, which was in full retreat, and all fears of an attack from the side of Utrecht, were dissipated. The French were still in force in the neighbourhood of Gorcum, but General Bulow was preparing to advance upon that place. The Fort du Quesne was surprised on the 4th by a band of workmen, who were employed in the fortifications. This event materially contributed to the subsequent surrender of Helvoetsluys. Some mariners of Admiral Young's fleet, aided by a body of Dutch troops, having advanced to the neighbourhood of Helvoetsluys, that town was evacuated in the night of the 5th by the French; and thus the communication with England, which had hitherto been exposed to great hazard and delay, was rendered safe and expeditious. The next day 1700 of the English guards landed at Schœveningen, an event which terminated all doubt as to the success of the revolution.

On the 6th, a proclamation was issued by the Prince of Orange at the Hague, in which it was stated, that when, in conformity with the general wish expressed by the people, he had

taken upon himself the sovereignty, it was his desire to celebrate this event by some great solemnity; but the situation of the country, and the important occupations which resulted, had induced him to delay this ceremony, till he should be able to present to the nation, a constitution which should insure to the people of Holland their ancient liberties. The prince announced, that in the meantime he had taken the management of affairs into his own hands, and dissolved the provisional government, not without warm feelings of gratitude for its efforts, to which the liberation of Holland must be chiefly ascribed, and without which the deliverance of the country could have been the result only of the victorious arms of the allies. He absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to Napoleon Buonaparte; and concluded by stating, that his confidence in the future was entirely founded upon the affection of his countrymen, the protection of Providence, and the consciousness of the purity of his intentions.—This proclamation was followed by the recognition of William the First as sovereign prince in every part of Holland which was not occupied by the French, that is to say, in all the country and open towns, from the department of the Ems to the right bank of the Maese.

As the enemy, however, was still in possession of many of the principal fortresses, and as a French garrison was at Naarden, within nine miles of Amsterdam, measures were immediately adopted for the formation of an army, the levy of troops, and the regulation of the military force. But the country was so completely drained of arms and ammunition, and of every thing necessary for the equipment of the troops, that it was impossible at once to organise the new levies; yet, in the short space of four months, and out of a population of 1,800,000 souls, 25,000 men were raised, armed, and equipped, in a country which had been previously exhausted by the conscription, and part of which was still in the possession of the enemy. These measures, supported by the rapid progress of the allied armies, completed the triumph of Dutch patriotism; while the liberties of the people were secured by a constitution, combining most of the advantages of that admired frame of government, which seems destined to form, at no very distant period, a model for all civilized nations.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

INTRODUCTION OF TRIAL BY JURY,

IN CIVIL CAUSES, INTO SCOTLAND.

An impression prevailed for some years, particularly among the commercial classes, that great defects existed in the administration of justice in this part of the island. As the higher offices of the law in Scotland never were filled by men of greater integrity and more extensive acquirements than at this very period, the evils of which litigants complained were ascribed entirely to the defective system upon which our courts of justice had been constituted. Nor can it be denied, that before the recent division of the supreme civil court into two chambers, the complaints of the litigants were but too well founded. It is not so obvious, however, that there has of late existed any necessity for resorting to an experiment so hazardous as that on which the people of Scotland are now about to venture, by introducing jury trial, in civil causes, into this part of the kingdom.

No one will dispute, that the *innovation* which has recently obtained the sanction of parliament, is of a very serious character, and may be attended with important consequences to the rights of individuals, and to the law of Scotland. To some, the measure will be strongly recommended by the very circumstance, that it is a great *innovation*. Nothing could be more absurd, of course, than to impute such notions to any of the grave and learned characters who have concurred in forwarding this important measure; but it is not impossible that they may have been led, by the sophisms so current at the present day, into the hasty approbation of an experiment, of which, if unsuccessful, it may be difficult to abandon the prosecution.

The love of novelty, on its own account, is but a childish propensity, contemptible in matters of slight moment, and pernicious in affairs of greater weight. It is a passion which can have no legitimate influence beyond the regions of taste and sentiment; there, indeed, the principle of novelty forms an essential element of our most refined pleasures. But as variety is required in our enjoyments, steadiness is no less essential in the great business of life.

A new play, or a new poem, may be read with excusable eagerness; but a new constitution will, by wise men, be studied with distrust and suspicion.

Before any great change in our public institutions can be justified, some evidence must be brought to prove that the existing evil is of a serious character; that by a less important deviation from established usages a remedy could not be obtained; that no risk of incurring greater evils by the proposed innovation can reasonably be dreaded; and that we shall be able to retrace our steps without difficulty if the change be found prejudicial. These conditions appear to be indispensable to every wise plan for effecting a reform of our laws and institutions; and if they have seldom been found to concur, the reason is easily discovered why so few changes of magnitude have been attempted on the civil and political institutions of great nations.

Where there are no complaints of a serious nature, there can be no room or apology for innovation. It may be said, indeed, that there is always occasion for improvement, since all institutions are defective; and defects, as well as positive errors, are evils which ought to be cured. Neither is it necessary, we are told, before proceeding to reform errors and abuses, to wait for the murmurs and complaints of the people; because such complaints are never extorted but by positive wrongs, the want of great improvements, of which the benefits have never been experienced, being insufficient to provoke them.—Thus a wide, nay, a boundless field is opened in speculation, which every empiric will be in haste to occupy. But that reform, which has reference to no positive wrong, can have no limits; and the same reason (a desire of further improvement) which might justify a small change in one particular, would equally serve as an argument for the most important changes in every department. But where there are no complaints, there must be a great deal which is good; yet the reasonings of innovators who desire to practise their experiments at random on the structure of society, would expose all that is good, or indeed all that exists, to continual perils. Their views, if they were sound, would place the whole fabric of society in their hands, to alter or new-model at their discretion; for as abstract perfection never can be reached, much improvement must always be attainable in theory. But common sense, as well as sound philosophy, rejects this empirical interference: men in general set a value infinitely higher upon what is good in possession, than what is plausible in speculation; and thus it happens, that unless some serious evil be endured, the class of projectors is commonly treated with very little ceremony or regard.

It is an axiom in philosophy, that we ought, in accounting for any effect, to assign only such causes as are adequate to its production; and it is a maxim no less sound in politics, that in attempting reform, we should limit ourselves as much as possible in the extent of the change produced, and cautiously avoid any innovation which does not appear indispensable. Neglect of the philosophical axiom leads to error and confusion in our speculations; and a contempt of the political maxim will surely conduct us to unprofitable and hazardous innovation. In so far as the change projected goes beyond a remedy for the disorder, it is pure empiricism,—gratifying, indeed, to idle and giddy brains, but offensive to every sound understanding. The same principle which demands that, without any grievance at all, no innovation should be attempted, prescribes, in language not less imperative, that the evils of a change should be encountered under their mildest aspect, and reduced with-

in their narrowest limits. To justify any great reform, therefore, it is necessary to prove, that the object could not have been attained by a less violent departure from the established usages, to which the manners and habits of the people have been accommodated through a succession of ages.

There is always a risk that great changes, *directly* accomplished in the institutions of society, may be followed with many consequences which cannot be foreseen by the projectors. The relation of cause and effect has been but imperfectly traced, even in the material world; in the intellectual almost every thing is involved in doubt and obscurity. But a very few links of the chain can be surveyed at once, even by the most penetrating and comprehensive understanding; the forces which act and re-act in all directions, are so fine as to elude the grasp, and so multifarious as to baffle the arrangements, of the most skilful statesman. There are laws, indeed, which the material world obeys; if there were not, there could be no physical science. There are laws also which govern the moral and intellectual nature of man; but their influence upon his understanding and his passions remains hitherto in a great degree unascertained. Of any great change in political institutions, it must be difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the consequences *a priori;* and it is almost certain, that results which have been wholly unforeseen, will follow upon sudden or extensive innovation. Great changes have, no doubt, been accomplished in all civil institutions; but the best of them have been effected slowly, and in such a manner as almost to elude observation. Every sensible mechanician would hesitate in anticipating the operations of a machine entirely new to him, although constructed with the strictest regard to the principles of his art, and the most exact conformity to the laws which apparently govern the material world. How can we expect then, that a great institution, almost new to the people, and destined to act, not on coarse or vulgar materials, but upon the understanding, the passions, and the prejudices of men,—an institution which is to operate, not independently, or by itself, but to be grafted on the frame of our laws and manners, all the parts of which have been gradually accommodated to each other;—how can we expect that such an engine will be put in motion, without producing consequences which it was beyond the discernment of the projectors to anticipate, and out of their power to control?

It is of great importance, therefore, that when we advance to the hazardous undertakings of reform, we should carefully secure a retreat in case of disappointment. Should the new institution be found unsuitable to the state of society in which it has been introduced—should it prove useless or pernicious—should it be found unequal to the remedy of the grievance for which it was intended, or bring along with it consequences which were not at first anticipated, there might still be some consolation in the prospect, that it could be easily dispensed with, and that it had never been permitted to take deep root in the social system.—Those who insist on leading us through untried paths, ought to give some assurance that they can, without difficulty, extricate us from the embarrassments in which we may be involved by our willing obedience. But it is not easy, after having once advanced, to retreat without inconvenience and disgrace. It is not enough in such cases that the new measure should, from the beginning, be declared temporary; for although its further operation may thus be checked, the effects which it must have produced in the interim will not be so easily counteracted.

This general remark may be illustrated by referring to the judicial institution lately created for Scotland. It is provided by the act of parliament, that the experiment shall, in the first instance, be tried for seven years only; if it is found to answer, the act will of course be renewed; if not, the ancient forms of procedure will be universally re-established. Even should this become necessary, however, and should jury-trial in civil causes be found unsuitable to Scotland, much inconvenience must result from the experiment. The jury are to try questions involving both law and fact; this provision seemed indispensable to give any value whatever to the institution. Should the new court succeed in drawing to itself any considerable share of the public business, the consequence must be, that juries will, for seven years to come, have the law of Scotland in some measure under their control. Whether they may prove well qualified for an undertaking so arduous, is a different question; but as it is possible that the experiment may not answer the expectations of its authors, the revolution, which in the meantime may thus be effected in our civil code, surely deserves consideration.

Nor is this all; for as the introduction of jury-trial in civil causes may be construed as amounting to a recognition by the legislature of the alleged imperfections of the supreme civil court with its present constitution, there may be some difficulty in silencing complaints in future, when the remedy, which has in the first instance been resorted to, shall be abandoned as hopeless. No person will believe, that if a serious grievance had not existed, wise and learned men would rashly have encountered the hazard of innovation; the existence of a great evil is therefore announced in the formation of a new tribunal. The experiment, however, may fail; but this will afford no reason to the minds of ignorant and sanguine persons for refusing to try another. The evil of repeated changes is thus encountered; and if there be no real grievance to justify them, this circumstance will only perplex the more those, who, by coming forward on the present occasion, may seem to have pledged themselves to the suggestion of an indefinite number of new expedients, till the imaginary grievance shall have been removed. The retreat of projectors, therefore, is not handsomely secured by a simple provision, that their experiment shall cease, if, after a certain number of years, it is found to be mischievous; and if security against the evils of reform can with difficulty be obtained, this consideration affords a farther inducement to the exercise of extreme caution in such undertakings.

The genius of the present age seems decidedly bent on changes of all descriptions; and without endeavouring to repress a spirit, which, when wisely directed, leads to the happiest results, no opportunity should be omitted of pointing out with candour the difficulties which are involved in all innovations on the fabric of society, and the conditions on which alone any great reform can be safely attempted. The love of change is contemptible; the desire of improvement is every way laudable; and it becomes of importance, therefore, to fix deeply in the mind those considerations which distinguish the one from the other. It is a mere truism, which has been a thousand times repeated with different degrees of smartness by the more zealous advocates of reform,—that the spirit, which blindly opposes all innovation, must, if it had possessed universal influence, have kept the world in its primitive state of barbarism; and that we are indebted for the enjoyments of a

civilized life, to the ardent love of improvement, which has had more or less influence in all ages. Who has denied this?—But let it be recollected, that we owe so many blessings not to a love of *change*, but to a well-regulated desire of *improvement*,—that by a mere change of political institutions, the world never did, and never could profit,—but that, on the contrary, as in every state in which human beings have herded together, there has been something good, of which a change might deprive them, so the shallow and presumptuous reformer is the most dangerous enemy of the species. He reproaches the opponents of sudden and inconsiderate reforms, with bigotry,—with a weak and superstitious attachment to existing institutions. There may be some foundation for this charge, when it is not uttered as a sweeping condemnation, nor bandied about as the watch-word of a faction; but a very little philosophy will teach every one, that among large bodies of men, passions and prejudices are nearly balanced. The opposite factions may have different objects in view; but in both, the excess of intemperate feeling will reduce them to the same common standard of human frailty. The one is attached to existing establishments, the other is enamoured with the political *creations* of his own fancy,—the former clings to that which he knows, the latter to that which he imagines.—There is certainly something good in the objects to which the one pays so high a regard; there *may* be nothing but what is bad in the idols which are worshipped by the other. Mixed up with what is good, there may be much that is useless or bad in existing institutions; and he, who without distinction defends all, is so far a weak man and a bigot. But the visionary, who obtrudes his own idle fancies upon the world,—who would tear up by the foundations the whole fabric of society, or substitute, without due consideration, his own crude fancies for actual institutions, the utility of which has been proved by a long experience, is a bigot of a far more dangerous class.—It is not the strength of the attachment which constitutes bigotry—for it is only by an abuse of language that this word can be applied to the most sincere regard for that which is useful and expedient. An overweening fondness for what is bad, or inexpedient, or dangerous, can alone constitute the bigot; and we put it to any one, whether, when the universal and equal operation of the passions among all classes is considered, and the difference betwixt an attachment to what we know by experience, and a violent desire of that which has been tried only in the brain, is duly weighed, the greater number of bigots, in the true sense of that word, may be expected among the supporters, or the reformers of our laws and constitution.—The singular and stupendous political revolutions which have occurred within the last 25 years, have had their influence in producing that restless spirit, which seeks for change as a good in itself. The example afforded by the result, is not indeed very encouraging; but when the minds of men are once accustomed to witness and admire sudden and mighty revolutions, they despise the calm but firm march of true wisdom, and sigh for the turbulence and bustle which had so long delighted them. They acquire the hardiness of veterans in the contests of reform, and although they have seen how barren of every thing that is good, and how fraught with evils, are all sudden innovations, they are not deterred. The entire failure of their projects, when reduced to practice, disturbs them but little; for they have always some consolation left them in the imputed blunders of the leading actors, the impenetrable stupidity of the instruments, or the general

folly and bigotry of the age. Such persons come to the task of reform with very dangerous prejudices; they are firmly persuaded, that there is nothing good in existing institutions—that it is mere bigotry which supports them, and that no change can be for the worse. The great and undisputed progress made in the arts and sciences—the overthrow of scholastic prejudices—the rapid advances of speculative truth, by which many of our crude opinions have been shaken or eradicated, furnish them with triumphant arguments from analogy. They forget, however, the distinction which providence has made betwixt that knowledge which is indispensable to the existence of society, and that which is merely subservient to its comforts and embellishments. A wide field is opened for the exertions of human genius in the researches of physical science, and the pursuits of a more elevated philosophy; discoveries, at once useful and sublime, have hitherto rewarded, and will continue to reward its efforts. Not so in morals, and the sciences more immediately connected with the conservation of society; no great or sudden discovery has been made in these sciences in any age of the world. The principles of justice, and truth, and fidelity, are implanted in the human breast by the hand of nature; they may vary a little in their form and operation in different periods of society, but as they are still essentially the same, so also they form the basis of all that is, or ever will be good in social institutions. The best methods of ensuring the full developement of these qualities, have been too long the study of great and good men, to permit us to expect from the genius of modern reform any great discovery.—Institutions, no doubt, must change with the state of society; the state of society, however, changes but slowly, and so must the institutions which ought to correspond with it. The benefits, therefore, of all great and sudden reforms in public institutions are disproved by experience, and appear to be visionary, even upon the principles of abstract reasoning.

Of all the departments of the state which the spirit of innovation may invade, there is none, perhaps, where it is so dangerous as in the institutions for the administration of justice. The people have a strong interest that the tribunals by which their rights and property are to be secured should be free from every blemish; even the political constitution has not so immediate an influence over their prosperity and happiness. Despotic government, when well administered, may be found consistent with some share of individual happiness; as the chief of the state has absolute power, he cannot, if he be disposed to exercise it mildly, be opposed by any obstacle to the execution of his benevolent purpose. But in subordinate institutions, no exercise of wisdom or beneficence in the administration can atone for the radical errors of the constitution; for limited power is inadequate to the correction of abuses.—In well-regulated governments, besides, the executive power can seldom touch the person or property of the subject, but through the medium of courts of justice. The judges are thus placed as a barrier between the great functionaries of the executive government, and the mass of the people; and it is their duty to take care, that the shock of power do not fall too severely upon those who are intrusted to their protection. Bad laws may, by their powerful interference, sometimes be mitigated in practice; and the judges will naturally be the first to give an impressive warning to the supreme authority, should its enactments prove unsuitable to the genius, or inconsistent with the prosperity of the people.

They stand betwixt the governors and the governed, to break the fall of power as it descends. They may be compelled for a time to execute a bad law; but it must be their own fault, and it will evince a want of firmness and integrity on their part, if they continue under an enlightened government, and in an age of freedom, to execute it long.

The errors and defects of the political constitution, when they lead to unjust or impolitic measures, have an equal influence on all classes of society; as all are injured, all are ready to combine for redress; and when this happens, the remedy cannot be far distant. But a faulty or perverse constitution of the tribunals, although it must continually produce injustice, does so only towards a few individuals at a time; and as the people, in general, are not immediately interested, and seldom complain unless when the injustice is flagrant, abuses are allowed to continue. In the course of a certain period, however, all ranks of society, and perhaps every individual in his turn, is thus made to suffer much inconvenience and injustice.—The vices and corruptions of courts of justice, are in some respects far more formidable than the excesses of political tyranny itself; for although no despotism that ever existed ventured to push to an extreme degree its interference with the lives and the properties of its subjects—this is every day done to individuals by the courts of justice. No tax has ever been imposed which deprived an individual of his all; but courts of civil judicature have the estates and fortunes of men at their disposal, and may at once reduce persons of very great opulence to want and misery. Thus it is that they touch so nearly the interests of the people, and that their wise and sound constitution, and the integrity and talent by which their functions are administered, become of so much importance. The science also, which they profess, has, in all ages, been considered as the peculiar property of the learned, while the general maxims of political knowledge become, in an age of free discussion, common almost to every rank in society. The errors, real or supposed, therefore, of a popular legislature, such as we happily possess in this country, are boldly and warmly censured by persons of every description, while the mysteries of a court of justice are seldom pried into by the uninitiated.—The public, therefore, is in greater danger from the abuses of the tribunals, than from those of the legislature.

The inferences fairly deducible from these considerations cannot be mistaken. The most obvious one is, that if there be, in truth, any gross abuses, or corruptions in our courts of law, it is of high importance that they should be removed, while the application of the cure is a matter of the greatest delicacy. Another inference, no less just, although, perhaps, it will not be so readily drawn by some persons, is this,—that when our judicial establishments have already been matured, and have become conspicuous for those qualities which are required in such institutions, (and this stage we have doubtless attained in Scotland), it is extremely dangerous to interfere with them—the danger to be dreaded from any change being exactly proportioned to the multitude and importance of the benefits of which we are already in possession.—Where great abuses do exist in the courts of justice, they never fail to produce dissatisfaction.—The murmurs may not be loud—the reasoning by which the complaints are supported may not be clear—the subtlety which is supposed to belong to the profession may shelter it from the disgrace of a glaring exposure; but that restlessness and discontent, which

never fail to accompany sufferings of which the cause is obscure or unknown, will manifest themselves to every person of discernment. A great abatement of respect for the judges, and for the profession, will become universal; and when such symptoms are discovered, it must be vain to disguise the evil, or to withhold a remedy. But if no appearances of this kind can be observed, it is nearly certain that things are going on well; and perilous must be the undertaking of those who would, in such circumstances, touch institutions, in themselves so venerable,—of such extreme delicacy,—and so immediately and intimately connected with the best interests of the community.

It is impossible to estimate, with any degree of precision, the merits of jury-trial in civil causes, without considering what are the true objects of judicial institutions in a civilized country.—In this way alone we can come to any sound opinion as to the fitness of juries for attaining such objects. The great purpose of all judicial establishments of a civil nature, is, no doubt, the distribution of justice between man and man; but reserving for subsequent consideration the capacity of juries for discharging this sacred function, some other points, apparently subordinate, but scarcely less material, demand attention.

Justice is but imperfectly done to the litigants when it is not distributed at the smallest possible cost, and with the shortest delay. He who has to pay more than is necessary for the justice which is done him, does not get complete justice; since it comes to the same thing whether a part of his claim be at once withheld, or after it is adjudged, be withdrawn to pay costs unnecessarily incurred. Nor is the iniquity remedied in all cases, as some persons imagine, by throwing the burden upon the unsuccessful party,—for the fact that he has been unsuccessful, amounts not to a proof altogether conclusive that he has been in the wrong. Even when this is the case, however, according to strict principles of law, which are so often in themselves doubtful, and divide the opinions of the learned, he may still have had *bona fides*, as it is called, or the laudable desire of vindicating his rights, to justify his appearance as a litigant. It is not expedient to repress this desire when perfectly fair and honourable; and nothing surely can be more absurd than to tax men with severe costs for having yielded to the influence of a principle, which forms the spring of every laudable enterprise. If one of the litigants be wrong in point of law, how obscure or unsettled soever the law may have been, it is his misfortune; and the circumstance affords good reason, perhaps, for compelling him to pay the costs of his adversary who chanced to be in the right. But every thing which he may be forced to pay beyond the *necessary* expence, can be considered in no other light than as a *punishment* wantonly inflicted upon him for attempting to assert his rights. Injustice is therefore done to the unsuccessful, as well as to the successful party, when costs are awarded which have not been necessarily incurred; or when courts are so constituted, that justice is not obtained at the smallest possible expence. The successful party, it is evident, does not obtain justice when a single farthing is deducted from his just claim. The unsuccessful party again, who has proceeded throughout with *bona fides*, is unjustly punished when he is loaded with a single shilling which might have been saved.

It is true, indeed, that the *necessary* expence must, in every case, be paid by one or other of the litigants; for it is absurd to talk, as some people do, of the hardship of paying for *justice* at all, as if this was a commodity, of

which they are entitled at all times to a gratuitous allowance. The source of this unfounded prejudice it is not, perhaps, very difficult to discover. There is something sacred to most minds in the sentiments attached to the term justice; it is connected in their imaginations with the sublime notions of the Deity, and the feelings of religious awe; and it is considered as not a little iniquitous to tax in any manner the dispensation of it among mankind. Such a tax is viewed by the vulgar mind as an interruption of the greatest blessing which the Deity has conferred upon the human race. It may be wise to encourage such notions, which invest with a religious sanctity the most common, and also the most useful of the social virtues. What the vulgar mind generally wants in clear perception, is thus adequately supplied by warm feeling; the defects of the understanding are compensated by the rectitude of the passions. But without stopping to examine the philosophical theory, which assigns to the virtue of justice the familiar and apparently vulgar origin of expediency, it may be worth while to remark, that this cardinal virtue seems to lose much of its sublime character when it ceases to be an object of *feeling*, and diverges into nice and refined distinctions, which can with difficulty be seized, even by the most acute understanding. The more ordinary occurrences in which this virtue decides, where it demands protection for the innocent, or calls down vengeance on the guilty, often excite *feelings* approaching to religious enthusiasm; but when questions of a civil nature arise, embracing the minute and delicate points which must be discussed, in order to settle the transactions of commerce, or regulate the succession to property, the warmth of *feeling* gradually disappears amid subtility and refinement. The objects, in such cases, are too small—the distinctions are too nice—the understanding is too much perplexed, to permit the operation of passions of any kind. We are compelled to resort to *rules* by which property shall be taken from one person and given to another, not because it is manifest at first sight, or because any *feeling* of justice clearly and strongly indicates that the case should be thus ruled; but because by settling it in this manner, we shall support some general and refined maxims of pure intellect, which have been already introduced, and by which it is necessary to abide, in order to prevent future contentions. The *feeling* of justice here deserts us; but it is necessary to have a *rule* of some kind to maintain the peace of society. To establish such rules, therefore, becomes the leading object in almost all the higher discussions of the supreme civil tribunals; and the benefits of a fixed and well-defined code of law, can be secured to society only on the same terms on which the other advantages of the social union are obtained. The society must pay for this, as well as for the other conveniences which it enjoys; and it is just as absurd to contend, that men are entitled, without paying for it, to the benefit of that administration of justice which saves them from quarrels among themselves, as it would be to assert, that they are entitled to be defended against their foreign enemies, without being called upon to support the naval and military forces by which this object is secured. It is a hardship, no doubt, that our neighbours should begin foolish and unnecessary quarrels with us: it is no less a hardship that the people of a neighbouring state should unjustly insist upon going to war with us. Such evils equally result from the frailty and folly of human nature; and we cannot expect protection against either, without making some sacrifice. Soldiers and sailors defend us against the malice and

ambition of foreigners, and they must be paid for performing so great a service; judges and lawyers protect us against the malevolence of our neighbours, and they also must be paid for their exertions. Many obvious reasons peculiarly applicable to the character and situation of the judges, render it both indecent and inexpedient that their labours should be rewarded by those in whose service they are more immediately employed. But as the exceptions alluded to apply to the judges alone, it is both just and expedient that all the other persons connected with the administration of justice should be rewarded by the litigants. They should be fairly and even liberally rewarded; but still it is incumbent on the court to take care that justice be distributed without an unnecessary expenditure. If this duty be neglected, justice is not fully done; and the object of the institution of courts is thus so far defeated.

The question of economy, therefore, in the judicial settlement of controversies, is a very material one to the fair distribution of justice, and forms an important element in the comparison of the different institutions which may be proposed for this purpose. If it can be proved by the advocates of jury-trial in civil cases, that this important object is better attained by their favourite institution, than by the established forms, while there is no danger that higher and still more important objects may be in part sacrificed,—much will be done towards the success of their cause. But if, on the other hand, it shall appear that a jury is an unnecessary, and by no means an unexpensive incumbrance on the courts: this consideration of expence alone ought to have no small influence when we come to draw our conclusions.

It is equally obvious, that dispatch, in so far as may be consistent with the deliberate investigation of disputes, is essential to the due administration of justice. He who is *now* entitled to a certain sum of money, or to be put in possession of property of any description, does not obtain justice if he succeed only after an unreasonable and unnecessary waste of time. His object in coming into court is to obtain the *enjoyment* of the subject in dispute; for the right of property, or any other subordinate right, whatever may be its metaphysical nature, always results in the actual enjoyment of the subject.—But if the person entitled to *immediate* enjoyment be unnecessarily deprived of it for months, or for years, he is so far deprived of his just right; a consideration to which courts of law, in general, have not hitherto been supposed to have given all the weight to which it is entitled.—The evil and injustice of delay are not less apparent in another point of view. Every one knows, that suspense is the most painful of all our feelings; and the suspense created to litigants by the useless delays which too often occur in the administration of justice, is perhaps the most severe that can be endured. The object in dispute is frequently of the greatest importance,—involving the prosperity or ruin of a whole family. Even when a litigant has all the assurance of success, which can be obtained amid the fatal contradictions and the proverbial uncertainty of the law, his hope of attaining his object is repeatedly deferred, while the dread of ultimate failure and ruin never ceases to haunt his imagination.—This state of mind often leads to the most ruinous expedients. At the moment when hope runs high, confidence of success may lead to the most foolish and fatal extravagance. The harassed feelings,—the continued anxiety,—the entire dissipation of mind which is occasioned by this state of suspense, cannot be easily conceived. Courts of justice at the present day profess to set a high value upon the *injured feelings* of individuals, and to give large da-

mages for any wanton attack upon them. How can they support their consistency, if they themselves should become the instruments of the most bitter injury to the feelings of all those who approach them for protection or redress?

When dispatch is not secured, therefore, and unnecessary expence avoided, the courts of law imperfectly fulfil the object of their institution.—But what is this thing which they administer, and which, in common language, is called "justice?" Every one knows that it frequently does not accord with the vulgar notions on this subject, and that the result of judicial proceedings is often quite repugnant to what is called the "common-sense" of mankind.—Thus, too, the discoveries of philosophy are frequently at variance with the same standard, always appealed to by the ignorant in matters where it can have no legitimate jurisdiction.—The common sense of mankind, so frequently invoked, signifies, in many cases, the hasty, and shallow, and presumptuous opinion of those, who, without studying principles, advance at once to a conclusion.

"Common sense" must either mean some *feeling* which is supposed to be common to the species, or some conclusion of the reasoning powers; or, as more commonly happens, a combination of both. But there are many subjects deeply interesting to the welfare of man, and of the highest dignity in an intellectual point of view, to which *feeling* is altogether inapplicable. Nature, indeed, has given us strong and just feelings where we are compelled to act without deliberation; but where so rapid a decision is not required, she has left us in a great measure to the guidance of the understanding. The subjects of judicial discussion clearly belong to the latter class;—for in no age, rude or civilized, has the character of a judge been thought to admit of passion or feeling as an ingredient. But if, in the character of a person set apart to administer justice, an elevation above all coarse or vulgar feeling be so pre-eminently required, how can the same feeling be esteemed in that appellate jurisdiction to which reference is so often made,—that mighty tribunal of common sense, as it is vulgarly denominated? Common sense, in so far as it is founded upon universal, and of course vulgar feeling, has surely but little to do with the nice and refined reasonings which belong to every complicated question of jurisprudence.

But common sense may imply the exercise, to a certain degree, of intellect as well as of feeling. The reasoning powers of mankind, in general, however, are infallible only with regard to objects to which they have been permanently and familiarly directed. It is not a property of the intellectual powers, either of the enlightened or of the vulgar, to be instinctive in their operations; exercise and experience alone can give them vigour and comprehensiveness. The limits of our instinctive knowledge are extremely circumscribed; the *axioms* of science may fall within them, but we shall in vain trust to inspiration for guiding us through the labyrinth which leads to important practical conclusions. This common sense, therefore,—this combination of vulgar feeling and imperfect reasoning, can be no sure guide in a science whose greatest beauty must for ever consist in the fine adaptation of all the parts to each other, and in the production of a whole, distinguished by its symmetry and proportion.

That this description is peculiarly applicable to the science of law, will be acknowledged by every one who is capable of reflection. In this, more than in all the other sciences of practical application, uniformity and system are indispensible. The rules of law are intended not so much for set-

tling the *past*, as for regulating the *future*, and for extracting out of the misfortunes, which befal a few individuals, the elements of future advantage to society. The uniformity of the system—the strictness of its analogies—the correspondence of the parts, and the immutability of the whole, thus become objects of the highest importance. The perfection of law as ascience would be attained, were its rules such that no innovator but time could accomplish a change in them; and although this perfection can never be acquired, it forms the *end* to which a continual approximation should be attempted. Law is useless—it is neither a science nor an art—nay, it is pernicious in the extreme, when it becomes fluctuating and unsteady, because the great end of its establishment, the guidance of men in their future transactions, is thus sacrificed. The stability of the civil code requires that it should contain nothing repugnant to obvious principles of equity; but it requires a great deal more that it maybecome uniform and systematic. To exclude principles which are flagrantly iniquitous, common sense, it would seem, may be sufficient; but to give system and uniformity to the science, more comprehensive efforts, and higher attainments of the mind are required. Common sense, or in other words, vulgar feeling and slender intellect, have nothing to do with system and order; their business is only with individual cases as they occur, which it is easy to determine without relation to the principles of science. The vulgar talent so much esteemed, may exclude from a system of law great and flagrant absurdities, but it will never raise it to considerable excellence.

The universal feelings of mankind, therefore, are of very little importance in constructing a system of law; yet the establishment of a regular code is as much the duty of the courts, as the determination of the particular causes which come before them. The question therefore is,—who shall discharge the higher duties in the best possible manner,—the judges who have been educated with the greatest care, who have been selected with the utmost discretion, and who have been trained by a long experience for the discharge of the arduous duties entrusted to them; or men selected indifferently from among the people, without much natural talent, with less culture, and with no suitable preparation for their important office? It would be a striking anomaly, if, in the science of jurisprudence alone, ignorance and inexperience were to insure a superiority. In every other department of business, the division of labour, and the exclusive devotion of talent to one particular object, have been found to assist the progress of the understanding. It were singular if the only exception occurred in one of the most difficult, and not the least important of the sciences. Who shall maintain that the judges, merely in consequence of their learning and intelligence, are deprived of that *common sense* which is said to belong indifferently to the species, and which is so much paraded by the advocates of judicial reform? But unless it be supposed that their learning subjects them to this severe affliction, they seem to possess all the qualities in a pre-eminent degree which are required for the administration of justice. If it be conceded that they are not, because of their learning, abandoned by that faculty known by the name of "common sense," there is no danger that they will be betrayed into any glaring absurdity in their decisions. No one will dispute, that they alone can possess that science which is necessary to give system and stability to the national jurisprudence; and thus they have the monopoly of those qualities which are indispensable to the usefulness, as

well as to the integrity, of the art which they profess.

It is very true, indeed, that other questions, besides those of pure law, occur very often in the cases submitted to discussion in the courts. In the same manner, few questions of pure mathematics occur in practice; the principles of that beautiful science are mixed with facts of a physical nature, and come to be considered in conjunction with them. The refined maxims of a pure and speculative jurisprudence, are frequently blended in practice with a series of facts; a complicated question of law and fact is thus submitted for consideration. But it has been generally thought, by persons who look at the surface of things only, that questions of fact may be best settled by men whose heads are not much occupied with the refinements of legal knowledge; and that justice would be better distributed in cases of this kind by an appeal to common sense, and the ordinary sentiments of integrity, than to the subtleties of jurisprudence. On what this opinion is founded, or by what arguments it has been supported, it is difficult to discover. There exists, indeed, a strong prejudice on the subject; and it has been pompously announced, by ignorant and self-sufficient persons, that as the transactions out of which the questions occurring in courts of justice arise belong to the ordinary affairs of life, no other talent can be required for their adjustment, than that which God and nature have almost universally bestowed on mankind,—a tolerable share of perspicacity, and a sound feeling in all questions of a moral nature. That there is no foundation for such an opinion, may very easily be made apparent.

The familiarity of men, in general, with the ordinary transactions of life, is no proof that they will be able to judge soundly of them, when they are considered with reference either to the immutable principles of justice or to the science of law. The clown knows but little of the natural history of the subjects about which his labour is employed; he never thinks of them in any other point of view, than as they are subservient to his own immediate operations. The operative mechanic has a very imperfect knowledge of the general principles and the minute structure of the machinery which he is daily employed to put in motion; his purpose is served, if the particular effect which he wishes to produce be accomplished by his exertions. His knowledge is wholly confined to *individual* objects; he never thinks of tracing any general connections, or of forming principles which might guide his judgment under any variation of circumstances, or in any combination of events different from that in which he is commonly required to exert himself. His habits of thought are narrow; his prejudices strong; and his opinions, of course, unsound. He might, perhaps, give an opinion tolerably rational, if called upon to decide in a case *precisely similar* to that which has frequently come under his own immediate cognisance; in different circumstances he will probably be prejudiced, dogmatical, and absurd.

There is no subject of human knowledge which, when well understood, does not become a *science*, in the strict sense of that term; which is not improved and advanced by the introduction of general principles, founded upon a comprehensive induction. The knowledge which is included under the name of *common sense*, embraces only a few original principles of no very extensive utility in practice; and where it professes to go beyond these, it is generally imperfect and absurd. Common sense, in this acceptation of the word, and as distinguished from science, signifies a narrow and confined perception, and a prejudiced understanding.

This faculty may be accurately conversant in a few *particulars;* but it can never aspire to those general and comprehensive views, which it becomes all those to possess who are to examine the works of nature, or to sit in judgment on the transactions of men. These transactions are infinitely diversified; and so is the character of those by whom they are conducted, or by whose interposition as witnessess their real character is to be determined. There is a *science*, in short, which is applicable to matters of evidence, as well as to all other subjects of human knowledge; and it no more follows, that the persons who are more immediately occupied with the transactions to which the evidence may apply—who come into daily contact with the subjects of enquiry—who are conversant about the ordinary habits and manners of the parties concerned, should be adepts in this science, than it is to be presumed that the practical farmer should be thoroughly acquainted with the principles of chemistry—the ordinary mechanic with the profound theories of the speculative philosopher, or the practical merchant with the refined notions of political economy.

Whether belief in testimony be an original principle in the mind of man, or the slow result of experience, philosophers, who delight to involve every thing in doubt, that they may enjoy the credit of a discovery, may be left to enquire. It appears certain, however, that the just *limits* of belief can be fixed by experience alone; and that there is no instinctive or intuitive principle which can guide us in matters of this kind. The *rules* for judging of evidence are the result of a cautious and deliberate induction, and constitute a science of no very easy attainment. To prove that the principles which guide the judgment in matters of evidence are not intuitive, and, of course, are not common to all men, nothing more seems necessary than to state the fact—that such judgments are not founded on any *certain* knowledge, but proceed altogether upon *probability.* But all our intuitive knowledge (at least when we are placed in circumstances suitable to the formation of a correct opinion) is *certain* in its nature; hence it is, that the province of common sense is confined to those points in which all men, or at least a majority, are entirely agreed. But upon the faith which is due to the evidence of testimony in each particular case, men entertain the most contradictory opinions; and the only source of a sound judgment is to be found in the application of the rules derived from a comprehensive induction. These rules form an important and difficult science; and the men who have most thoroughly investigated the principles of this science—who have had inclination and opportunity to follow out the most copious induction of particular cases—who have devoted their lives to it as a professional pursuit—must in this case, as well as in the developement of the principles of pure law, have an undisputed superiority over all the other classes of society.

That the formation of a sound judgment in matters depending upon human testimony, is not so easy a task as some people imagine, will be apparent to every one who turns, not only to books of law, but even to treatises of logic on the subject. It is true, indeed, that such guides are contemned by thoughtless and superficial persons, and that the sound culture of the understanding is considered by them as a thing of very small value. There have been absurd books of logic, no doubt, as there have been foolish books in all the sciences; but it is not the less true, that a good book of logic is a very valuable performance.—We have only to open one of them to perceive the difficulties of that task which it is

rashly presumed that any body of men, selected at random from the different ranks of the community, may perform. To arrive at a just conclusion in matters of evidence, it is necessary, not only to consider well the character and veracity of the witness. but the nature of the facts to which he swears, and their correspondence with the ordinary course of events.—The veracity of a *hundred* witnesses may be unimpeachable upon any ground which can be fairly stated as an exception to their evidence; yet, to those who are in the constant habit of making observations on such subjects, it will appear extremely improbable, in the ordinary course of events, that a hundred men in succession, and all of them taken indifferently, should speak the truth. To such persons, therefore, the slightest circumstance unfavourable to any witness, although it might make no impression on an inexperienced man, will suggest a doubt, created by the application of that general principle which is the result of experience and observation alone. The art of, "cross-questioning," as it is called, although too often applied to the most unfair and disingenuous purposes, is one of such difficult attainment, that few men at the bar, who have not enjoyed the advantages of a long experience, are supposed to possess it; yet, by this art, although the real merits of a case may be sometimes confounded, the truth is often discovered. But if counsel of great and various experience are alone thought qualified for such an undertaking, how are men altogether without experience, to judge of its results; or in what manner are they to assist, as it is the business of all efficient judges to do, in promoting its legitimate effects? But supposing the veracity of all the witnesses brought forward, in any trial, to be above suspicion, their intimate knowledge of the subject to which they are called upon to speak, is a matter of infinite importance, and must always have great weight on every accurate judgment, which is formed as to the nature of their testimony. To ascertain the extent of this knowledge, it is not enough that the answer of the witness himself, to any question which may be put to him, upon such a point should be carefully remarked—for every man is apt to entertain an overweening opinion of his own acquirements. In many cases of a simple nature, it may be easy, no doubt, to estimate the understanding and knowledge of a witness, from the nature of the evidence which he gives; but in others, this task may be extremely difficult to a jury who happen to be themselves unacquainted with the precise class of transactions out of which the question for determination has originated. But the man who has been well educated himself—who is accustomed and compelled to form accurate notions on the subjects which come before him—who has often been on the watch to check ignorance and presumption—who has accustomed himself to mark its appearances—to remove its thin disguises, and to search for truth amid the sophistry of the bar and the dulness of the witnesses, will surely be better qualified than others to expose and reprove ignorance and forwardness, and to deduct from testimony given in confidence what it may appear to want in knowledge. Nor will his superiority be less apparent when he comes to compare the testimony of the witnesses with the ordinary course of events in similar cases—a comparison than which nothing is more important for ascertaining the truth. He may not, indeed, know so much of the particular class of transactions out of which the dispute has arisen as some of the jurors, if it shall happen that by a careful selection men of the same trade or profession with the litigants have been

chosen to try the question. But it may be presumed, that he has had an opportunity of considering with deliberation a far greater number of contested points of the same kind, and has made a more ample induction of particulars to guide his judgment, than the inexperienced persons, who, perhaps, were never before in a court of justice. Should his knowledge be defective as to the peculiar practices or customs of any trade or profession, the remedy is very simple—a few witnesses belonging to such trades can be examined to explain their mysteries. In a general knowledge of human conduct—in that sagacity which, although the result of a long experience, seems often to resemble intuition—in a thorough acquaintance with the devices to which litigants generally resort—in short, in all the elements for coming to a sound and fair conclusion on any subject of testimony, he must be infinitely superior.

The measure of our belief in the evidence of testimony can scarcely be fixed, in any particular case where the circumstances are complicated and the evidence contradictory, by a mind which has had little experience in such enquiries. Yet, when the subject is examined with a comprehensive and philosophical eye, there appear to be elements by which the whole may be reduced to a science, approaching even to the accuracy of the mathematics. The calculation of probabilities, it is well known, has of late years been wonderfully improved by the aid of science; and the measure of our belief in the testimony of one or more witnesses to a particular fact, or to a series of events, is just a question of probability. The want of precision, indeed, which belongs to the subject, may exclude the aid of mathematical learning; and it is very true, that this kind of learning has not hitherto been much resorted to by judges and lawyers. It may be impossible to express in figures the complex result of contradictory evidence, although some ingenious attempts have been made to carry the principles of calculation even to this extent. It is certain, however, that nearly the same general principles of science which apply to the proper objects of mathematical calculation, may be extended to the investigation of the evidence derived from testimony; such principles, indeed, are implied, although they may not be formally announced in all correct reasonings on the subject. Without their aid, it must often be impossible to come to any conclusion upon a body of conflicting evidence, such as is often accumulated in the more important causes brought before courts of justice. But what advantage can, in such cases, be derived from the interposition of men of limited views—often without education—with no habits of steady reflection—unaccustomed to severe mental exertion, and devoid of all experience on the subjects to which they are called upon to apply their faculties, it is very difficult to discover.

Experience here, as in almost every other department of human affairs, whether intellectual or mechanical, will supply many defects; but, for the want of this experience, nothing will atone. Experience will not, indeed, serve to make a dull man a great genius; it will not enable him to make discoveries in the sciences, or to create fine combinations of the fancy; because, although it gives facility in what is *old*, it creates nothing *new*. It will make an efficient and able man in any established art or calling; it can never form a great philosopher or a fine poet. By reducing all men, how differently soever born, nearly to a level in the business of life, it becomes the grand instrument of that practical equality which is the boast of a free government: for if the natural defects of the great body of mankind did not admit of a cure,

by the gradual operations of experience, there would be much danger in throwing open to all the door of ambition, and admitting them in stations more or less elevated, to the conduct of affairs in which the public have an interest. Experience gives a sort of tact to dulness itself, and bestows an artificial delicacy even on the most insensible nerves. Sancho's kinsmen had probably no very refined sensations from nature; yet experience made them excellent judges of the qualities of wine. To explore the unknown regions of science and literature, is an undertaking reserved for minds of a higher cast, who can adventure, with genius alone for their guide, where never mortal trode before; but the humble man of business, whose concern is with the territories already discovered——who has landmarks to guide him on all sides—who has merely to comprehend what is laid before him, and to follow the paths already marked out, may trust to experience, and can trust to this alone with safety. The reiterated trials which he makes, assure him of that nice perception—that quick discernment,—that ready application even of the most refined principles, in which the virtue and excellence of his character consist. So sensible have mankind, in general, been of this truth, that, even in the most vulgar arts, they have shewn the greatest anxiety to secure the *experience* of the professors; hence the numerous laws as to apprenticeships and the privileges of corporations, which, although they betray an unsound policy in the detail, evince that principle of wise circumspection, which, in practical matters, looks to experience alone as a sure guide. The same principle applies to the higher walks of the public service, as well as to the liberal professions. No man, without previous study and experience, takes an active part in the business of the senate, or commits his fortune and reputation at the bar. Is it true then, that controversies arising among men as to their property, may be *decided* with less aid from experience than they can be *pleaded*; and is the administration of justice the only function which can be safely undertaken without any previous qualification? If the benefit of previous training be not required to enable men to judge well in civil causes, why should so much of it be demanded of the advocates who are to sustain them; and why are litigants not formally invited to appear in court in their proper persons? If there be so great an advantage in having unlearned men to *decide* law-suits, it is difficult to discover why a similar advantage should not be gained, by having persons equally unlearned to *conduct* them. Advocates of this description would, of course, follow the plain dictates of "common sense," and avoid all these refinements of legal knowledge, which have often created so much offence and alarm.

If there be any justice in the preceding reflections, when applied to the interference of inexperienced persons in settling disputed questions of *fact*, their force, when applied to the judgments of the same persons in matters of *law*, must be irresistible. The late act for introducing jury trial, in civil causes, into Scotland, empowers the juries to determine questions of law as well as of fact; and, indeed, without a provision of this kind, the new institution must have proved a mere incumbrance on the country. It is well known to every person acquainted with the practice of the courts, that the law and the fact are so much blended, in almost every case of importance, that they could be separated only by some very violent and hitherto untried operation; whether, indeed, they could in many instances be thus separated by any effort of metaphysical ingenuity, is extremely questionable. Juries then are to have the power, nay, they are to be called up-

on to settle the law—a task for which it cannot be thought they are very well qualified. It has already been proved that difficult questions of law cannot be settled by *feeling*, as is vulgarly maintained—for abstract points of this kind have nothing more to do with *feeling*, than the propositions of mathematics. Neither can they be settled by intuition, or by common sense—for they are, in their own nature, and must ever continue, remote from common apprehension. Yet what other qualification than that of "common sense" have the jury for such an undertaking, as that which is now intrusted to them? It is their duty, we are told, to obey the directions of the judge as to all questions of law, whether of a more comprehensive nature, or arising upon the established *rules of evidence*. But it is clear that they have the *actual*, if not the *moral* power of refusing to do this; and it is not improbable that they may frequently exercise this power. Some persons of high talent and authority in England, have even contended that juries have the moral power also; nay, that they are bound, if their consciences dictate such a course to them, to disregard altogether the directions of the judge, and taking law and fact into their own hands, to dispose of every case which comes before them agreeably to their own notions of moral justice. As this point seems to be involved in some difficulty, it may not be improper to offer a few remarks upon it.

The law, it has already been observed, decides not only the particular cases which are brought before the courts, but forms a rule for the guidance of men in their future transactions; *inflexibility*, therefore, becomes one of its most important qualities. Each of its general principles embraces a great variety of particular cases, which are discriminated from each other by nice shades of difference. The distinctions existing among the different cases falling under one general rule, are frequently of such a kind that they may be better *felt* than *described*; yet is their influence very strong upon a mind which is accustomed to judge of *particulars*, without reference to any general principle. Such nice distinctions, however, cannot, according to the notions of lawyers, be allowed to influence the decision, because they are not of that palpable character which admits of definition, nor, indeed, of any thing like accurate description in language. They cannot, therefore, form the basis of any new and subordinate rule; and as the formation of rules and the generalisation of principles is of the highest importance, they cannot be permitted to have any influence. Perhaps the distinctions are not only nice, but would in most cases be incapable of proof; yet instances may occur in which the fact establishing the distinction is, by a singular accident, established beyond contradiction.—The distinctive circumstances, again, may be of such a kind, that if a proof of them were allowed in one case, it would necessarily be so loose, that a similar proof might, in other instances of the same kind, be attempted for the most unfair purposes; and although, in the particular instance before the court, no doubt may remain as to the fact, yet a door must not be opened to future frauds by admitting it to proof.—Rules must be general, and to be useful they must be limited in number; but a system of law which would decide each case that occurs upon its own peculiarities, or upon the circumstances by which it is distinguished from every other, could have no general rules, and, of course, could assign no limit to the number of its rules and provisions. Hence it is, that if a case have some leading qualities in common with others, it is judged

of with a view to such qualities alone, and its "specialties," as they are called, are often disregarded. Were such a case, however, the *only* one falling under the general rule of law, it might have been decided differently,—that is, the judgment given upon its real merits would have been different from the decision pronounced with reference to general principles, and to the integrity of the law. But with the true merits of the particular case alone, have the parties who are disputing any concern; so that by a strict adherence to legal principle, more than justice is done to the one, while less than justice is done to the other. Examples of this may easily be given.—It seems a principle of common justice, that in every civilized state where the right of property is recognized, the person who has this right should be allowed to exercise it in any way which is not hurtful to his neighbours; and that a clear and satisfactory proof, *in any form*, of his intention thus to exercise it, should ensure the validity of the act. But the law of Scotland, and probably that of every other country, refuses its indiscriminate sanction to this principle of common justice; and, in order to guard against fabricated evidence, which, of course, would in many instances be offered, it requires that the intention of the owner should be intimated by certain prescribed formalities. This is doubtless a very good *general* rule; but cases often occur where the evidence of *intention* is perfectly incontestable, and above all suspicion; and yet, in these as well as in others, the rule of law will be unrelentingly applied. But if *intention* alone, unequivocally manifested, and clearly proved, be necessary to bestow, by the principles of common justice, a right or a claim upon the donee, it is quite obvious, that in most cases his individual interest is sacrificed to the general interests of society, which demand that the integrity of the law shall be preserved, and that the safeguards against false or fabricated evidence shall be rigorously maintained. A juryman, however, may be disposed to put the question to himself—whether this sacrifice of the rights of an individual to the general benefit of society, be justifiable in a moral point of view; and he may, without much ingenuity, propose some staggering considerations to himself on this delicate topic. He may admit, indeed, in common with all mankind, that if a clear and strong case of *necessity* were established, the sacrifice of individual interests, whether agreeable or not to the rules of a very speculative morality, *must* be made; but it may be difficult for him, in many cases, to prove this *necessity* to his own mind. He has thought but little, it may be supposed, on the expediency of general rules; at all events, mere expediency might not afford to his tender conscience a sufficient apology for a violation of the rules of natural justice, and an infringement on the rights of an individual. The only *necessity* which he may be able to discover in the whole circumstances, is a species of it about which he may, perhaps, give himself but little uneasiness—the necessity to which lawyers may be put of framing their general rules with more caution—of modifying them according to circumstances—of increasing their number a little, at the hazard even of augmenting professional labour—and of rendering technical maxims more compatible with universal justice and the common sense of mankind. Such views, indeed, may in many cases be quite sound and reasonable—for every one must acknowledge that the science of law is still very imperfect. The question then is, whether the juror is bound to take the law implicitly from the

judge, or whether he may not, and ought not, to exercise his own discretion in a case where he may think his conscience is concerned? No enactment can bind him, in circumstances of this kind, to be guided entirely by the opinion of another. The juror knows that his guide is fallible and may lead him into error; he is convinced in his own mind, that at this very moment such an attempt is made to bewilder his understanding. It will avail little to say to him—that the law is officially expounded by the judge—and that for the inaccuracy of the directions the judge alone is responsible. The juror knows, that without *his* interference the injustice which is attempted cannot be accomplished; and common sense tells him, that no power on earth, not even that of the legislature itself, can *lawfully* compel a man to do a manifest wrong, or even to co-operate in the accomplishment of it. This is an obvious and unquestionable principle which no sophistry can overcome; and the juror, therefore, knows that he can never be compelled to assist in doing injustice. If he meddle with the law, his interference will, no doubt, "touch his conscience," as the great Lord Mansfield declared; but so does the judgment which he forms on the fact; and in both cases his conscience is only so far affected, that he is bound, in deciding both on law and fact, to proceed only after the most accurate enquiry—upon mature deliberation—and in strict conformity with the conscientious feelings of his own mind. It can never be his duty to lend his sanction—to give his concurrence—or to interfere directly or indirectly—to promote the accomplishment of a *moral wrong* which is palpable to his own unbiassed understanding.

But what must be the practical result of all this? The juror having the actual power in all cases, and the moral power in some, to interfere with the law, will probably, in error and ignorance, go a great way beyond his duty. He is under no definite or precise restraint; no province strictly limited and accurately circumscribed is assigned to him. He is told, that, by the constitution of his country, *he* is the proper judge both of law and fact; and in such circumstances, it is not only probable, but certain, that ignorance and presumption will venture far beyond their depth, and interfere in matters to which they are wholly incompetent. It is idle to tell the juror, that the judge is the true oracle—the only just expounder of the law to him; for this, to his apprehension, will be utterly at variance with the fact—that the judge must *submit* his opinions to the consideration of the jury, and that, without their interposition, he can, in mixed questions, give no effectual judgment. The jury, therefore, *may* become, (and if they *may*, they probably *will* become) the arbiters, both in matters of law and fact; in other words, they will take it upon them to judge of subjects about which they are necessarily ignorant. What is to become of the law in this state of things—how is the system of national jurisprudence to be matured—how are its maxims to acquire that steadiness and uniformity so indispensible to its efficiency? There can be no uniformity in the opinions of men unaccustomed to the consideration of the law as a *science*, and to an extensive survey of the bearings and dependence of its different parts upon each other. Even if the jury, therefore, were to form a part of the court, and if the same men were to deliberate together upon all the cases which may be tried, little uniformity could be expected in their decisions; and far less can consistency be looked for, when the jurors are to be changed daily, and individuals, entirely different in their

habits and acquirements, are, in succession, to determine the subjects of controversy. When the law is considered as a science—when it is remembered how deceitful first appearances are in this, as in all the other sciences—how much depends upon the uniformity and inflexibility of the decisive rules—how remote are the refined conclusions of a discriminating and enlightened mind, from the first impressions produced on a vulgar understanding—it would seem that no contrivance could be worse adapted for attaining the true objects of all judicial institutions, than the interference of men unaccustomed to habits of accurate investigation—experienced only in the details, and utterly ignorant of the grand and leading features of that science of which they are to be entrusted with the practical application.

Such then are the manifest disadvantages which seem to be inseparable from the institution of trial by jury in civil causes; and after considering them with impartiality, we may be tempted to wonder how the institution has become so great a favourite with our enlightened neighbours. Some explanation of this circumstance will be offered in the sequel; but, at present, it is necessary to enquire whether there existed any evils of such magnitude in the administration of justice in Scotland as to call for so strange a remedy. It has already been remarked, that if no very serious evils exist, there can be no apology for innovation; and we ought, therefore, in the first place, to try the justice of the complaints which have been made against our ancient forms of proceeding, and to enquire whether they might not have been redressed without resorting to the violent measure of which it is now proposed that we should make an experiment.

Before the division of the Court of Session into two chambers, there was room for complaint, on account of the unnecessary delays to which litigation was subjected. This inconvenience was supposed, by those who contended for a reformation of the court, "to arise from the circumstance—that the whole pleadings were in writing—that the evidence also was in writing, and its import a subject of argument to the last stage of the cause—that there existed a power, almost unlimited, of submitting judgments to review—that from the number of judges who sat together, much time was worse than uselessly spent in wrangling deliberations, and that the judges, both in their individual capacities and acting together, were called upon to discharge duties which it was beyond their power to accomplish." From these circumstances, it was contended that all the evils of the former system had arisen; and an arrear of causes had accumulated and was rapidly increasing, which, if some remedy had not been applied, must have brought the proceedings of the court to a stand.—Let us try to discover what part of these evils has been corrected by the measures already adopted and acted upon for some years, and what part of the complaints was exaggerated or altogether unfounded.

The power of submitting judgments to review has been effectually checked by the recent regulations. This power was always restrained, in so far as concerned the proceedings of the Inner-house; and the business of the Outer-house has now been put under similar limitations. By the division of the court into two chambers, and by the appointment of judges who sit permanently in the Outer-house, the inconvenience arising from the numbers of the judges composing the court has also been remedied—for no one will pretend to say, that *now* the number of judges who usually sit in each di-

vision is too great, either for the efficiency or the decency of judicial proceedings. The time, therefore, which is said to have been formerly spent in "wrangling deliberations," is now happily saved to the country; and the energy as well as the decorum of the court is well sustained. Four or five judges are not too many to give that weight and importance to a decision of the Inner-house, which the proceedings of such a tribunal seem to require; nor have the judges that tendency, when convened in numbers so limited, to indulge in warm and zealous controversy which seems to have given so much offence. The number is not so great as to be incompatible with the facilities of private communication, for the adjustment of conflicting opinions, a matter of very great importance to the decency and gravity of judicial procedure.

Another of the evils formerly complained of has also been removed, viz. the severe and oppressive labour to which the judges were exposed. By the appointment of judges who sit permanently in the Outer-house, an entire separation has been accomplished betwixt the different departments of public business; and much unnecessary labour is saved both to the judges who decide in the first instance, and to those who determine as a court of review upon the proceedings of their brethren. It may appear paradoxical to those who are unacquainted with the constitution of the court, to state, that an increase of the number of the judges would, instead of facilitating, greatly impede the progress of business; and advantage was, on a former occasion, most unfairly taken of this apparent anomaly, to create prejudices in the public mind against any change in the constitution of the court. But as the labours of one judge sitting in the Inner-house, can never enable any of his brethren to dispense with the necessity of going through the *same* fatigues—as there is no distribution into departments—as each judge, if he discharge his duty, must perform precisely the same thing which is done by his coadjutors, the truth of the statement must be quite apparent. The labours of an active member of the House of Commons are not abridged, but increased, by the circumstance, that he is a member of a very numerous assembly; the same thing happens in the Court of Session. An increase of toil and an additional waste of time would be occasioned by any augmentation of the number of judges—because, while the labours of preparation would remain precisely the same as before, the difficulty of reconciling opinions would be increased by the additional number of them which would be delivered. The time of the court would be consumed exactly in the same proportion. The division of the court, therefore, into two chambers co-ordinate in power, and equally accessible to litigants, must first of all (if the chambers be equally popular) reduce the amount of business and the labours of each division by one half, that is to say, only one half of the cases which came before the whole court will now come before each separate chamber. But the reduction of labour must be still greater in amount than this—for not only must the number of cases be diminished, but the difficulties attending the decision of *each* controversy must be greatly lessened. Fewer opinions are given, and less time, of course, is wasted in delivering them; the collision of sentiment is less frequent, and there is less difficulty in attaining that satisfactory adjustment which is in every point of view so desirable. By the entire separation also of the different departments of business which belong to the Inner and Outer-houses, a still greater saving of labour to each of the judges is accomplished; while every portion

of the public business, and that which belongs to the Outer-house in particular, is more deliberately and more effectually done. The recent arrangements have thus removed one great and reasonable ground of complaint, by relieving the judges of an excess of labour to which no human industry could be fully adequate.

But other evils, it may be said, remain; the pleadings are still in writing, and the evidence is not only in writing, but its true import remains a subject of debate to the last stage of the cause. Here are two complaints which must be separately examined; the justice of one of them, at least, seems more than questionable.

It does not appear difficult to find a criterion by which the comparative merits of written and *viva voce* pleadings may be ascertained. It must always be remembered, that in questions of a civil nature which come before the courts, any appeal to the *feelings* is very much out of place; and accordingly the arts by which such appeals may be effectually made, are but little cultivated at the Scottish bar. The advantages, therefore, of voice and gesture are here of no importance; the question to be decided being generally one of strict reasoning, must be settled by force and solidity of argument alone. Pleadings conducted *viva voce* might indeed have some superiority over the written form, if the *parties* were to appear in court personally, and not through the medium of professional men employed to sustain their causes. The suddenness of the questions put, and the rapid turn of the argument, might, by disconcerting an impostor, tend very much to elucidate the truth. Even in such circumstances, however, little good could be accomplished upon the whole, by an exclusive preference given to *viva voce* pleadings; mere subtlety and dexterity might often, under this form, gain an advantage to which truth and justice alone are entitled. When the parties do not appear personally, but are represented by their professional advisers, who seldom, of their own knowledge, have any acquaintance with the cause, it is difficult to discover what benefit is to be expected from *viva voce* pleadings, which is not better attained by means of writing. Subtleness and dexterity—petulance and forwardness—have many advantages in wrangling at the bar; but such are not the victories of reason or of truth. Many things are said in every *speech*, (particularly if it be unpremeditated) which, upon reflection, will appear extremely shallow and absurd; but as the precise words of an oration are seldom remembered for any length of time, loose and frothy declaimers have free scope in their harangues. On law, as well as on every other subject, men will explain themselves more satisfactorily *with* than *without* the aid of mature deliberation; and as all written compositions have a permanency about them which does not belong to *viva voce* pleading—as they may be conveniently referred to, not only by friends, who make them the subject of panegyric, but by foes, who wish to calumniate the author—as they involve a sort of responsibility which does not belong to the other form of pleading, it seems but reasonable to presume, that greater care and deliberation will be employed in preparing them. The fruits of this care must be superior excellence—an excellence which is not only important to the client and to his cause, but essential to the sound administration of justice. By the forms of pleading adopted in our supreme civil court, the arguments of the parties are all but published; and if the pleadings were, in other respects, free from error, a more correct and satisfactory view of the grounds of each particular judgment could be obtained under this

than under any other system. On the importance of this circumstance to the stability and consistency of the law it were superfluous to enlarge.—One inconvenience, indeed, combined with so many advantages, written pleadings undoubtedly have; a greater proportion of the time and attention of the judge is occupied in their perusal, than would be consumed in listening to *viva voce* pleadings on the same subject. But this evil seems to admit of an easy remedy; for if the public business be so arranged, that the whole may be discharged without undue precipitation or excessive and unreasonable labour to the judge, the object is fully accomplished, The regular extrication of the business of the court, and the absence of all arrears, form the only criterion which can be resorted to on this subject; and it appears, that in point of fact, the division of the court, and the other arrangements made a few years ago, have been successful in removing the ancient grievances. In such circumstances, it may with confidence be maintained, that the present form of pleading established in the Court of Session, in so far as it prefers written to parole discussion, instead of affording a just ground for complaint, is entitled to very high commendation.

It is more difficult, however, to justify that form of proceeding in other particulars of no slight moment. It is true that proofs are still reduced to writing, and that evidence is collected in a manner which seems deserving of severe censure. The witnesses are not examined in presence of the judge who is to decide upon their testimony, but before a person with limited powers, and often of small experience. This person, who acts upon a commission granted to him by the judge, repairs to the spot where the dispute has arisen, if it be of a local nature, and there proceeds, without much formality, to interrogate the witnesses, and to put down their answers in writing. The "commissioner," as he is called, is sometimes a person of no great education, and of slender practice in his profession; he proceeds, therefore, to the discharge of his difficult office with every possible disadvantage. Having little confidence in his own knowledge or experience, he is without firmness to resist the importunity, and to repress the indecent wrangling of the litigious crowd by which he is surrounded. The power entrusted to him is of a very limited nature—for it would be dangerous to bestow extensive powers on such persons as it is often necessary to select for this office. There is nothing of a judicial character about his appearance, or the manner of exercising his functions; nothing which is calculated to impress the witnesses with sentiments of suitable deference and respect for him. The influence of this single circumstance must be great upon the minds of ignorant persons, such as those with whom he has often to deal. From his want of knowledge and experience in the conduct of such affairs, he is often puzzled as to the competency of questions which the parties propose to the witnesses; debates arise which he cannot extricate or adjust; and after much clamour, on both sides, these debates are formally reduced to writing, and reported to the judge, that he may give his opinion as to any controverted point which may arise in the course of the proceedings. When no objections occur to the questions proposed, they are put by the commissioner to the witnesses; and the answers are taken down in writing, in such terms as it may suit the judgment or the caprice of the commissioner to express them. Ignorant witnesses frequently wander from the points as to which they are interrogated—they give answers much more copious than the occasion requires,—

and they express themselves in language a great deal too circuitous to be inserted *verbatim*, in the written volume which is to be laid before the judge. With the commissioner, therefore, it remains to decide what part shall be put down in writing and what shall be omitted—to determine what abridgement of the redundant phraseology of the witness may still retain the true force and meaning of his testimony. But this is a task of the utmost delicacy; for a slight error in the performance of it may often give a different complexion to the whole question at issue. By our present system, however, this difficult undertaking, compared with which the application of the law to the evidence is often a matter of perfect simplicity, is entrusted to a person, almost in every instance far inferior to the judge in attainments and experience, and in some cases, of the slightest possible acquaintance with his profession. It must be remembered also, that every circumstance in the demeanour of the witness which cannot be expressed in writing, and which forms no part of his formal answer to the interrogatories, but which ought to have great influence on the import of his testimony, is wholly unexplained and omitted in this written report sent to the judge, by which he is to decide finally upon the merits of the cause. If men expressed their feelings, their conviction, and their knowledge, by *words alone*, this mode of proceeding might, under the management of an able commissioner, afford an approximation to accuracy in the picture which it professes to give of the whole body of the evidence. But how far it is from being true, that men, on all occasions, express themselves by artificial language only, is known to every student of human nature. The natural language of the looks and gestures, as well as of the tones of voice, has been more intimately associated by the hand of nature with the inward sentiments and conviction of the breast, than that artificial language which, as it is the creature of society, has no real sympathy with the natural feelings, but is as well adapted for the expression of falsehood as of truth. How very imperfect and unsatisfactory is this mode of collecting evidence will be universally acknowledged; not to mention the danger lest, in the perusal of these ponderous and uninteresting volumes, the attention of the judge, which might have been kept alive by the examination of the witnesses in his own presence, should be extinguished.

It is a different question, however, whether the evidence when taken in the presence of the judge, as it certainly ought to be, should be put down in writing at full length, and by an officer of the court. Some record of it ought undoubtedly to be preserved in every case in which the judgment may be brought under review; because such a review, to be effectual, should proceed upon a perusal of the evidence as well as of the pleadings of parties. To preserve a sufficient record for this purpose, it does not appear necessary, however, that the testimony of the witness should be put down *verbatim*—a course of proceeding which must always be productive of much expence, labour, and delay. It is a delicate task, no doubt, to *translate* the verbose explanations and incoherent expressions of the witnesses into precise and accurate language; but this task surely may, without danger, be confided to the judge entrusted with the trial of the whole cause, although it cannot be safely abandoned to any person in a subordinate capacity. Errors will no doubt occur in the exercise of this discretionary power, place it where we may; but these errors are not likely to be so numerous, or of such magnitude, as to justify an effort to avoid them at a prodigious expen

of time and labour. The judge, therefore, who presides at the trial of the cause, should take correct notes of the evidence, and these notes should form the record on this part of the case when it is submitted to review. Thus, the evils so justly complained of as arising out of our present course of procedure in collecting parole evidence, would be avoided; and one of the great and just reproaches upon the administration of justice in Scotland would be removed. Some regulation would, no doubt, be required also, to compel the judge to pronounce a decision, in particular cases, of the nature of a special verdict, ascertaining the facts in the first instance; and this judgment ought to be subject to revision under the same limitations only which apply to the verdict of a jury pronounced in similar circumstances. Every reasonable object might thus be attained; the law might, by the introduction of some more correct form of pleading, (of which we shall have occasion to speak afterwards) be distinctly separated from the fact; the parole evidence as to the fact might be taken in the only way in which it is possible to receive it with advantage, that is, in the presence of the judge who is to decide the cause; and the entire and ultimate separation of the law and the fact might be secured, by requiring that each of them should form the subject of distinct interlocutors, or judgments, subject to such limitations, as to the power of review in each case respectively, as may appear adapted to its nature, and to the difficulties which must be encountered in ascertaining the truth.

But these improvements may be effected better *without* than *with* the intervention of a jury. It has already been proved, that a jury possesses no peculiar advantages in ascertaining the truth, even in matters of fact; and that to the decision of points of law it is wholly incompetent. By what arguments can it be maintained that the alterations above suggested may not be as easily accomplished through the intervention of *one* learned and skilful, as of *twelve* unlearned and unskilful men? In the one way as well as in the other the benefit of these obvious reforms may be obtained. In the one case, however, the departure would be but slight and unimportant in comparison from our ancient usages, while in the other it is manifestly of a very violent and questionable description.

Another evil formerly complained of was, "the immaturity and uncertainty of the law, arising partly from the inaccurate forms of pleading,—the utter impossibility of the judges finding time to study the more difficult cases which came before them,—and the want of sufficient communication with the counsel; but chiefly from the confusion of the facts and the law in every particular question, and the dissension and ill-prepared debates of the judges among themselves in their public deliberations."—Let us consider these grievances in their order, and endeavour to ascertain how far they have been remedied by the changes already introduced, and how far their further correction depends upon the introduction of trial by jury.

The inaccuracy of our forms of pleading must be acknowledged by every person who has any knowledge of the procedure of the court, and who is at all elevated above the most vulgar professional prejudices. The first object in every case of intricacy ought to be, to ascertain in what points the parties are really at variance, and in what they are agreed,—for in almost every case a great deal of matter is brought forward by way of introduction or explanation, or for the purpose of creating a bias in the mind of the judge, which has no real connection with the merits of the

cause. Thus, a loose and declamatory style is often employed, which is altogether inconsistent with the purposes of just reasoning, and foreign to the investigation of truth. Nothing can aid a sound enquiry into the merits of any complex question so much as the separation of it into *parts* when this is practicable; for the mind, which is so constituted as to attend only to one object at the same time, thus acquires a more distinct and correct knowledge of every branch of the subject, and has a firmer hold of the different points in controversy. But almost every case brought before courts of justice is compounded of law and fact; and it becomes indispensable, therefore, to a correct system of pleading, that these parts should be accurately distinguished from each other. To accomplish this separation in a manner the most complete and palpable, it is necessary that questions of law and of fact should have separate places assigned them in the pleadings; and that they should on no account be spoken of, or argued upon, in conjunction. It is incumbent, therefore, on the pursuer (plaintiff) to set out, in the first instance, by a full and correct statement of the facts on which he founds his plea, recapitulating afterwards, and in a separate form, the different principles of law,—the statutes,—or the known usages of the country from which he deduces his conclusion. How different such a course is from the forms observed at present is well known to every practitioner.—It is customary, under the existing forms, to commence a law-suit by means of a "summons," as it is called, which, in general, blends together the whole statement of the plaintiff both in law and fact; and merely announces the conclusion to which he has come, without alluding at all to the special facts, or the legal premises, from which his inference is deduced. It is impossible, therefore, to offer any strict or formal pleading in answer to such a production; and accordingly the "defence," as a certain paper is called, (or the plea of the defendant) is, generally speaking, the most insignificant and contemptible production that can well be imagined. If the pleas of the plaintiff were correctly set forth in the outset, and accurately distinguished according to some prescribed form, it would then be the duty of the defendant to speak distinctly to the facts alleged against him—to confess or deny their truth in the most pointed terms—and to demur separately, and in a form no less accurate, to the pleas of the other party in point of law. But when there is nothing strict or accurate on the side of that party who commences the law-suit, it would be unfair to demand greater regularity from his opponent; and of this excuse the defendant, whose interest it frequently is to perplex as much as possible the true nature of the question at issue, most amply avails himself.

After this most irregular outset, in the shape of a "summons" and "defence," and while there is yet nothing precise or definite on the record, the parties begin to wrangle in a *viva voce* pleading before the judge, into which they may introduce every possible topic that occurs to the ingenuity of their counsel. The cause, if it be one of any intricacy, or require elucidation from a proof, is in most instances not at all advanced by these preliminary and expensive proceedings; the parties have been brandishing their weapons at a distance; and the necessity of a closer struggle at last becomes apparent. Some approach to that accuracy of pleading, which ought to have prevailed at the outset, is finally attempted in the shape of a "condescendence," and "answers," as they are called; but it is only in certain cases that even at this stage of the proceedings a successful attempt

is made to attain a full statement of the facts as separated from the law; and no form exists by which the pleas in point of law are ever formally and separately stated, so as to become matter of record. The consequence is, that the fact and the law are never thoroughly distinguished throughout the whole course of the litigation; and that from the perplexity and confusion which are created by combining them, the dispute becomes altogether unsatisfactory, and sometimes nearly interminable.

Nothing surely can be more absurd than this course of proceeding. A correct knowledge of the fact must in every case form the basis for a sound application of the law; and to ascertain the facts ought therefore to be the great object at the outset of the proceedings. For this purpose, the plaintiff ought to be compelled to begin with an accurate and comprehensive deduction of the whole circumstances of his case, and under a separate form, and in a different part of his written pleading, he should be called upon to state precisely the grounds of law on which he means to insist. The defendant ought to be compelled, in the first instance, to confess or deny with the utmost precision the facts stated by his adversary; nor until he has done this should he be allowed to open his mouth on any point of law. While he admits or denies the plaintiff's statement of facts, he ought to be compelled to announce with equal distinctness and precision the facts which he himself offers to prove in his defence; and the plaintiff should then be called upon in the same manner to state what part of these he admits and what he denies. The grounds of contention, in so far as they depended upon matters of fact, would thus be well ascertained and defined at the outset of the cause; the essence of the dispute would be discovered; many irrelevant pleas and averments would be disposed of; and the parties would thus join issue, and be permitted to plead only on matters truly essential to the cause. Nor would there be any hardship in thus compelling litigants to be precise, and to exhaust their pleas at the outset; and the only case in which they could reasonably claim the privilege of adding to, or substracting from, their original statements, would be that in which some facts of importance had *recently* come to their knowledge. After the facts truly in dispute had thus been separated with care from the loose and irrelevant averments, which every party is too much disposed to bring forward, with the view of creating some unjustifiable bias, the litigants might be permitted to begin their arguments as to the relevancy of the disputed facts, which appear upon record, to support their respective conclusions. If the facts were deemed irrelevant, the proceedings could at once be quashed; but if they were thought sufficient to support any legal conclusion, they would become the subject of a proof by witnesses, to be taken in presence of the judge.

The advantages of such a course as that which is here suggested, (and it is substantially the same with what has been long followed in England) must be quite apparent. In the first place, the entire separation of the law from the fact would promote very much the accuracy and soundness of the decision pronounced; for as objects which are separate and distinct in their own nature, would be presented to the mind of the judge in a separate form, a greater degree of accuracy in judging of the conclusions to be deduced from the whole would be the inevitable result. Nothing surely can, in most cases, be more absurd than the existing practice, which admits of "proofs before answer," as they are called; that is to say, of proofs as to facts, the rele-

vancy of which, to the points at issue, has not been discussed or determined.—Great advantages also would in this way result to the parties themselves in the conduct of the litigation; for as every thing would be precise and definite, it would be impossible for sophistry itself to travel beyond the record, or to dilate on points not material to the issue. The voluminous and multifarious discourses which are at present composed upon almost every question that comes before the Inner-house, might thus be dispensed with, to the manifest advantage of litigants, and the great accommodation of the court. The familiar principles,—that every thing which is in its nature complex, may be most conveniently examined by inspecting its parts in succession,—and that before attempting to raise any superstructure, the foundation should, in the first place, be well and firmly laid, will apply here as in every other instance. The law and fact are separate in their own nature—let them, therefore, be separately examined. The establishment of the fact is the natural preliminary to all enquiries into the law,—it is the basis upon which the decision is to rest. It is proper, therefore, that in the first instance this foundation should be laid, and that a judgment should be pronounced, ascertaining the fact before an attempt be made to apply the law. This judgment, pronounced in certain circumstances, and under certain conditions, might be allowed to become irreversible before the point of law be debated; and thus a sure and firm basis would be prepared for the ultimate decision. The discreditable altercations which too often occur under the present system of proceedings, even in the last stage of a cause, and from which it may often seem doubtful whether the facts have been yet clearly ascertained, even when the final decision is about to be pronounced, might thus be very easily avoided.

But here again it may be asked—Of what use can a jury be in promoting these objects? Will its intervention assist in producing that accuracy in the form of pleadings which is so much desired? Will it aid in separating the law from the fact, when it is confessed by the supporters of the new institution, that in order to ensure its efficiency, both law and fact must be sent in a state of combination to the jury? Will jury trial, under such a provision, promote the separation of the fact from the law,—or will it by itself, and without the aid of other regulations, accomplish the remedy of the grievances which have been so much complained of? Jury trial will accomplish none of these objects, unless, indeed, it be true that juries are of *necessity* better judges in matters of fact than regularly educated professional men. If they possess not this singular quality, there can be no use whatever for their interposition, with the view of removing evils which can be better corrected, and with less hazard, by simple expedients and more obvious regulations.

That the institution of jury trial is of the very highest importance in a particular class of cases, no man who wishes well to the liberties of his country will pretend to deny. In every instance in which the subject has to maintain a contest with the crown, this safe-guard of general liberty could not be dispensed with, without incurring the most imminent risk to the freedom of our constitution. The disposition of the executive to extend its power and to avenge itself on those who may venture to resist its usurpations, is *presumed* in the theory of the British constitution; and how adverse soever this presumption may be to the spirit which actually prevails among the ministers of the crown at any particular period, it were very unsafe to lose sight of it in practice. The judges of

the present day are, no doubt, independent of the crown in so far as their emoluments and their rank in society are considered; but it is wisely supposed by the constitution that a bias may be created not only from an expectation of future favours, but by the gratitude which may be felt for benefits already conferred. There is at all times, besides, but one judge in the empire who has attained the highest elevation and the greatest professional honours; and the nature of the functions which that eminent person has to discharge, do not connect him with those questions in which the crown and the subject stand opposed to each other. Every judge, therefore, excepting the Lord Chancellor, may be supposed to look forward to still higher promotion, and to be thus in some measure dependent upon the crown. The rank in life and the previous habits of the judges conspire to give them an intimate connection with the rulers of the country; and hence it is justly supposed, that how great soever their impartiality and integrity may be in other cases, yet where the crown and an individual subject are engaged in any controversy, they may discover a dangerous bias towards the former. It is true, indeed, that jurors may, in many cases, have a very unreasonable bias of a contrary description; and as the true object of all judicial proceedings is the fair and impartial administration of justice, not the protection of the guilty under the pretence of securing the liberty of the subject, it cannot be denied that in many instances, even of a criminal nature, where the crown appears as the plaintiff, the intervention of a jury may be attended with great inconvenience. It is an amiable maxim, no doubt, that the escape of the guilty is less to be deplored than the punishment of the innocent; yet in either event the great ends of justice are defeated. But the constitution of this country, which favours so much the liberty of the subject, has provided, that in every case in which an individual shall maintain a contest with the crown, he shall have a manifest *advantage* on his side; and not only shall not be judged by any man, or class of men, who have connection, real or imaginary, with his powerful antagonist, but by persons, who, in all probability, will take an interest in his own condition. This is the true object of the law in requiring, that every man who is prosecuted at the suit of the crown, whether for the most heinous crimes, or for offences against the public revenue, shall have the benefit of a trial by jury. It is not because twelve men, selected at random, are supposed to be better able to estimate the force of evidence, than the judges who are accustomed to such investigations, that juries are employed in cases of a criminal nature. The motives, therefore, which have led to the introduction of this species of trial in criminal cases, are altogether different from those which should lead us to prefer it in causes of a civil nature.—In criminal cases the assistance of a jury is required on account of its supposed *sentiments*, and not because of its imputed *discernment*. In cases of a civil nature, there is no room for a bias of any kind, and superior discernment alone on the part of the jury can entitle them to a preference.—But in all criminal cases, and in all questions relating to the public revenue, in the courts of Justiciary and Exchequer, we have jury trial already. We have the benefit of the institution, therefore, in all cases in which it promises to be of any utility.

Let us examine more particularly, however, the arguments by which the introduction of jury trial in civil causes into Scotland has been justified, and endeavour to appreciate the supposed advantages to be derived from it.

The leading argument on this subject

has been derived from the example of England, where jury trial in civil cases has been long established, and is said to have been attended with very great advantages. It may be remarked, however, that England stands single in this instance, and that although the experiment of trial by jury in civil causes has been made at some period among almost all the European nations, it has in each of them been ultimately abandoned. The jurisprudence of England, indeed, is in many respects superior to that of all other nations; yet it will not follow that this superiority has been derived from an adherence to the system of jury trial. On this subject, the remarks of an ingenious writer, in the Edinburgh Review, appear to be conclusive.

" But admitting that the English system is excellent, we may next be permitted to enquire, whether it be excellent by means of jury trial in civil cases, or in spite of such jury trial.—This system is a vast and complicated whole, in which many functions are performed by many parts; and after it has been long in action, it is nearly impossible to say what parts have promoted and what have obstructed its salutary movements. It is a great living body, in which it is vain to look for the immediate seat of vitality.—That this vivifying principle resides in jury trial has indeed been an opinion among lawyers, as it has been an opinion among anatomists, that the soul resided in the pineal gland: but the pineal gland, when detached from the rest of the system, is merely a piece of pulp about the size of a pea; and jury trial, taken by itself, may perhaps be something of the same value. The strict forms of pleading which have been long established in the courts of England; the limitation of the power of review from judgments upon evidence; and, above all, the examination of witnesses in presence of the judge, will certainly go far to explain the admitted excellencies of this part of their system of procedure, without leaving much to be set to the credit of the 12 slow men who are interposed between the witnesses and the court. That they have sometimes been felt as an incumbrance, appears evident from the multiplied provisions that have been found necessary to get the better of their errors. The writ of attaint, the motion for a new trial, the bill of exceptions, and the pleas in arrest of judgment, are all proofs of this. Is it not true, besides, that many cases are referred to arbiters, after issue joined, purely from the impossibility of having them well tried by a jury? that Judge Blackstone has said of the court of Chancery, in which there are no juries, that it is ' by much the most important of any of the king's superior and original courts of justice;' and that Mr Bentham has said expressly of the trial by jury, that ' it is an institution admirable in barbarous times, not fit for enlightened times,' though it may be ' necessary as matters stand in England?'

" That this contrivance of a jury accomplishes that separation of the fact from the law, without which the latter can never attain to maturity, is a proposition at which it is impossible not to hesitate, when we find that in a great majority of cases, the fact and the law together are sent as inseparable to the jury on the general issue. In such cases how is the law separated, but by the direction of the judge?—And would not his decision separate it as well directly as by the intervention of a jury, whose mistake may make a new trial, or a plea in arrest of judgment, indispensable? In all cases where it is possible to separate the fact in a verdict, it would be easy to provide, that the court should also separate it in their judgment, and that this judg-

ment, upon evidence, should only be liable to review, under the same conditions as are now required for reviewing the verdict of a jury.

"But, conceding this point like the last, and admitting that jury trial is an excellent thing in the English system of procedure, we should beg leave to ask whether it follows as a necessary consequence, that it would prove an excellent thing in another? It is connected in that country with an immense multitude of institutions, which it has not yet been proposed to us to adopt; —with their whole system of pleadings —courts of equity distinct from courts of law—bills of exception—special verdicts—attaints—challenges—new trials—demurs—arrests of judgment—and writs of error. With the help of all these to controul, correct, and assist it, jury trial may be allowed to have been found serviceable in England. Without these, it may be fairly presumed, it would be found pernicious and inconvenient. Are we to borrow all this complicated and cumbrous part of the English law? We have never understood that this was intended. Are we then to take trial by jury without what are there considered as its necessary correctives and accompaniments? Is not this a hazard somewhat too great for the advantage that it promises? Or are we to devise a new sort of correctives and regulations, better accommodated to our own usages, and amalgamating more kindly with our own forms? We doubt much if all the lawyers of both countries, assembled in one vast consultation, could digest such a system, or save the country from much inconvenience and discontent in the course of the experiment."

It has been said, however, that "there is a considerable class of cases, in which, from their affinity to criminal actions, it seems manifest that juries should be admitted; and that, when the question turns upon the demerit of one individual, and the sufferings of another, a jury of persons of the same rank is by far the most equitable tribunal."—It is impossible to discover any solid reason for this distinction.—It is not, as has already been observed, on account of any supposed superiority of *discernment* that juries are preferred in criminal cases; for it seems unquestionable, that in point of discrimination, and in the power of comprehending an involved and intricate proof, they are inferior in every respect to men of professional education. But it is on account of their better *feeling*, in every case in which the subject has to maintain a contest with the crown, that their interposition is required. The advantage of jury trial in such cases, consists in the supposed *bias* of the jurors in favour of one of the parties; for that tenderness towards the accused, which it is imagined they possess, is in reality a *bias*, whatever name may be affixed to it. But how, in cases which depend upon the demerit of one individual, and the sufferings of another, can any *bias* be permitted? It is impossible that the jury can on such occasions feel a bias towards the accused, without being unjust towards the prosecutor, who is, in most instances, the injured party. There is no room, therefore, in such cases, for the supposed favourable bias of a jury towards the accused; and if jurors possess no superiority in point of discernment, which it is manifest they do not, we can discover no reason for resorting to them in questions of damages, any more than in the other civil questions which are brought under the cognizance of our supreme court. Can the injury done to an individual not be as well appreciated by a judge as by a jury? or does a judge in his official capacity become insensible to the common feelings of our nature? There are, perhaps,

no questions upon which all men feel so much in the same way, and are so much disposed to come to the same conclusion, as those which relate to a moral wrong done by one person to another; and the only difficulty in such cases proceeds from contradictions or defects in the evidence by which the facts are supported. If the facts are clearly made out, there can be little difference of opinion as to the result which ought to follow, and the compensation which must be awarded; and a judge, in circumstances of this kind, will probably feel very much in the same way with all other classes of men. But if a jury can have no advantage in point of discernment in such cases—if there be no room in actions of damages for the interposition of that *bias* in favour of the accused, which is supposed so necessary in judging of prosecutions at the instance of the crown,—and if, in appreciating the demerits of one individual, and the sufferings of another, a judge, (unless he be supposed in his official capacity to divest himself of the ordinary feelings of human nature,) be likely to think and act much in the same way with other men, there can be no room for resorting to the assistance of a jury in such cases, and for innovating on the established usages of the country, and ordinary modes adopted for the administration of justice.

It has been maintained, that "very considerable advantage may be derived from putting the judge to the necessity of making the law and the reason of the law intelligible to an ordinary jury—that this increases the authority and knowledge of the law throughout the country, and will lead the judge himself to perceive the fantastical and unreasonable parts of it more readily, than any form of intercourse with those who have studied it as a science. Its equity and reasonableness are thus repeatedly tried upon the minds of the middling and most important classes; and what is absurd, or no longer applicable, is more speedily discarded than by the slower conviction of those who have been educated in a reverence for the whole system. In this point of view, even the rebellion of the jury against the direction of the judge, if it be not done from caprice, may be of use in accelerating the abolition of oppressive maxims. The rigour of the letter may receive a temperament from the mediation of this more sympathizing body; and the rust be rubbed off the engine without impairing its powers." This view of the question, although plausible, is extremely fallacious.

If it be supposed that the jury is bound to obey the directions of the judge in all matters of law, the task of explanation becomes easy and simple. It must be confined entirely to the statement of legal doctrines, without any exposition of the arguments from which they are deduced. If such be, in fact, the sole duty of the judge, it is obvious, that want of confidence in himself, or a love of ease, will, in general, confine him within very narrow limits in the exposition of the law. If the jury is bound implicitly to follow his directions, he need not give himself much trouble in proving the consistency of his charge with the principles of reason or justice.

This view of the subject is powerfully confirmed when we come to consider the law as a science, depending on fixed principles, and leading in its practical application to a chain of reasoning, which, without the knowledge of principles, can with difficulty be followed or appreciated. The law is certainly a science of this kind, and to bring it towards perfection, or to give it general efficiency, it ought always to be studied with a view to certain great and leading principles. It seems impossible, therefore, that by selecting detached parts of it—by commenting at random

on the most intricate and difficult of its doctrines—by submitting such comments to the consideration, and even to the correction, of a set of men ignorant of its general principles, much advantage can be expected. Who would propose in any other science to select a difficult problem, and submit it at once to the consideration of illiterate and inexperienced persons? Would not such a course appear manifestly ridiculous; and would not the opinion of an ignorant person, if he presumed to deliver it, be considered as of no weight or authority whatever?—Could the most profound and able philosopher, select at random a question of difficulty in the sciences, and explain it in a satisfactory manner to persons wholly ignorant of general principles? or if he were compelled to undertake such a task, would he not be tempted to indulge in many idle and absurd illustrations, and to modify and reduce his principles to the slow apprehension of his vulgar auditors? His statement of the points in dispute could not, in such circumstances, be clear, satisfactory, and scientific;—it could never enter into any system, or promote the improvement of the science. How can we expect a different result, when we compel professional men to explain to persons entirely ignorant of their general views, the principles of that science which has been their peculiar study? Common sense, it has already been observed, has little or no controul over abstract principles of law; it is only by a careful and comprehensive induction of particulars, and by the highest refinement of the reasoning powers, that the true principles of this, or of any other science, can be well understood, and safely applied to practice. For these reasons, therefore, it is rational to believe, that a more difficult, absurd, and impracticable task could not be imposed on any man, than that, which, in the above argument, it is contended the judges should undertake, viz. that of explaining in detail, and by a casual selection, the most profound reasonings which belong to their professional studies. Ordinary juries must be ill qualified to follow such reasonings if they are carefully and scientifically deduced from first principles; and if no attempt at scientific deduction be made—if it be understood that the judges are not bound to explain the *reason* of the law to the juries, but merely to state the practical results, and the established rules, no advantage can be derived from such an attempt to explain their opinions. It is true, indeed, that men of professional habits may be more apt to overlook the glaring absurdities of their own notions, than the most vulgar audience to which they may address themselves; but it must not be forgotten that our courts are open to the lieges, and are in general crowded by persons much of the same rank and acquirements with those whom it is proposed to convene as jurymen. Such persons are always ready to detect and expose the gross absurdities of the law, if any such exist. The judges are compelled, besides, to explain their views of the law to the bar, and to the other practitioners connected with the court;—men, of whom it may be generally supposed, that, with a certain tincture of legal knowledge, they have yet retained a portion of that "common sense" which is supposed requisite to the detection of flagrant absurdities.—The necessity which compels the judges to explain themselves to the bar affords great facilities towards the perfection of law as a *science;* and so long as the proceedings of our courts are accessible to a common audience, and form the subject of general stricture and observation, we have all the security which can be required, both for the progress of legal science, and for the general conformity of judicial pro-

ceedings to the ordinary and familiar principles of common sense. But if judges are forced to explain themselves to a jury—if they are bound to submit their opinions to the consideration and controul of such a tribunal, there must be great danger, either that juries will not understand them thoroughly, or that from ignorance, inexperience, and a limited view of the great principles of jurisprudence, they will be disposed to thwart the opinions of the court, and to introduce confusion and uncertainty into the law. The judge, also, to make himself intelligible, will be compelled to explain his opinions in a loose, popular, and unscientific manner. Such a course of proceeding must prove unpropitious in the extreme to the progress of legal science.

Some persons have supposed, "that the *formal institution* of trial by jury may be necessary to insure that separation of the fact from the law, without which the latter can never become systematical."—But this opinion is founded upon a very obvious mistake. The separation of the fact from the law, which is so well accomplished in England, is obtained, not from any peculiar adaptation to this purpose which the verdict of a jury possesses, but from the regulations which have been long established relative to such verdicts, and which, under certain conditions, render them final and decisive as to the facts. It is quite evident that, in so far as mere *form* is concerned, the verdict of a jury, and the sentence of a judge on the same subject, have precisely the same advantages. If the judge be compelled, precisely in the same circumstances with the jury, to pronounce a *separate* judgment upon the facts, and if this sentence have the same conditions attached to it which belong to the verdict of the jury, it is obvious, that the separation of the law from the fact may be as well accomplished in the one way as in the other. Suppose, that in every case in which a jury returns a special verdict ascertaining the facts, the judge shall be required to do the same thing—that his sentence shall be subject to review only on the same conditions on which that of the jury is liable to a similar process—and that, by the forms of pleading, which it may be convenient to establish, a separation of the fact from the law at the outset of the proceedings shall be obtained in Scotland as well as in England, it seems impossible, by any stretch of ingenuity, to prove, that the verdict of a jury should aid more powerfully the improvement of the law, than the interlocutor or sentence of the judge. The only difference is, that the one is the opinion of twelve men, or of a majority of twelve, wholly unskilled in estimating the force of evidence and reconciling contradictions, while the other is the opinion of one or more persons, who have devoted long and laborious lives towards acquiring facility in such investigations. It cannot surely be difficult to determine upon which of these opinions it will be safe to rely; nor is it easy to understand in what way the intervention of a jury can have the slightest influence in producing the objects which the advocates of the new system are so desirous of accomplishing.

Another argument in favour of jury trial in civil causes has been frequently urged. It has been said, that "the use of a jury would probably insure greater dispatch than could be commanded in any other way without great harshness; and would, at the same time, have a tendency to raise the consideration and character of that great middling population, on whose intelligence and self-esteem the welfare of a nation depends so immediately." But why are these advantages esteemed peculiar to jury trial? As to *dispatch*, it is evident that this object can

be attained only by compelling the parties to come speedily to an issue with their pleas, and to exhaust themselves in adducing their evidence within a limited period. All pleas urged in point of law, it is evident, must be under the sole direction of the judges, whether jury trial be or be not introduced; and of course it must remain with them alone to set limits to pleadings according to their own discretion. The only part of the proceedings, therefore, which can possibly be reduced within narrower limits in point of time, by means of jury trial, is that which embraces the parole proof.—Now the method by which this limitation is effected, according to the practice of England, is by keeping the jury together until they have finally exhausted the evidence and made up their minds as to the subject in controversy. The parties are thus compelled to come forward at once with all their proofs; but the same object could surely be accomplished by a regulation which should compel the judge in every case, in which a proof is allowed, to do precisely the same thing which is done by the juries. Let it be fixed by a special regulation, that all proofs in future shall be taken in presence of the judge, who is to decide on the merits of the cause; and that the judge shall not be permitted to adjourn the court after entering on the proof brought in any particular case, until he has fairly concluded it and pronounced his decision. If a rule of this kind were adopted, its influence upon the parties and the practitioners would soon be apparent; and if jury trial in civil causes is to be introduced at all, the innovation cannot be defended on the pretence of saving time; an object which could be effected with much greater advantage, and with a slighter departure from our established usages, by means of a few simple and obvious regulations, than by the cumbrous machinery which it is now proposed to employ.

That the introduction of jury trial will raise the consideration and character of the people, and promote their intelligence and self-esteem, is extremely questionable. To many persons engaged in the active pursuits of life, the task of serving as jurors will be extremely burdensome and inconvenient; and it is not too much to suppose, that this consideration will more than compensate any imaginary importance which they may be supposed to acquire by being called upon to discharge functions of this nature. The honour of being compelled to serve as jurors, will form no *privilege* peculiar to any class of men in the country, but a *duty* required in common of them all; honours, however, which are bestowed in this manner, cease to be considered as a mark of distinction, and to form the foundation of self-esteem. As to the *intelligence* which it is supposed the new institutions will diffuse, it may be remarked, that if individuals are to be called upon in succession, and after certain intervals of time, to serve as jurors—if the jury, indeed, is not to become a constituent part of the court, (an evil which it seems to be confessed, on all hands, ought to be carefully avoided)—the intelligence which will be acquired by an occasional interference in public business, must be extremely trifling. But imperfect knowledge of every kind is universally and justly considered as prejudicial; it encourages dogmatism and conceit; it has no tendency to enlarge or improve the mind; on the contrary, it is apt to give that rashness and extreme confidence which may lead to the grossest errors. Instead of improving the character of the middling ranks in Scotland, therefore, it is possible, and by no means improbable, that the new in-

stitutions may considerably injure it, by circulating imperfect and inaccurate notions of law, and by inspiring a species of confidence which may lead to the most absurd litigations.

But other arguments have been employed to reconcile us to the recent innovations. In the most ingenious and able production which we have seen on this subject,* the trial of this great experiment is justified very much on the ground, that if it be not attempted *now*, it must be resorted to at some future period. There seems to be a general desire in the country, we are told, to make such an experiment; and a powerful political party, profiting by this prejudice, will not cease its exertions till the object is accomplished. "In England," says the learned and ingenious author, "it has always been popular to extol jury trial as a very superior mode of distributing justice, and as peculiarly favourable to public liberty and the dispatch of business; and in Scotland it has of late been held out by a considerable political party, as an institution calculated to remedy every imperfection in the administration of the law. The measure of importing it proved so far popular, that every opposition will hereafter employ it as a means for acquiring partizans, till some experiment is made, by which the country shall be able to judge of its merits from observation and experience. Under the fluctuations which arise in our free government, there is nearly a certainty, that if the experiment is not tried now, when men are seriously and coolly employed in finding means to improve the administration of justice, it must soon be tried in some shape or other, and probably with less circumspection, in proportion as the recent discussions shall have been forgotten."

These reasons appear inconclusive, when considered as an apology for this hazardous experiment. Jury trial *may* be very much esteemed in England, and yet it may be quite repugnant to every maxim of common sense and expediency. There are many things in the English law confessedly very absurd; some of its principles have been almost universally condemned by the more enlightened practitioners, even in that school of jurisprudence; yet we do not find that any attempt is made to obtain a reform, or that the absurdities which have been so often pointed out, are less popular than other principles and maxims of the English law. It ought to be considered also, that the high estimation in which jury trial is held in England must have arisen in a great measure, if not entirely, from its acknowledged advantages in criminal cases. As we are much influenced in our opinions by names, it is not wonderful that the partiality for juries should have been extended beyond that department of judicial procedure, in which they are confessedly so useful, to others in which they are altogether inefficient and cumbersome.

Nor does the wish of the people of Scotland to make an experiment of this mode of trial, even if the desire were far more general than it appears to be, afford a sufficient ground to justify the recent innovations. The legislature is certainly not bound to submit to popular opinion in any case; and still less should it be guided by such authority, when, from the nature of the subject, and the difficulties attending the discussion, it is probable that popular prejudice may be repugnant to the principles of sound policy. The general opinion of the people can seldom be accurately collected; and every thing, therefore, which, in a case like the present, may be urged by partizans, on the ground that they are ge-

* Considerations on the Introduction of Jury Trial in Civil Causes into Scotland.

nerally supported by the country, becomes liable to the utmost suspicion. Nor does it seem expedient to adopt any new institution, merely because a powerful party in the state, generally opposed to the measures of government, has thought fit to turn certain schemes of reform into an engine for acquiring popularity; for it is but too notorious, that politicians frequently resort to the most disingenuous devices for securing their object, without much consideration of the advantages or inconveniences with which the success of their projects may be attended to the country. An opposition is often hostile to existing institutions, for this sole reason—that their antagonists, who are in the possession of power, are supposed to be the proper guardians and defenders of what is established. It is generally in the power of government, by its influence over the legislature, to correct existing abuses; and when no measures of reform are proposed by those who are in the actual enjoyment of power, it is naturally, and not unfairly presumed, that they approve of what exists, and become responsible for all its defects. The spirit of opposition seizes, of course, on such defects; and if it confined itself within the bounds of truth and candour, it would be worthy of the highest approbation. But those who have personal interests to serve, or the objects of a party to accomplish, will seldom be guided by any rules either of justice or expediency; and the defects and excellencies of existing establishments thus become equally the objects of their zealous attacks. It is no sufficient reason, therefore, for a change in any of our civil or political institutions, that it is the desire of an opposition that they should be thus altered. While the ministers must, in all cases, profit in character and reputation by a removal of abuses, and suffer to an equal degree by inconsiderate reforms, their opponents may derive some temporary advantages from, and will, at all events, obtain a momentary triumph by carrying, against the rulers of the country, any measures of innovation, whether right or wrong. Nor does it follow, as the learned author appears to suppose, that because the opposition of the present day countenances the introduction of jury trial in civil causes into Scotland, this experiment must, amid the revolutions of our free government, be one day tried in some shape; for it is well known that a body of statesmen, while in opposition, profess very different principles from those which they entertain, or profess to entertain, after they are established in power. It is very possible, therefore, that although the opposition of the present day may be zealous in favour of the recent innovations, they might hold a very different language upon their accession to office; and that the experiment about to be tried, if it be really a dangerous one, might never have been ventured upon in any vicissitude of our affairs, or under any change of our rulers.

Besides the supposed advantages already enumerated, viz., the receiving parole evidence of facts in presence of the judges, who are to decide on its import—the saving of much trouble and expence at present incurred by frequent discussions in review—the compelling of practitioners to prepare causes in which facts are concerned, for being decided at one trial—and the removal of all undue facilities for the reconsideration of controversies with additional matter, other benefits of no mean importance are anticipated by the learned author of the "Considerations." "An intercourse," it is said, "will be created, by means of jury trial, between courts of justice and persons of ability in the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial lines of life, from which great benefits have been derived in England, both to the improvement of the law, and better administration of

justice, by adapting the practice to the existing state of affairs, and diffusing a general knowledge throughout the country of that practice, and creating a satisfaction with and confidence in the exertions of judges for the discharge of their duty." It was chiefly by this means, the same author assures us, "that Lord Mansfield was enabled to create a law-merchant for an age of advanced civilization, and to bequeath to his country that great production of his unrivalled talents as a judge, and a master in the science of jurisprudence. The constitution of Scotland, which excludes the traders, manufacturers, and yeomanry, generally, from any share in the election of members of parliament, renders it desirable to adopt, in that part of the island, any useful institution which would favour their intercourse with the gentry, and exact their common aid in the dispatch of business, partaking in any respect of a public character."—These topics deserve consideration.

The intercourse which is created by means of jury trial, betwixt the judges and the persons connected with the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests of the nation, may, at first view, be supposed to have great influence in adapting the practice of the law to the situation and circumstances of the country. But in what way has it this influence? By communicating accurate information to the court, as to the practice in the various departments of business. It becomes a question then, whether these advantages may not be obtained in a different and in a better manner than by the intervention of a jury, and by bestowing upon an "undisciplined populace" the power of determining questions of law. Should a doubt occur in any particular case as to the common practice of the country, either in agricultural or commercial affairs, an easy expedient may be resorted to for obtaining information. Persons of experience and knowledge may be examined as witnesses; they may thus be called upon to explain to the court every circumstance connected with their particular affairs in the most ample and satisfactory manner. There seems to be no necessity, therefore, for hazarding, with this view, the introduction of a jury, who are not only to give information, but to pronounce judgment. In the state of improvement to which England attained, both in agriculture and commerce, during the course of the last century, the law-merchant, as established by Lord Mansfield, would have been equally well constructed by a person of his eminent talents, with or without the assistance of a jury. In the circumstances of England, a code of this kind became indispensable; and nothing is more certain, than that when a demand for such a commodity exists, it will, in one shape or other, be effectually answered. It is a common remark, that great talents are usually called forth by some singular conjuncture of affairs, and it is not less true, that the effectual demands of society in science, literature, or the arts, will at all times be amply supplied. Lord Mansfield, by means of his own wonderful sagacity and penetration, aided by the knowledge which he must have received in the shape of evidence, might have secured the great objects which he actually accomplished, although a jury had never been allowed to share with him the functions connected with the administration of justice.

The advantages to be derived, from intercourse betwixt the judges and the jury, to the political sentiments of the people, seem to be very questionable. It must always be recollected, that the state of knowledge in this country is at present very much advanced—that information is very generally diffused among all classes—that

it is possessed in a high degree by the mercantile body, and that many individuals of this cl ss who may be called on to serve as jurors will be little disposed to yield either in point of rank, or attainments, to the judges who are to instruct them. But unless the judges shall possess a very decided superiority over the jurors, the intercourse which is now to be so greatly extended, instead of proving favourable in a political point of view, may have quite a contrary effect. A nearer acquaintance with the judges, who are generally, and without much enquiry, believed to be men of great learning and attainments, may not impress juries with a much higher opinion of their characters, than they already entertain. As to the infusion of sound political principles into the middling and lower orders, it is difficult to see how the introduction of jury trial should have any considerable effect in this point of view. The bench surely is not the proper channel for communicating information on such topics; and judges, from their habits, are not, perhaps, the most enlightened or accomplished politicians.

It is confessed on all hands, even by those who contend most strenuously for the introduction of jury trial, that the experiment will be attended with considerable hazard, and that the law of England, to which juries have been so long known, has made various and important provisions for avoiding the mischievous consequences with which their interference may often be attended.*—"The contrivance of the pleadings of litigants during the rise and progress of the law of England was calculated, it has been justly remarked, to separate the facts from the law of the case, to ascertain all material facts in which the parties agree, and to leave nothing but the facts upon which they differ, for the consideration of the jury. The most acute and laboured logic was employed for this purpose; and as the court retained the uncontrouled direction of what evidence should be admitted at the trial, juries had no means of impairing the system of the law by arbitrary or irregular decisions. Even the consideration of the fact, in cases of nicety, was taken from the jury, and if the circumstances proved by the witnesses were thought to be true, but attended with difficulty in point of inference, whether sufficient or not to make out the case of the party founding on them, his antagonist might admit the truth of the circumstances proved, but demur as to their sufficiency to support the conclusion; and the merits of this demurrer belonged solely to the judges to try, who thus assumed to themselves the proper functions of the jury. Besides this, the liberties taken of remanding juries to re-consider their verdicts when unsatisfactory to the court—the opportunity given to juries to interrupt their deliberations, and to come to the court for advice—the taking verdicts for random sums, to be afterwards modified by the court, on the report of arbiters or accomptants—the setting aside the verdict, when given contrary to the direction of the judge in matter of law, or even when thought contrary to the evidence in matter of fact, in order to allow of a new trial of the cause, must have operated powerfully in training juries to that becoming exercise of their important functions, which produced no disturbance or impediment to the progressive improvement and systematizing of the law.

"Above all, however, the necessity of unanimity to found a valid verdict, (a requisite that is generally thought to have been introduced by the king's

* Vide "Considerations," &c.

judges,) must have contributed powerfully to make juries attend dutifully to the charge of the bench, and proceed to a temperate and a patient discussion of the evidence with a view to mutual conviction. Where a majority is to decide, and the matter in dispute is merely a civil interest, and there is no audience nor spectators to awe and controul, the discussion will naturally be short, and the object of it victory, and a speedy decision of the business. Hence loquacity and confidence, and disregard to authority, will be much more favoured, than where every juryman knows that he must convince others, or be himself convinced; where, of course, he must bring with him a disposition to doubt of his own ideas, as well as to question those of others; and where he must look with eagerness and anxiety to the direction of the court, as the most promising source from which the unanimity desired may be attained."

These considerations, and many others which are stated by the learned and ingenious author, show the difficulties which occur in the management of juries in England, and the unfitness of this machine for executing the functions entrusted to it, unless its movements be conducted with the greatest circumspection, and limited with the utmost care. But if it be true that *unanimity* among the jurors is required to give value and efficacy to their interference, this circumstance of itself must form a great and fatal objection to the institution. It will be necessary to consider this subject with some attention, not on account of any difficulties which it naturally presents, but because sundry ingenious attempts have been made to involve the subject in no small degree of mystery.

When we talk of securing unanimity in the verdicts of the juries, the first question which occurs is,—Can this unanimity be *truly* attained under any circumstances, or by the force of any provisions which may be adopted? It is impossible to avoid remarking, that the matters which are submitted to the decision of a jury must, in general, be of a doubtful nature, and, of course, such as to produce a difference of opinion. Can it be supposed then, that in such cases, twelve ordinary men, selected at random, and who, in all probability, have no common principles of reasoning, and no established maxims to which they can refer, shall agree in their estimate of the evidence? Can we, in such cases, expect *real* unanimity? Such a hypothesis appears absurd, and seems to be abandoned even by those who are most attached to the English system. They do not pretend that *real unanimity* can be obtained; they even avow that this is not the object of their pursuit; but they maintain that an attempt to secure, even an apparent unanimity, will naturally lead to discussion, and that this is the great object of the regulation upon which they so eagerly insist. It must be confessed, however, that this indirect and clumsy way of securing discussion is liable to many obvious objections, and that if discussion be the object really in view, it might be obtained by some method more simple and less objectionable. It deserves remark also, with reference to this view of the subject, that in no other instance in which men are called upon to deliberate together and to pronounce a decision, is this unanimity, or even the form of it, required. It is not expected from the courts of law, although the most important points of jurisprudence are to be settled by their judgments; nor is it required in the legislature, although the most interesting questions of national policy are to be fixed by the votes of the members. It is not required from the *court*, even by the act recently passed, which, although it demands unanimity in the

jury, permits a difference of opinion on the bench, and provides, that when two judges chance to be present and differ in opinion, that of the presiding judge shall be adopted. The fact is, that this extraordinary requisite is demanded ONLY in the case of juries; and upon what principle a departure from the ordinary rule can be justified in this instance, it seems impossible to discover.

It has been pretended, indeed, that nothing less than the unanimous opinion of twelve men forms the real test of truth; but such a proposition could have been hazarded only by persons utterly incapable of reflection. *Truth*, in the strict and abstract sense of the word, cannot be secured in any legal discussion whatever; all that is sought, or can be obtained, in such instances, is a mere approximation, or a strong probability. The opinion of twelve men can never form a test of truth—for these twelve men *may* err, and may form an opinion much more erroneous than that which is maintained by a smaller number. In seeking the test of truth, why are we satisfied with the joint opinion of twelve men?—why do we not require that of a greater number, which would certainly amount to a *nearer approximation* to that absolute truth which is so vainly demanded by the theorists who support this grand practical absurdity? But even if the joint opinions of twelve men, formed in reality a test of truth altogether unquestionable, it is evident, from our experience of human nature, that in no question, which is in itself debateable, can such a test be obtained. Real unanimity, even if it could be secured, would be no certain test of truth; but, in point of fact, it never can be expected.

When twelve, or any greater number of men are assembled together to deliberate upon an intricate question either of fact or law, it is probable that some of them will possess considerable advantages over their brethren in dexterity of reasoning. They will employ such advantages, of course, to bring over their coadjutors to their own opinions. A verdict, apparently unanimous, may thus be obtained; but it is evident that if in this manner the seeming concurrence of opinion is secured, the imaginary advantages derived from the common sense and sagacity of twelve ordinary men are entirely forfeited. If the majority are brought over by the sophisms of the minority, the opinion which is delivered on the whole is in fact the opinion of this minority; and it were just as well that the subtle and technical reasoning of the judge, against which there seems to be so strong a prejudice, should be at once adopted.—But discussion, it is said, is promoted in this way. It may be answered, that the proper place for *discussion* is not the jury box but the court, where, in general, quite enough of debate occurs; and if any number of the jurors are not convinced by the reasonings of the bar and the charge of the judge, it is not likely that they will be much influenced by the arguments of their brethren. The discussion of doubtful points among such persons as the jurors, will tend very little to a *real* agreement, unless this desirable result be promoted by other considerations, such as the natural indolence of individuals, and a fear of that imprisonment which the court has it in its power to inflict. There are few instances in which such persons as jurymen begin to argue on disputed points, and at last arrive of themselves at a conclusion in which they all concur; the general result of debates among such persons is to widen their differences, and to confirm each of them in the opinions which they held at the outset. It seems probable, therefore, that jurors, after being allowed to amuse

themselves with argument and discussion for such a length of time as may suit their own taste, will, upon their separation, be more firmly convinced, each of his own opinion, than at the beginning. If they are to be brought to unanimity on such subjects, therefore, this object must be accomplished by other means than by that conviction which they are expected to derive from the arguments of their associates. The fear of disgrace on account of absurd obstinacy may indeed have some influence; but the dread of that imprisonment, for twelve hours, or even for a longer period, which the court may at its discretion inflict, must operate with a more powerful effect. The unanimity, however, which may be produced from such motives as these is no real unanimity at all; it implies nothing more than a degrading submission to the influence of force or fear, and affords evidence only of the base compromise which the juror has been compelled to make with his conscience.—The jury, we are told, however, will thus be compelled to look to the direction of the bench as the true source of the desired unanimity. But if they do so, it is the bench and not the jury which decides the cause. Suppose the jury were bound to submit without qualification to the directions of the bench, is it not evident that their intervention would be merely nominal? This is quite clear; and it follows, of course, that in so far as the jury, for the sake of obtaining a nominal unanimity, do actually submit in this manner, they form a mere incumbrance upon, and an useless and clumsy appendage to, the court.

The result of the whole seems to be—that the discussion among the jurors, which is so much desired, will lead either to an abject submission to the court, to a feigned concurrence in the opinion of the most artful and wrangling of their number, or to a hasty and disgraceful abandonment of the opinions of individuals, that they may escape the severities with which they are threatened. In none of these cases, therefore, can we have the desired test of truth, viz. the unbiassed and candid opinions of twelve or more ordinary men; but, on the contrary, we shall have the opinion either of the court, or of a wrangling minority, imposed upon us as the verdict of the jury. When a majority of the jurors retire with a different opinion from that which is entertained by some others who may be more obstinate, they will either submit from the fear of a long confinement—or from over persuasion—or they will not submit at all; if they yield from fear they violate their oaths; if from over persuasion, we have, instead of the verdict of a majority, the opinions of the minority; and if they do not submit at all, and a new trial is required, the proposed regulation becomes altogether useless and inefficient. In no view, therefore, in which this subject can be considered, does the provision to secure unanimity appear to be justifiable.

It has been observed, however, that "where a majority is to decide, and the matter in dispute is merely a civil interest, and there is no audience of spectators to awe or controul, the discussion will naturally be short, and the object of it victory, and speedy decision of the business. Hence loquacity and confidence and disregard to authority will be much more favoured, than where every juryman knows that he must convince others or be convinced himself—where, of course, he must bring with him a disposition to doubt of his own ideas as well as to question those of others—and where he must look with eagerness and anxiety to the direction of the court, as the most promising source from which una-

nimity may be obtained." These observations are ingenious, but they are by no means solid. The loquacity and confidence which are so much and so justly dreaded, can be produced, one should think, in the midst of *discussion* alone. But those who seem most to dread this loquacity and confidence, are the very persons who contend for *discussion* among jurors; they appear thus to be very inconsistent in their reasonings. In illustration of what has just been said, it may be remarked, that the great object of exertion at the bar is to convince; and it is notorious that loquacity and confidence among lawyers are extremely common. Such qualities are, in fact, produced by the necessity of that very discussion which is demanded from the jurors; they could never be displayed if the majority of the jury were to decide. There would be no room in such circumstances for discussion; and, of course, there would be no cause for the display of that confidence and loquacity, and that desire of victory, which are so much dreaded.

As to the modesty and diffidence, which, it has been said, will result from the proposed regulation respecting unanimity, it may be safely affirmed, that these valuable qualities would be acquired in a much higher degree if the majority alone were to decide. The responsibility attached to each individual opinion would thus be much greater—the danger of giving it with confidence would be much more strongly impressed on the mind—and every one of the jurors would be inclined to the exercise of a becoming modesty and hesitation. By requiring unanimity, on the other hand, every scope is afforded for confidence and obstinacy, except in so far as the expression of individual opinion may be checked by the dread of a protracted confinement. When the anxiety of the jurors to be guided by the directions of the court shall induce any individual of their number to abandon his own sentiments and conviction, it must render the jury a useless, if not a dangerous, instrument in the hands of the court.

The author to whom we have so often referred remarks,* "that there are many things, in our situation in Scotland, that render it difficult and embarrassing to adopt some of those peculiarities which appear to be of the greatest consequence to the successful use of jury trial in civil causes. Our custom, in particular, of deciding on crimes by a simple majority, aided by the consideration that, notwithstanding the apparent unanimity of English juries, there must, probably, be a secret minority of persons who differ, or at least doubt of the verdict, might probably render any enactment that juries in civil causes must be unanimous not a little unpalatable. Scotsmen have not, as yet, had generally to consider, that the oaths of judges and jurymen are to be faithful, patient, and diligent, in forming an opinion, but not to form a clear and undoubting opinion, or to be obstinate in any opinion, which, from the nature of human affairs, is necessarily liable to error; and hence, in general, overlooking that openness to conviction, and that due and becoming diffidence in their own opinions, and that deference to authority, which form a most important part of the character of the conscientious juryman, especially, where law is implicated in the discussion, they confound the exacting of unanimity with requiring a compromise of their oaths."

Upon this passage it may, in general, be observed, that the duty of jurors, as prescribed by their oaths, is to give their *own* opinions on the evidence, and,

* Considerations, p. 17.

of course, to guard against a bias from any thing which is external to their own minds. It is their duty, therefore, not to be influenced by a wrangling or conceited minority—for if they are under such influence, the judgment of the minority alone is obtained. It is no less their duty not to pay deference to the court beyond their own reason and conviction—for if they do so, they are guilty of perjury. If again, they act from fear of the confinement which may be inflicted upon them, they also commit perjury; they are bound, in short, to give their own opinions, freely and deliberately formed, without yielding to any influence whatever. It must be presumed, that honest and respectable men (and of such alone ought juries to be composed) will, when acting under the sanction of an oath, give a fair and candid opinion; but the discussion which is so much desired—the deference to the court which is expected—the artificial unanimity, indeed, in whatever way produced, must form a check upon their conduct, and prevent them from giving an unbiassed judgment. Every method by which it may be proposed to restrain them tends more or less to a violation of their oaths.

The learned and ingenious author seems to be perfectly aware of the objections which have been urged against his plan, and notices one of them in the following terms: "It is often stated, as a gross and insupportable incongruity, that a majority should be sufficient to condemn a person to the gallows, and unanimity be requisite to settle a fact on which a matter of property depends. But the true view of the matter is this. That among fair men, there is no doubt a criminal case will meet with a serious consideration; and where there is room for doubt, the leaning and the vote will always go in favour of the culprit. The question there is, merely, whether guilt is proved; and if discussion is not called for by the requisite of unanimity, the greater is the chance that a majority may not have perceived proof of guilt, and, of course, will vote for an acquittal. Whereas, if unanimity were required, those who saw evidence of guilt, would be compelled by their oaths to endeavour to convert the rest to their opinion, as to which, otherwise, they would be very indifferent whether it became the successful opinion or not. On the other hand, in civil interests, people are apt to indulge their own views of things, and subject the law to their own crude notions of general justice, and the rules of evidence to fanciful presumptions from character and opinions; and a powerful controul is requisite to compel a sound, patient, and dispassionate consideration, and to countervail rashness, presumption, opinionativeness, and loquacity. The great object is to infuse into the jury, that all and each are responsible for the soundness of the verdict, and that their duty is by no means satisfied, by making up each his own mind conscientiously. A sentiment of this sort disposes every juryman to the most temperate consideration, both of what strikes himself, and of what he observes weighs with others, and, of course, to the formation of a right verdict, and to a general concurrence in it. Accordingly, it was to the requisite of unanimity that Lord Ashburton chiefly ascribed the predominance of temperate and able men in juries (see Lord Stanhope on the rights of juries); and it has been thought, with no small probability, that even the moderation of the English in their political factions, and their circumspection as to all projects of innovation, are in some degree to be ascribed to the habits thus engendered on the national character."

This reasoning is plausible, but unsatisfactory. It seems to be implied, even in the argument of the author, that unanimity cannot be obtained but by undue means, or by a sort of compulsion. We must, therefore, in all cases, be contented to receive either the opinion of the majority or that of the minority; but that of the majority, although it may not be *true*, is always more *probable* than that of the minority. It is taken in criminal cases; and, by the practice of Scotland, a majority of *one* only is required. The learned author, indeed, presumes, that if in a criminal case, the evidence be unsatisfactory to prove the guilt of the accused, it will appear in this light to the majority; that is, he presumes, the majority will be in the right. Even this, however, is but a slender presumption, when it is considered how narrow a majority is required. But on the hypothesis, that in every criminal case where the evidence for the prosecutor is not clear to prove the guilt of the accused, the majority will consider it as unsatisfactory, he thinks it a great advantage that, in such a case, they are not bound to convince the minority, who may be persuaded of the guilt of the pannel. This is all very well, when it is supposed that the majority take a *favourable* view of the case for the accused; but reverse the hypothesis, (and such a case often happens) and suppose that the majority see the guilt of the accused while the minority are blind to it. If a majority of one only, may be wrong, (and surely this is not a violent supposition) would it not be a very great advantage, upon the general principles of this author, that they should be compelled to bring the minority round to their opinions, or be unable to give a condemnatory verdict against the culprit? Why then is the opinion of the majority held sufficient in every case of a criminal nature? For this very obvious reason, that the minority would, under any other circumstances, have an entire controul over the majority, and might thus (even if one individual alone stood out) have as much influence in forming the verdict as the major part of the jurors. To bestow effectual power to do mischief in such a case, it is only necessary to give one or more individuals the right of putting a *negative* on the proceedings; even *one* obstinate and refractory individual it thus enables to controul, by his single opinion, that of all his associates. This is the reason why a majority is allowed to decide in criminal cases; and it is not, therefore, from any superior advantages which the majority are supposed to possess in discovering the *innocence* of the accused, or the imperfections of the evidence brought against him, that their verdict is taken as decisive in criminal cases, but from the presumption, which is perfectly natural, of their superior advantages in discovering the *real merits* of the case, whether the result of their opinion be *for* or *against* the accused. It is because their judgment is universally imagined to be more conformable to the justice and truth of the case, that it is received without contradiction, and not from any refined theory that they will be more *favourable* to the prisoner than the minority might have been. But if the opinion of the majority be received without hesitation in criminal cases, because it is supposed to be the *true* or *correct* opinion, why should not the same thing happen in civil cases? It is said, indeed, that men are more disposed in civil than in criminal cases to indulge their own views, and to disregard all direction and authority. It may be asked, however, if it be not for the purpose of getting the views of the jury, as

distinguished from those of the court, to what end are juries convened? So far is it from being just to say, that, in civil cases, juries will be more prone to exercise their own judgment, and to indulge their own partialities, than in cases of a criminal nature; that in the latter they will be more certainly disposed, than in any other instance, to give way to their own feelings, and to judge erroneously It is *feeling* that, for the most part, leads men astray, and encourages a departure from strict rules or established formalities; and it is manifest that this feeling will exercise the strongest controul in that class of cases which are chiefly calculated to call it forth. There can be no comparison, in this respect, betwixt actions of a civil and a criminal nature. In both cases, however, there is equally the sanction of an oath to compel men to discharge their duty; and it may reasonably be presumed that this strong obligation will have due weight, in every instance, with the respectable men to whose candid and deliberate consideration the questions occurring in courts of law are submitted. As to the notion of this author—that by requiring unanimity the whole of the jurors are made responsible for the soundness of the verdict—it would, perhaps, be more proper to say—that in this manner they become responsible for its *artificial unanimity*—a quality, which, as it can never be secured but by undue efforts from without—by over persuasion—by authority—or by fear—seems no less inconsistent with the soundness of the judgment, than injurious to the honour and distressing to the conscience of the juror.

A strange attempt has been made to prove that jurors may safely give a sort of *formal* concurrence to verdicts, of which, in their consciences, they do not approve. To judge of this point, we must look to the words of the oath which is to be taken by every juryman. By this oath, he is bound "to give a true verdict according to the evidence." It seems very clear that the word "verdict," in this place, whatever may be its meaning on other occasions, must signify the opinion of the individual juror, and not that of the whole jury The juror is sworn to give this verdict or opinion; and it is manifest, that although he may *concur* or *yield* to the opinion of the majority, *he* cannot be said, in point of fact, to *give* such opinion, nor can he be sworn to the performance of such a duty. But he is compelled by his oath, also, to give a "true verdict;" and even, if by his concurrence in the opinion of the majority, it were to be held that, in the sense of the oath, he gives his *own* opinion, how is he to be satisfied that he concurs in a *true* opinion or verdict? If he thus concur, while the matter appears doubtful to him, or the opinions of his brethren are, according to his views, erroneous, the verdict, in his fair estimation, is obviously not a *true* but a *false* verdict; it may not only appear false to *him*, but be really a false verdict in itself. The law does not declare that the opinion of the majority is, by necessary presumption, a *true* opinion—for if it did so, it would require *that opinion alone*, and would never demand unanimity either real or apparent. How then can the juror when he submits (supposing him entitled to do so) to the opinion of the majority, say that he has delivered a *true* verdict; an opinion which is true, either as it appears to himself—as it is in point of fact—or as it is considered by the law under which he acts? There is no ambiguity in this instance—no room for construction; but even if there were, it would be bad policy, in making a new law, to introduce an oath at all equivocal in its import. The juror, that he may comply with his oath and satisfy his conscience, must give his *own* opinion and nothing

else; for if he act otherwise he commits perjury. It is true, indeed, that the jury are bound, "well and truly to try the matter at issue," as well as to give a true verdict, according to the evidence; the one branch of the oath prescribes, that they shall lend an attentive ear to all the statements and arguments which may be regularly submitted in the course of the proceedings—to those of the parties—of the judge, and of their brethren of the jury. But this is not the whole oath—for they are bound also to give a "true verdict," that is, to give their own true and candid opinion. The juror, therefore, is bound to give his opinion according to the evidence; but how can it be contended that he discharges this part of his duty by acceding to the opinion of any number of his brethren? How can he think that the opinion of another is "according to the evidence," when that opinion differs from his own as to this same evidence? The mere statement of such a question shews the absurdity of the whole argument.

A distinction has, indeed, been absurdly taken betwixt the language of the act of parliament, which demands, that juries shall be "agreed in their verdicts," and the term "unanimity," as applied to these verdicts. The words of the act, it is said, do not require that the verdict should be "unanimous," but only that the jurors who dissent should "agree" to the verdict given by the majority. But if, by the words of the act, it be intended that jurors shall merely *acquiesce* in the opinions of a majority of their brethren, it is evident that no real unanimity is proposed, while an unnecessary violation of the oath taken by the jurors is hazarded. The juror, by merely *acquiescing* in, or *yielding* to, the notions of his associates, returns a verdict which, to him, must appear to be false. There is no possibility, in short, of avoiding the absurdities and perjuries arising out of the regulations which exist in England.

It is very true, that in this enlightened country, little difficulty is felt on the subject, and the practice is continued without interruption or complaint; but it should never be forgotten, that men are very much the creatures of habit, not only as to their pleasures, but, in many cases, even as to their moral actions; and that an absurd and immoral practice which has been long established, and in which all have more or less participated, must lose much of its deformity in the eyes of those to whom it has become familiar. It is well known, however, that English juries have often, under the present constitution, been reduced to the most despicable shifts, and even to open perjuries. The evils and absurdities of the practice, indeed, have almost become proverbial. A single case may be selected by way of illustration. Two men were tried for stealing a sum of money in coin; and as the jury had determined that the one should suffer, and the other be rescued, they found the first guilty of stealing the money, about 40 guineas, and the other guilty of stealing 40 pieces of metal worth 9s. This verdict, false upon the face of it, was received and acted upon.

It is known to those who are at all conversant in the history of the English law, that this quality of unanimity was not required in the verdicts of juries until a period comparatively recent. The salutary power of taking the verdict of a majority remained till near the reign of Edward the Third. Then, unfortunately, in defiance both of precedent and reason, the judges agreed that a verdict of less than twelve men was no verdict at all.—When we consider the present practice of England, therefore, we find that it is fraught with absurdities, and even with perjuries; and if we look to the ancient

usages of this people, so illustrious in many respects, we discover that their old laws did not in any way countenance the impolitic regulation which so eager an attempt has been made to introduce into this country.

Let us take still another view of the jury, and suppose one of them interested in the question at issue. This may happen a thousand ways without its being known to the party entitled, on that account, to offer an objection. The juror may be secretly moved by hatred or friendship, fear or hope. If he have an athletic constitution, with an unfeeling mind—no very uncommon union—he may take little share in the discussion of doubtful points with his colleagues, but may content himself with signifying to them that he has made up his mind, and if they will not agree with him, they must try to exhaust him, for he will not give up his opinion This lasts for six, twelve, fifteen, twenty hours; and if the strength of this one man be greater, or his appetite less troublesome, than those of his colleagues, he carries his point, and the verdict, against the opinion and conscience of the other eleven. There is reason to suspect that this is no uncommon case. Every attorney knows, that if he can but depend on one or two of the jury for sufficient stubbornness to serve his client, he needs not care for the rest. In such a transaction, ten or eleven out of the jury are inevitably perjured. Instead of a "true verdict according to the evidence," they give what their consciences tell them is a false one, and contrary to it; and to this crime the law itself, which ought to punish it, compels them.

An author, who has had much practical experience in the business of jury trials in England, remarks, that "the unanimity required prevents the *speedy* administration of justice, by frequently causing unnecessary delay in long and vain endeavours to overcome unreasonable or interested obstinacy; and still more, by introducing a modern practice manifestly illegal and injurious to the suitors, that of discharging a jury who cannot agree, and deferring the trial to a future occasion. It also incurs the *danger* of a small minority, even of *one*, dictating the verdict. It induces *restraint* and *suffering* for a purpose to which they should never be employed—to influence a judicial opinion. It requires also the existence of the high moral improbability, that, in cases of difficulty, twelve men should be fairly and *bona fide* unanimous in their decision, and tends to place jurymen in a most awkward dilemma."

It is true, indeed, that by the act lately passed for introducing jury trial, in civil causes, into Scotland, the same compulsitors are not to be applied here as in England; it was foreseen that such a course of proceeding would not be endured in this part of the island. We are to have, however, in the words of the learned author so often referred to, "a sufficient compulsitor from a long inclosure,"* that is, by the confinement of the jury for twelve hours, and a longer space if the judge shall think fit, in order that he may prevail upon them to be *unanimous*. If the jury do not at last agree, a new trial is to be resorted to. On considering this scheme, it is obvious, that in so far as the compulsitor operates, all the objections which have been already offered against an attempt to compel unanimity, apply with full force, while, by the above regulation, the jury is to be abandoned, in this particular, entirely to the discretion of the court. In proportion, therefore, as the compulsitor is lenient,

* Considerations, p. 29.

it will prove ineffectual, and as a new trial is granted when unanimity can not be obtained in the first instance, the saving of hardship to the jury must be compensated in trouble and expence to the litigants.

"Remove the requisite of unanimity," says the learned author of the "Considerations," "and require only secrecy as to the opinions of the jurymen, the whole machine is dislocated. Every juryman then knows the business will be finished when each has made up his own opinion; so, for the most part, he attends only to procure satisfaction to himself, and feels little anxiety for any thing farther. If, however, he is ambitious of taking a lead in the private discussions, his vanity finds still a considerable gratification in carrying a majority of his brethren with him, though the public should not learn the achievement for a time; and the gratification is not lessened, should the verdict run counter to the directions of the bench; and if the leader is at all corrupt, the secrecy is a desirable cover against detection. The Bar, again, discovering that the juries, though taken from the mass of the public, are courts inclined to act according to their own ideas of law and expediency, address them as an appellate jurisdiction from the bench; and the judge finding, from the verdicts, that the rules of law and evidence are often neglected, or sacrificed to the conceits of the uninformed, or the declamations of the bar, his exertions are damped, and his functions performed with languor or dissatisfaction. But a dismissal after a long trial, tedious inclosure, and painful but fruitless discussion to obtain unanimity, can have none of those pernicious consequences. Labour lost, expence thrown away, parties disappointed, must always be objects of painful contemplation. The obloquy due to conceit, obtuseness, or opinionativeness, must always be an object of dread. Such mortifications, whether the result be the calling of another jury, or the resorting to a trial by an act and commission, every jury must be solicitous to avoid."

Here is a faithful picture of the difficulties which *may*, and probably *must*, be encountered in the management of this new instrument for the administration of justice. But if unanimity be in truth an unattainable thing, and if, at the same time, this quality be deemed essential to the efficiency of juries, the fair inference seems to be, not that we should have juries incumbered with so absurd a provision, but that we should have no juries in civil causes at all. It is true, indeed, that the expedient is to be tried in Scotland with the most laudable caution; and it is well that the business has been thus managed. But if there be little reason to hope for good from the experiment—if there exist but slender inducements to innovation at all—if slight changes of obvious utility might have removed every ground of complaint, it may be a question whether the hazard, *even of the experiment*, should have been encountered. To us it appears, that the excellence of jury trial, in criminal cases, is not more certain than its incurable defects when extended to other branches of business. The intervention of juries, in the trial of crimes, forms the safeguard of public liberty; their interference in questions of civil right, we think, can only create a most unnecessary and unprofitable incumbrance on the administration of justice.

CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st.—A rape and murder were committed on the body of a young woman, named Hannah Leatham, servant to Mr Jackson, of Brignal, near Greta-Bridge, this day. She had been sent on an errand to Barnard-castle, which place she left about five o'clock in the evening, on her way home. Her body was found next morning, about two miles from that town, on the road to the High-street (a road much frequented,) with her head nearly severed from her body. A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of rape and murder against some person or persons unknown. Several men have been taken up on suspicion.

3d.—This night Sunday a number of persons entered the church-yard of Old Aberdeen, and disinterred the body of a woman recently buried there. While some of the party were employed in taking up the body, others of them held fast the doors of the house adjoining to the church-yard, occupied by James Black, beadle, and with oaths and imprecations called to him, that they would be revenged on him, and would have his heart's blood, if he should attempt to interfere with them, or to give the alarm. A reward of five guineas has been offered for the discovery of the offenders.

On the 24th ult. a poor lunatic, named Elizabeth Cruickshank, was barbarously murdered on the streets of Peterhead. A reward of 10 guineas is offered for the discovery of the perpetrators.

York.—This morning John Eadon, aged 34, was tried for administering an unlawful oath to Richard Howells, at Barnsley, in the county of York, in the month of May last. The prisoner, as proved in evidence, had some conversation with Howells about the Luddites, and told Howells he could make any man one; and in the course of two or three days after, the prisoner renewed the conversation, by asking Howells what he thought of what they had been talking about? (Howells lodged in the house of, and worked with, the prisoner as a weaver at the time.) Howells did not immediately recollect, and prisoner said it was about the Luddites, and asked Howells if he would be one? He said he would. Prisoner then put a common Prayer-book into his right hand, and desired Howells to repeat after him. Prisoner gave him a paper, and told him to commit it to memory as soon as he could, and he did so accordingly. It purported to be the oath he had repeated to him, which was, that he was not to reveal any secrets of any brother or

brothers, and that if any traitors were amongst them, they were to be punished with death. Howells kissed the book The paper given by prisoner to Howells was signed by prisoner in his own hand writing. This was supported by another prisoner called Thomas Broughton, who had received the paper from Howells, and not understanding its import, asked prisoner what the paper meant, and was informed by him that it was to form a regular organization in the county to overturn the tyrannical system of government. Broughton was a weaver at Barnsley, and acquainted with Howells.

The jury, after consulting in the box, almost immediately returned a verdict of guilty.

4th.—This day being the birth-day of Lord Strathaven, when his lordship came of age, the tenants of his noble father, the Earl of Aboyne, in Glentanner, in testimony of their attachment to that ancient family, assembled on the evening to celebrate in rural style the anniversary of their young lord. They met on the top of a high mountain in the centre of the parish, having provided a large quantity of Glentanner fir-wood, of which they made a great bonfire, and kept up for several hours in honour of the joyful and happy occasion. The company were numerous, danced round the bonfire with great glee and good humour, pouring forth plentiful libations of whisky, in which the health of his lordship was drank with enthusiasm, and "three times three." The health of the noble earl and countess "with three times three," and the health of all the other branches of that noble family, also "with three times three." After which many patriotic, loyal, and constitutional toasts were drank, well suited to the sentiments of the company.

A female in man's apparel, enlisted some time since as a recruit in the 53d regiment, quartered in Shrewsbury. She shortly afterwards confessed her sex, and said, that her object was to have been enlisted into the 43d regiment, as in that corps she had a lover, who was now on foreign duty, and that she adopted this expedient from a wish to follow him. She was dressed in a blue jacket and trowsers; her father is a respectable farmer in the neighbourhood of St Asaph, Denbighshire.

5th.—This day by advices from the survivors, the brig Charles, Captain Graham, bound to the coast of Africa, struck on a reef of the Tongui rocks, about five miles from the shore, and 20 miles south of the river Gambia. The natives, a tribe of Mandingoes, attacked the wreck in great numbers, considering her as lawful prize. The captain and one of the passengers were killed. The Rev. Leopold Butscher, missionary of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, was on board with his wife, and seven other persons attached to the mission. Notwithstanding every exertion of the crew and missionaries, assisted by a force dispatched with the utmost promptitude by Major Chisholm, commandant of Goree, but a small part of the cargo was saved, the rest being plundered by the natives. Every attention was paid to the missionaries in their distress by Major Chisholm, and by Lieut.-Col. M'Carthy, governor of Senegal. One of their party died, and was buried in Goree; and the rest hired a Spanish vessel to convey them to the Society's settlements in the Rio Pongas, whither they were bound.

6th.—Last week a calf was taken out of the side of a cow belonging to Mr Wright of Cleasby, near Darlington, having two heads; one of the heads resembles that of a greyhound, and the other that of a cod-fish; one head is at one end of the animal and the other at the other end. It has an exact calf's tail coming out from the middle of the cod's head, and the four legs resemble a calf's. The cow was

some months over her time; but after getting quit of this animal, is doing well. The circumstance is supposed by the journalist, from whom we quote, to have been caused by her taking fright at a greyhound going suddenly into the byre with a cod's head in his mouth.

7th.—EDINBURGH.—A foreigner belonging to the band of the 6th dragoon guards, lying at Piershill barracks, having gone, accompanied by his daughter, a little girl, to get, as he said some corn for his horse, gave her the bag to hold till he retired for a few moments; but not returning for some time, an alarm was given, and on searching a well at a short distance from the place, the body of the unfortunate man was discovered and drawn out, animation being completely gone.

9th.—EXECUTION OF THE MURDERERS OF MR HORSEFALL, AT YORK.—During the whole of the trial, and even while the solemn sentence of the law was passing, not one of the prisoners shed a tear, but their conduct was perfectly free from any indecent boldness or unbecoming levity. The proceedings of the court were conducted with unusual solemnity, and the behaviour of the spectators was strictly decorous and becoming. From amongst the numerous relatives and friends of the unhappy malefactors, an expression of anguish frequently reached the ear, but it was deep, not loud; and in that part of the auditory that was connected with them only by a common nature, abhorrence at their enormous crime was not unmixed with commiseration for the premature fate of these early victims of a lawless confederacy.

At the opening of the court on Thursday morning, the jury recommended Thomas Smith to mercy; and an application was made to the judges to have the sentence of the law, on such of the murderers as they might think proper to order for execution, carried into effect, not at the usual place of execution, but on the spot where the murder was perpetrated; but it was not thought expedient to comply with this application.

In the interval between the trial and execution, the prisoners behaved very penitently, though they refused to make any confession either in the prison or at the place of execution. Thorpe, on being asked if he did not acknowlege the justice of the sentence, said, "Do not ask me any question." Mellor declared, "that he would rather be in the situation he was then placed in, dreadful as it was, than have to answer for the crime of their accuser; and that he would not change situations with him even for his liberty and two thousand pounds;" but with all his resolution, he could not conceal the agonies of his mind, for on the night before the execution, he fell to the ground in a state of insensibility, and it was thought he would have died in his cell: but he soon revovered, and in the morning his health was perfectly restored.

The execution of these unhappy men took place yesterday, at nine o'clock, at the usual place behind the castle, at York. Every precaution had been taken to render a rescue impracticable. Two troops of cavalry were drawn up in front of the drop, and the avenues to the castle were guarded by infantry. Five minutes before nine o'clock, the prisoners came upon the platform. After the ordinary had read the accustomed forms of prayer, George Mellor prayed for about ten minutes; he spoke with great apparent fervency and devotion, confessing in general the greatness of his sins, but without any allusion to the crime for which he suffered. The surrounding multitude were evidently affected. William Thorpe also prayed, but his voice was not so well heard. Smith said little, but seemed to join in the devotion with great seriousness.

The prisoners were then moved to the front of the platform, and Mellor

said, "Some of my enemies may be here; if there be, I freely forgive them, and all the world, and I hope all the world will forgive me." Thorpe said, "I hope none of those who are now before me, will ever come to this place." The executioner then proceeded to perform his fatal office, and the drop fell. They were executed in their irons. They appeared slightly convulsed for a few moments. The number of people assembled was much greater than is usual in York on these melancholy occasions; but not the slightest indication of tumult prevailed, and the greatest silence reigned during the whole of this solemn and painful scene.

10th.—EDINBURGH.—SUBSCRIPTION FOR THE RUSSIAN SUFFERERS.—This day there was a numerous meeting of noblemen and gentlemen in the Parliament-house, called at the request of the lord provost. The lord provost, who was called to the chair, opened the business of the meeting in a short speech. The Right Honourable the Earl of Wemyss then rose, and moved several patriotic resolutions in support of the Russian sufferers, which were seconded by the Right Honourable Lord Napier, in an appropriate speech, and unanimously agreed to. Several other gentlemen stated, in energetic terms, the propriety and justice of contributing to the aid of the Russians, who had risked their property, and every thing that was valuable, in defence of their country, and in support of their alliance with Great Britain. The lord provost immediately subscribed one hundred guineas for the city of Edinburgh, and also stated, that he was authorised to subscribe one hundred guineas for his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch.

12th.—EXECUTION OF THE LUDDITES AT YORK.—Precisely at 11 o'clock, the following persons suffered the sentence of the law, due to their crimes, viz. John Hill, Joseph Crowther, Nathan Hoyle, Jonathan Dean, John Ogden, Thomas Brook, and John Walker. The above persons behaved in the most penitent manner. During the time the ordinary was performing the functions of his duty, the repeated and earnest prayers of the culprits might be heard at a considerable distance, supplicating the Divine Being to receive their souls into everlasting rest. Many of them, after the clergymen had repeated "The Lord have mercy upon you," in a very audible voice articulated "I hope he will." Previous to the drop being let down, a hymn was given out very firmly by John Walker to his fellow culprits, all of whom heartily joined in singing the same.

The bodies, after hanging till 12 o'clock, were then cut down.

Half past one o'clock.—The following prisoners, viz. John Swallow, John Batley, Joseph Fisher, William Hartley, James Haigh, James Hey, and Job Hay, were executed at the time specified above. The whole of them evinced a spirit of contrition seldom witnessed upon a similar occasion. The concourse of spectators, as at the former occasion, was numerous. The bodies were cut down at half-past two o'clock, and delivered to their respective relations.

14th.—EDINBURGH.—Yesterday, Joseph Gibson, convicted of highway-robbery, was executed at the ordinary place of execution in this city. The demeanour of the unhappy man since his condemnation was suitable to his awful situation. He was assisted in his devotions by the Rev. Dr Brown, Old Church, Rev. Mr Adams, of the Episcopal chapel, Blackfriars-wynd, and the Rev. Mr Porteous, chaplain of the jail.

18th.—LISBON.—His Excellency the Marshal-General the Marquis of Toress Vedras, (Lord Wellington) after having passed through triumphal

arches erected in the fortress of Elvas, and in all the towns on the road to the left bank of the Tagus, where, for the space of 30 leagues, all the inhabitants strove to outdo each other in testimonies of enthusiasm and gratitude, at length arrived at half after three in the afternoon of the 16th inst., in the commercial-square of this capital. He was there received by all the Portuguese and English generals, by all the troops of both nations, and the whole armed force at present in Lisbon. His arrival was announced by repeated salutes from the ships and frigates in the Tagus, and the castle of St George. The troops were ranged in two lines, extending to the Palacio das Necessidades. His excellency, mounted on horseback, thus affording a sight of himself to the immense concourse of spectators collected, and the innumerable ladies who adorned the windows of that vast edifice, which had been prepared for his reception. Repeated and loud acclamations accompanied his excellency as he passed on; and the people of Lisbon, who had never given a plaudit, nor one salutation, to Junot, notwithstanding all the power with which he was surrounded, were now boundless in their applauses to their deliverer from the cruel invasion of Massena.

At night, there was a general and voluntary illumination, which was repeated three successive nights.

On Sunday, at one o'clock, his excellency, dressed in the Portuguese uniform, went to pay his compliments to the lords regents of the kingdom, and took his seat among them in the palace of government; he shortly after returned, and, both in going and returning, was accompanied with the loudest applauses on every side. At four on the same afternoon, his excellency again returned to the palace of government, dressed in the English uniform, to partake of a sumptuous entertainment provided for him by the regents of the kingdom, to which were invited all the secular authorities, the bishops, the Portuguese, English, and Spanish general officers, the staff of his lordship, and of Marshal the Count of Trancoso, the diplomatic body, the intendant general of the police, and all the presidents of the tribunals.

The Portuguese company of the royal theatre of San Carlos, presuming that his excellency would honour that theatre with his presence, had in the short space that intervened between the notice given of his excellency's coming and his actual arrival, made every exertion to present the hero with a spectacle worthy of him, and of the Portuguese nation. All the boxes were decorated with appropriate ornaments, such as genii, with crowns and shields, on which were inscribed the initials of Lord Wellington. The box of government, which was also that of his excellency, surpassed them all, being richly adorned with figures of Fame and Victory. Never was the theatre of San Carlos so early and completely crowded. His excellency came thither from the palace of government, about half-past seven; and the moment he appeared, the most rapturous acclamations resounded on all sides. The scene was opened by an anthem, sung in praise of our beloved prince, whose portrait under a canopy, displayed on a sudden, electrified all the spectators, and the thunders of applause were again repeated, and lasted a considerable time. When these had ended, a piece was performed, entitled *O Nome* (The Name) composed in honour of Lord Wellington. This scene represented the Elysian Fields; and the interlocutors were, Glory, Posterity, Camoens, the Great Constable, and a number of Portuguese heroes. Several of the verses of the immortal Camoens were ingeniously introduced. The spectators, who were

solely intent on the great object of this spectacle, instantly applied to him with avidity and enthusiasm every allusion of this kind; and the applauses were redoubled, when genii descending, presented illuminated scrolls, with the inscriptions of "Roleia, Vimiera, Porto, Talavera, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Arapiles," &c.

His excellency was accompanied in his box by their excellencies the regents, the minister of his Britannic majesty, the Marquez de Borba, the Marquez de Olhao, the secretary Don Miguel Pereira Forjaz, and the secretary Alexander Jose Ferreira Castellol. In the box to the right, contiguous to that of government, was his Excellency Marshal the Count of Trancoso. On the left side, in the boxes contiguous to that of government, were the English Generals Stopford, Rebow, Peacock, Leith, Slade, Fermor, Robinson, Brooke, Inglis, Blunt, and Admiral Martin.

21st.—A shocking catastrophe occurred in Bull's-head yard, Charles-street, Drury-lane. Two females, named Jane Supple and Mary Welch, agreed to drink 21 glasses of gin in a limited time. The former person succeeded in drinking 18 successive glasses, when she became quite insensible, and was immediately conveyed to her lodgings, and put to bed, where in about half an hour afterwards she died. She was far advanced in years. The latter woman drank more liquor than the former, and now lies very ill.

23d.—A fire broke out at Sidney College, Cambridge. It was discovered about 11 o'clock at night; when upon examination it was found that two chambers in different parts of the building were on fire; but the flames were very soon extinguished. In consequence of the depositions of the watchman, a student, who had that day taken his degree, has been examined before the magistrates, and is detained in custody.

24th.—In the evening, three seamen belonging to the Indefatigable frigate were returning to their ship from Portsea Hard, when one of them, Malcolm Macdonald, tapped a man, who he supposed was a waterman, upon the shoulder, saying to him, "Give us a put on board." The man, who happened to be a Spaniard, sharply asked, in the Spanish language, what he wanted? One of Macdonald's ship-mates, who understood Spanish, answered him, "Nothing." The Spaniard, however, without more words, or provocation, collared Macdonald, and stabbed him in two places with a knife, which he drew from his bosom, and then ran away. One of the seamen staid by the wounded man, whilst the other pursued the Spaniard towards his boat; but could not find him. Macdonald was taken on board the Indefatigable, where he soon died of his wounds. Lieut. Scott, of that ship, immediately repaired to the Spanish frigate Iphigenia, with one of Macdonald's companions, and just as he had reached her, a Spaniard, named Lucas Garces, came alongside in a wherry, who was instantly charged with being the murderer. The Spaniards have refused to let the parties necessary as witnesses come on shore, but, upon the deposition of the surgeon of the Indefatigable, and the two seamen of that ship, a verdict of wilful murder has been returned against Lucas Garces.

27th.—On Friday last, at Mid Calder, as some boys were amusing themselves betwixt school hours, five of them ventured upon the ice, at the dam-head of East Mill, nearly opposite the school, when unfortunately the ice gave way, and the whole went down, upon which a lad of 14 years of age (brother to one of the five) ran to their assistance, who, in endeavouring to save them, pe-

rished himself, with two of the others; every attempt to restore animation in them was tried unsuccessfully, their bodies having remained from one to three hours under water.

Saturday evening, about 8 o'clock, a poor woman, with a child in her arms, fell into the Clyde, at the Broomielaw. By the active exertions of the people belonging to the John packet, of Ayr, the child was got out alive, almost immediately; but the body of its more unfortunate mother was not found till next morning, at nine o'clock, when it was conveyed to the poor-house, and the child delivered over to the charge of that useful institution.

The following melancholy event took place on Friday last, at Hassendean-burn, Berwickshire:—Two of Mr Dickson's servants went out to shoot hares, when the gun which one of them carried accidentally went off, and so severely wounded the other, that he died in about half an hour thereafter. The deceased has left a wife and two children to lament his untimely fate. We do not hear that the survivor has been punished for poaching, which he ought to have been.

28th.—Information having been received, that a gang of robbers intended attacking the Cork mail-coach, on its way to Dublin, a party of soldiers were stationed near the spot where the attack was intended to take place, and about one o'clock, a party of 10 armed ruffians appeared about two miles beyond Urlingford; several shots were exchanged; three of the robbers were killed on the spot, one was made prisoner, and the rest escaped. A soldier was severely wounded.

From the report of the commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of education in Ireland, it appears, that in 17 dioceses, out of the 22 that are in Ireland, there are 3,737 schoolmasters, who educate 162,367 pupils. Of the masters, 1,271 are protestants, 2,465 catholics—of their pupils the protestants are 45,590, and the catholics 116,977. These 17 dioceses comprise about five-sixths of the superficial extent of Ireland, but it is doubted whether they contain more than four-fifths of its actual population. It is concluded, that if similar returns from the whole of Ireland had been made, the number of pupils would appear to be upwards of 200,000, and of the masters to be above 4,600.

29th.—Yesterday afternoon, about two o'clock, as Mr Inman, a gentleman from Bristol, was returning from the bank, in company with a friend, at the corner of Bucklersbury, Walbrook, he made a sudden halt, and instantly dropped down dead: his body was immediately conveyed into a neighbouring house, and afterwards removed to Walbrook church, where it now remains. The deceased had nearly 10,000l. in his hands when he fell, which property is secured.

This night a villain ascended by a ladder to the bed-room window of Mrs Fletcher, Kingston-buildings, Bristol, broke the square, unscrewed the window, threw up the sash, and entered the room, before Mrs F. heard him. Two children, her nieces, were in the same room, one of whom began to call her aunt, on which the villain, who had a dark lanthorn, drew a dagger, which he flourished over her head; he then pulled down a crape over his face. He scarcely took notice of any thing in the room; but on seeing a writing desk, he very leisurely sat down, opened his lanthorn, and with a sharp instrument cut it open, and took bank-notes to the amount of upwards of 49l. and a suit of child's clothes, which happened to be on the drawers, as he retreated out of the window to the ladder. A week before the house was robbed by villains entering the kitchen, and stealing servants clothes and provisions.

A most outrageous attack was made upon Mr Eale, a farmer, at Ashlyhole, Somerset, on the confines of Gloucestershire, on the evening of Monday last, whilst sitting in his parlour with his family. The barking of a yard-dog caused the first alarm, soon after which, there was a loud knocking at the kitchen door; no answer was returned to interrogatories from within, but soon after the door was forced by four ruffians, armed with bludgeons, who entered the parlour where Mr and Mrs E., their daughter seven years old, and the maid-servant, were sitting. One of them knocked Mr Eale down without ceremony, and continued their violence until he was unable to move. His wife and daughter were fastened into a closet, and the servant maid was compelled to go up stairs with the villains, who broke open every lock they could get at, and stole from a chest of drawers, bank-notes and cash to the amount of 113l. with which they made off. The maid-servant was locked in a separate room before the villains departed. Mr E. is in a dangerous state. A carter and his boy, who slept in a different part of the house, were not disturbed.

30th.—Saturday se'ennight, about one o'clock the inhabitants of Shaftsbury-place, Aldersgate-street, were alarmed by the report of a pistol; when, on enquiry, it was found that Mr Garrick, an engraver, residing in that place, had, in a fit of insanity, shot himself with a pistol, loaded with slugs. This catastrophe, according to report, was the consequence of his wife having pawned a large silver spoon, from a set which he had to engrave upon for a silversmith whom he had been in the habit of working for. On questioning his wife respecting the spoon, she declared she knew nothing of it;—words then arose, and he took up his gun, which he kept in the room, (having formerly belonged to a corps of sharpshooters), and with the butt-end struck his wife over the head, by which the blood began to flow copiously. Thinking that that he had killed her, he immediately put a period to his existence. A coroner's inquest was held upon the body of the unfortunate man, at the King's Arms public-house, Aldersgate-street; when it appeared from the depositions of several persons who had known the family, that the woman had been in the habit of pawning articles of silver-plate, at various times, which he had to engrave, with the view of spending the money in drink; and that last July, he attempted to cut his throat in consequence of her proceedings. The jury, after a long deliberation, returned a verdict—*Insanity*. The woman now lies in St Bartholomew's hospital, and is considered out of danger.

31st.—The following shocking accident occurred in the dock-yard, at Woolwich. A machine, used for the purpose of bending and seasoning ship-timber, unfortunately burst, in consequence of being overcharged, by which eight individuals lost their lives, and 14 were dangerously hurt, several having their legs and thighs broken. The premises on which the machine stood were destroyed; and the explosion is represented as having been most terrific. Several of the men have left wives and families.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

ENGLISH REPORT.—The seasonable dry frosts in the latter part of the month, have been beneficial to the young wheats, by checking the slug and wire-worm, which, in several districts, particularly in the fen countries, had materially injured the plants. The early-sown beans, in Kent, have not been much cut by the late sharp winds. The barley sowing, as well as that of oats, though delayed, will probably be

effected as early, and perhaps better, from the kindly working of the lands, after the present frost. The turnips remain sounder, in general, than could have been expected, after so wet a winter. Potatoes, from having been got up dry in autumn, continue to afford a plentiful and seasonable supply in most markets of the kingdom. Smithfield has been thin in prime meat of most kinds, through the month, particularly mutton, which now fetches a higher price than has been remembered for many years. The extensive rot amongst fatting stock of this kind is the cause of its great scarcity. Accounts from most counties represent the breeding flocks also to be similarly unsound. All lean stock are advanced in price, except sheep and lambs, which are kept down by the risk that the purchasers must run who buy them. The wool markets have had another start since last month's report, and still look higher.

LOTHIAN.—The weather being dry for several days previous to the end of last month, and continuing equally favourable for a few days at the beginning of this, afforded a favourable opportunity to those wishing to sow wheat upon land which had been cleared of turnips, to prosecute that operation with advantage; accordingly, several fields in different situations, were sown with that grain, and finished off in the most satisfactory manner. Till about the middle of last week, the ground was in good condition for ploughing, which operation is pretty forward throughout the country, as many farmers have already got part of their clover lays turned over to be mellowed by the winter's frost. During the last ten days, the frost being sufficiently hard to carry the carts and horses, the time has been actively employed in clearing out the straw yards, laying on compost, threshing, &c. Upon the whole, the weather has been such, that the farmer could hardly desire better, for carrying on the various operations which fall to be executed at this season of the year. Turnip stock have done well for some time past, and the sales already effected, of both sheep and cattle, have left a fair profit to the feeder. The stack-yards present an appearance something similar to what they do at this period in ordinary seasons, and as the crop in general yields tolerably well, the high prices of grain will render this a most favourable year for the farmers.

The grain markets have been well supplied during the month, but the corn merchants having begun to speculate in wheat, and a demand existing in other quarters for oats and barley, prices of late have been rather upon the advance; the current prices being for wheat 63s. to 65s.; barley 42s. to 45s.; potatoes about 32s.; and pease and beans, the qualities being very different, 30s. to 38s. per boll. Butcher markets have been steady for some time past; beef from 7d. to 9d.; mutton about the same price; veal from 10d. to 1s. per lb.

FASHIONS.—We have but little novelty to announce for the present month; the taste and invention of our celebrated dressmakers are at present fully employed in contriving trimmings and ornaments for the birth-day; and we are led to suppose that we shall have a complete revolution in the winter fashions when it is passed. We shall, however, lay before our readers the few observations which we have been able to make since last month.

And, first, for the walking costume, the pilgrim's wrap begins to be in high estimation. It is simply a pilgrim's cloak, made of a very dark brown fine cloth or cassimere, and owes its origin, we believe, to the severity of the season. It is, in general, thrown over a pelisse; and, if not a very elegant addition to the dress of our fair pedes-

trians, must yet be allowed to be a very comfortable one.

Cloaks, pelisses, mantles, and mantlets, still continue to be worn for the promenade.

Plain high dresses, made in lustre and bombazeen, are worn. These dresses are made tight to the shape, and the front, which is called a corset bosom, is very becoming to the shape; it is let in, in small gores, in the same manner in which corsets are generally made, and shews the natural shape to great advantage; the back is very broad, the dress buttons up behind, and a deep collar falls over, round the edge of which is sometimes seen a rich floss silk trimming, but in general it is plain; long sleeve, with a small cuff of the same materials as the dress.

For dinner dresses, velvets are the most prevalent; next to them is India muslin, let in, and trimmed richly with lace; white and coloured satins, Merino cloth, cassimere, twilled sarsnets, and tissue satin cloth, are worn. This last article is exceedingly elegant, and perfectly novel; it has all the richness of those silks which were worn in good old times, without their heaviness; it is indeed particularly appropriate for the time of the year, and we have no doubt will become very general.

Frocks still continue to be worn; but gowns, with demi-trains, are more general; shoulder straps are almost entirely exploded; and the bosom, shoulders, and back of the neck, are as much as possible exposed.

We have observed a small cottage bonnet of white beaver, with a white long feather, which falls over, much in request with our fair promenaders. Peasant's cap of worked muslin, has entirely superseded the Spanish caps; and lace half handkerchiefs, put on in the form of a turban, the most general for morning.

FEBRUARY.

1st.—Henry Langridge, a tenant of Mr Sex, and living very near him, in the parish of Penshurst, in Kent, was a day-labourer on the estate of Balden Powel, Esq. at Lankington-green, near Penshurst, not far from Tunbridge-wells. Having left his work on Monday evening, the 1st of February, with his son, a boy about nine years old, between five and six o'clock, and proceeding homeward, they stopped to rest in a field called Sandfield, about a quarter of a mile from home, having first cut a bundle of sticks and laid them across the foot-path. Mr Sex, afterwards coming into the same field in his way home, stumbled over the sticks, and seeing Langridge close by, asked him what he meant by laying those things across the road, to throw people down? Some words followed, and some sparring. The boy, who appears to be very ingenuous, says, that Mr Sex attempted to knock his father down, but could not accomplish it; and then his father ordered him to go homewards, saying he would kill Sex that night, or else he would transport him to-morrow. After the boy had got the distance of another field, he distinctly heard the cry of "murder" several times repeated. It appears, Langridge had a thick ashen club, cut sharp at the bottom, wherewith he beat Mr Sex so dreadfully as to fracture his scull, break both his arms, and force out of the socket one of his eyes: he also thrust the pointed end between the chin and wind-pipe, into the mouth and through the tongue of the object of his fury; and after glutting his revenge, left him to welter in his blood, and proceeded after the boy, whom he overtook before he got home, and strictly charged him to tell no person what had happened. When at home,

Langridge cut the instrument of his barbarity into three or four pieces, and laid them on the fire, but with the bloody side towards the flames, that his wife might make no observations upon it. Next morning, as if nothing had happened, he proceeded on to his work again, and sent the boy forward to see if Sex was removed: when he heard that the body was still lying there and alive, he took another road; and the deceased lay there from between seven and eight o'clock the preceding evening till nine in the morning, before he was discovered; he lived till the Sunday following without being able to articulate. When Langridge came home on the Tuesday evening, his wife told him what had happened to Mr Sex, and hoped he had no concern in it; to which he answered by asking if she wanted such a dose. He took his supper, and went out of the door, saying, "Mary, I shall never more see you alive." The coroner's inquest sat upon the body, and found a verdict of *Wilful Murder* against Henry Langridge.

2d.—A shoemaker, who was collector of the income-tax in the parish of Christchurch, Surrey, has lately become a defalcator to the amount of 3,700l. The manner in which he obtained so important an office was this: He had been for several years a constant attendant at Mr Rowland Hill's chapel, and by the fervour of his devotion, attracted the notice, and at last gained the friendship, of that gentleman, by whose assistance he was soon enabled to remove from a place little better than a cobler's stall, and take a large conspicuous shop. He also got from his patron a situation in the chapel worth one hundred pounds a-year. He was at last, through the same generous interest, appointed collector of the property-tax, on which occasion two gentlemen became his sureties, one in 1000l. and the other in 2000l. the whole of which sums they will now have to pay

3d.—John and Leigh Hunt, the printer and the editor of The Examiner, were on Wednesday brought into the court of King's Bench, to receive judgment for the libel upon the prince regent, of which they were convicted last term. An affidavit made by the defendants was read—declaring that they were actuated by no personal malice whatever, nor any love or purpose of slander, and that they are conscious of no motives which were not honourable in writing and publishing the same, &c. The defendants having declined occupying the time of the court by counsel, Mr Justice Le Blanc passed sentence, which was, that they do pay a fine of 500l. each, and that they be severally imprisoned for two years; John Hunt in Cold Bath Fields prison, and Leigh Hunt in the new gaol in Horsemonger-lane, and that each give securities in 1000l. for his good behaviour for five years.

6th.—Between seven and eight o'clock, as Mr Samuel Bayley, cotton-merchant, was riding towards home, on the Rusholme road, he was suddenly entangled by a rope stretched across the road for the purpose of robbery. His mare was upon a sharp canter, and he was in a moment swept off her back, and instantly seized by four men, who told him if he made any resistance they would shoot him. They proceeded to rifle him of his property, and told him to proceed and make no alarm, or his life should pay for it. He endeavoured in vain to recover his mare; but she found her way home alone about six o'clock next morning.

8th.—This evening the house of Miss Bakewell, at Swepstone, near Ashby-de-la-Zouch, was attacked by a gang of five most desperate robbers. They entered it about a quarter past eight o'clock. Three of them secured two female servants, and proceeded to plun-

der the house: the footman was unfortunately out. Two of the robbers entered the dining-room, where Miss Bakewell was sitting alone, reading; one of them presented a pistol at her head, threatened to blow her brains out if she made the least noise or resistance, and demanded her money, plate, &c. She replied, she had very little money, but what she had they should have; and she and a female servant delivered to them the plate, of the value of near 300l.; they then left the house. Soon after they were gone, Miss Bakewell went to a neighbour to inform him of what had happened. A Bow-street officer was requested from London, and Pearkes was dispatched: information was sent to the police officers at Birmingham, where there are supposed to be more thieves than in London, according to the population of the two places: advertisements were inserted in several newspapers, and bills printed, offering a reward for the apprehension of the robbers. By these exertions, Samuel Dickens, Daniel Lyn, and a woman, three of the gang, were apprehended at Birmingham on Saturday, with a great part of the property stolen from Miss Bakewell's house in their possession, by the officers of the police of that place; and on Sunday morning early, William Smith and Thomas Cook, the two others of the gang, were apprehended at Leicester. They have since been examined before a magistrate, and committed for further examination.

The gang robbed a poor farmer, in the neighbourhood where Miss Bakewell resides, on the same evennig they robbed her house.

Another instance of the culpable negligence of leaving fire-arms within the reach of young people, happened lately.—The son of Mr Shepherd, mason, near Widcomb Church, Somersetshire, took up a gun, and, not knowing it was loaded, shot his sister in the head; she suffered great agonies, and expired the following day. The lad is about ten years old, and the unfortunate girl was thirteen.

Two men, named Ruddock and Carpenter, neither of whom has yet attained the age of 20, being in custody as the perpetrators of the horrid murder of Mr Webb and his female servant, near Frome, Carpenter has been admitted king's evidence, and has disclosed the following particulars:—Carpenter borrowed the gun with which the murder was committed, of the father of a young woman to whom he paid his addresses. He went with Ruddock to Mr Webb's house, where he asked for work,—"Ah, you rogue," said the old man, "you don't want work, that is only an excuse for a jug of drink—fetch a cup, Molly." "I thank you, sir," said he, "but here is Ruddock at the door." "Is he?" rejoined Mr Webb, "oh, then we must have a larger cup, my maid." When the girl went out, Carpenter beckoned to his companion, who stood at the door, and pulled the trigger of the gun at his devoted victim; it missed fire, but on another attempt it went off, and fatally took effect. The servant rushing in at this moment, endeavoured to escape from the murderers; but Ruddock overtook her, cut her throat, and with the assistance of Carpenter, thrust her into a well, where it is supposed she lingered some hours. The villains then proceeded to rifle the house, and afterwards hid the gun in a neighbouring wood. Carpenter attended the sale of Mr Webb's effects, and with the greatest composure bid for several articles; and on Sunday heard a funeral sermon preached in a chapel at Frome, allusive to the dreadful deed. His detection was in consequence of his boasts of possessing money.

14th.—Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, a daring attack was made

upon two of his majesty's game-keepers, by five poachers, who were discovered in a plantation of Windsor Great Park, in the act of shooting the pheasants. These men were all armed with fire arms and bludgeons, and several with long poles of a peculiar construction, with which they are accustomed to discharge the spring-guns which are set in their way. By this unequal force the keepers were overpowered, although they manfully fought with the pikes which they usually carry, and inflicted many severe wounds on their sturdy opponents. One of the game-keepers was so dreadfully beaten, that his life is in the utmost danger, from the severe blows he received on his head with the butt-end of a gun, till it was shattered from the barrel, and the lock broken in pieces. One of the offenders is in custody.

15th.—A most melancholy occurrence has taken place on the coast of Donegal, by which a number of lives have been lost, and many wives and children rendered husbandless and fatherless. For some time past, a very abundant take of excellent herrings has continued to reward the industry and enterprize of the fishermen on the coast, in and contiguous to the harbour of Killybeggs. On Friday night last, a fleet of boats, induced by the prospect of greater success, having ventured too far from the shore in search of the fish, encountered on their return a strong gale of wind, when many of those most deeply laden unhappily perished with all their crews, amounting to between 40 and 50 souls: This most unfortunate event has plunged an entire county in the deepest distress, and, in its consequences, will involve a number of poor families in utter ruin. Publick commiseration is justly excited in their behalf.

At the theatre, at Copenhagen, some persons, pretending that they smelt fire, gave an alarm, when the audience rushed to the different vomitories to escape, and before the mistake could be rectified, sixteen persons were trod to death.

19th.—PERTH.—A very disgraceful occurrence took place in the streets of this town. Many men from the Renfrew, and some from the Fife regiments of militia, after being dismissed from the garrison parade in the morning, about eleven o'clock, proceeded in the most riotous and disorderly manner to the prison, with the determination of liberating a private of the Perth militia, who was really not in prison, but only ordered to appear before the sheriff for examination, and was actually in the street at the time. The officers did every thing in their power to check the men, and with the assistance of the Durham regiment, succeeded in getting them to the barracks.

Every measure of precaution which prudence could suggest was adopted on the occasion, and executed with a degree of promptitude and decision, which reflects the greatest honour on Colonel Dunlop, the commanding officer in absence of General Durham. The ringleaders who had been secured were instantly sent off, in post chaises, under a proper escort, to Edinburgh; and to prevent the immediate recurrence of the outrage, two of the regiments were marched off the same evening, one of them to Dundee, and the other to Crieff and Dunkeld. It was truly gratifying to witness the good order and regularity in which they left the town, after the moment of delusion was past, and their minds were actuated by more soldierly dispositions.

It is but justice to mention, that during the whole of the riot the Durham regiment of militia, to a man, behaved with the greatest coolness and steadiness; and seemed resolved to suffer every thing, rather than disgrace their military character.

The whole of the officers of the different regiments behaved with the greatest intrepidity; and in many cases, incurred considerable personal risk in securing the offenders, and restoring subordination.

The Fifeshire regiment was recalled on Saturday; the Renfrewshire is still quartered at Dundee.

20th.—The lord mayor of Dublin arrived in London. His lordship is entrusted with the presentation of a petition from the city of Dublin against the Catholic claims. This is said to be the only instance (except one in the reign of George II.) of the lord mayor leaving Dublin officially.

24th.—Carlisle.—It is with much concern we state, that the system of midnight robbery, which has so long disgraced this county, is yet prevalent.—On Monday evening last, as Mr Nichol, of Torpenhow, butcher, was returning from Cockermouth market, he was stopped by four foot-pads, who, after barbarously ill-treating him, took from him 34l. with which they made their escape.

A gang of highwaymen, five in number, supposed to be the same who lately infested the neighbourhood of Wigton and Carlisle, made their appearance at the Candlemas fair of Dumfries, on Wednesday week; and betwixt seven and eight o'clock that evening, no less than nine different persons were attacked, seven of whom were unhorsed, and robbed of their pocket-books, watches, &c. betwixt the one and three mile-stones on the Galloway road. The villains were well armed with bludgeons, pistols, &c. and all escaped owing to the alarm not being given in town till next morning.—Several of the people who were attacked are much hurt, and the cash taken amounts to upwards of 1000l. besides bills, &c.

26th.—Palace of King John, Old Ford.—The workmen at present employed in removing the foundation of the north-east wall of the palace, discovered a vault, 11 feet by 6½, in which was a stone coffin covered with a thick plank of oak, and containing the remains of a body; by the length of the thigh bone it must have been nearly seven feet high: there was also in the coffin a short dagger, the scabbard entire, and a large spur, with several copper coins; near the coffin was an urn, of most curious workmanship, and filled with black ashes.

27th.—On this day an Armenian was robbed and dreadfully beaten, in the environs of Pest, whither he was carried, and expired next day. He was known to be a dealer in diamonds, and his clothes were carefully searched by the magistrates, lest any precious stones should be concealed therein; none, however, were found.—The body was interred.—Some ruffians who were suspected of having committed the offence were apprehended. The evidence against them proved complete; they were sentenced to be executed, and died acknowledging their guilt. But the most singular circumstance in this relation is, that as the medical men, who were called at the time, inspected the body, which was raised for the purpose, they perceived an issue sunk in the fleshy part of each thigh, and on making incisions, found that it had been for the purpose of concealing two diamonds of uncommon lustre and weight, which the deceased, it is ascertained, had brought from Persia to dispose of.—They have been valued by good judges at 7000l. sterling each.

28th.—This day the following gentlemen were unanimously chosen governors and directors of the British Linen company:—

Governor.—Right Hon. William Earl of Northesk.

Deputy-Governor.—Sir James Montgomery, Bart.

Directors.—James Gilchrist, Esq. writer to the signet; John Hunter, Esq. writer to the signet; Sir William Fettes, of Comely Bank, bart.; David Cathcart, Esq. advocate; and Adam Maitland, Esq. of Dundrennan.

A serpent of the Boa Constrictor species was lately killed in the neighbourhood of Reduit, Isle of France, by a Mr Fleurot, who, with a friend, was angling near a cascade in the river of Plain Wilhelms. The dogs accompanying the party first discovered the reptile concealed in a cavity of the rock; and four charges of small shot were fired at him, before he became crippled, and could be drawn by six slaves from his lurking place. He proved to be 14 feet 6 inches long, 14 inches thick, and weighed 184lb. When opened the stomach was found to contain several animals, half digested, such as monkeys, &c. This reptile is believed to have been introduced on the island by a ship from India, which was stranded in 1801 on the shore, near six miles from the river where it was killed.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

Much of bean planting was well done before the rains, and fine weather is only wanted in order to being finished in perfection, as the lands have worked well. The wheats have improved generally since last report, but some damage has been occasioned by the slug; and upon heavy lands the dibbled wheats have in parts missed plant, from the seed-holes being imperfectly covered. The drilled, on such soils, have succeeded best. The rye crop in many counties is more injured by the slug than has been known for years, much of it is entirely destroyed. Well-hoed turnips remarkably good, and the Swedish species increases in reputation as a stall food for cattle, and as a salubrious addition to the usual diet of farm horses. Wurtzel, for the same purposes, and for sheep and milch cows, getting into the highest reputation. The character of fiorin grass still of a dubious nature, being under various experiments. A small part of the lands not sown with wheat, in the regular season, were finished in January; and the supply of that most important article of human subsistence will materially depend upon the quantity of spring wheat yet to be put in. Its success needs not be doubted upon any land which will carry wheat, nor upon the lighter barley soils.

The season has been extremely favourable throughout for feeding live stock, which have been fattened at far less than the usual expence. The lambing season has commenced with general good success, but the effects of last year's rot in the sheep, are now felt in the scarcity and high price of good mutton. All sorts both of fat and store cattle, pigs, and milch cows, equally dear, and probable to be still more so as the spring advances. A fat Stot of 84 stone (of 8lbs.) is worth 30l. and a fat sheep of 10 stone, 4l. Good horses at an excessive price, the country having been drained for military purposes.

The stock of wheat judged to be a fair supply for the year, (short indeed to the poor inhabitants of some districts) without any expectation of surplus, and the only resource for an adequate regular subsistence to the country, lies in the culture of fresh land, and the facilities of a bill of general inclosure, for which many petitions are on their way to parliament, countenanced and supported by the Board of Agriculture, which has offered to the legislature a very efficacious and safe plan. Some wheats, damp, and ill put together at harvest, are taking damage in the stack, and should be brought to market. Wool, both

combing and clothing, begins to be rather a stirring article; and barks are upon the advance.

FASHIONS.—*Half Dress.*—Plain frock of amber satin cloth, shot with white, and ornamented round the bosom and the waist with a rich white silk trimming, which is called frost work; it is the lightest and most elegant thing we have seen for some time, and is universally worn; a double row of this trimming crosses the breast, and forms the shape of the bosom; the back, which is plain and very broad, is ornamented with pearl buttons, or small silk ones to correspond with the trimming. White lace sleeves, made very full, fastened about the middle of the arm by a broad band of letting-in lace, and drawn up by two buttons near the shoulder, while the fullness which falls near the bottom is confined by one; plain demi-train. Regency cap of white lace, with a small front turned up all round, and what was formerly termed a beef-eater's crown; the lace in the crown drawn very full and tightened in by strings of pearl; a tassel of pearls is affixed to the right side of the crown, and a rich amber flower ornaments it in front. Pearl necklace and small cornelian ornament of an oval shape. White kid gloves and slippers.

Evening Dress.—White satin round frock, which laces behind, and is made to display the whole of the neck and shoulders; back extremely broad, and the waists as they were worn last month; a superb embroidery of oak leaves, which has a beautiful effect, goes round the bosom, the sleeves, and the bottom of the dress, which is also ornamented up the front by a piece of embroidery not quite a quarter of a yard in width, of acorns worked in gold thread, very much raised, and intermingled oak wreaths to correspond with the trimming of the bosom; short sleeve, ornamented with a rich gold tassel on the shoulder. Hair twisted up behind in a very large full bow, divided in front, and much fuller on the temples than last month. A turban of a newly-invented gold net, the texture of which is nearly as slight as gause, and wove in small diamonds, is put on in different folds; it is exceedingly full in front, and is worn without any ornament. A rich but light chain of intermingled gold and pearl, to which is affixed a small pearl cross, goes twice round the neck; ear-rings to correspond.—White satin sandals, which are very much displayed by the dress being looped up on one side at bottom; pearl rosettes, white kid gloves, and ivory fan.

Promenade or Morning Dress.—A plain cambric robe, made high in the neck, with plaited fan frill and long sleeves, finished at the bottom with a border of fancy tucks or needle-work. A Prussian hussar cloak, of Sardinian blue velvet, or superfine cloth; lined and edged with pink satin, and finished at its termination with a variegated ball fringe; large hood, or cape, lined or trimmed to correspond; the points finished with rich cone tassels, and confined at the throat with the same. A Moorish turban hat, composed of Sardinian blue velvet and sable fur.

MARCH.

1st.—About fifteen months since, a prisoner of Porchester depot composed some verses, and among the characters introduced in his poem, one, very unfortunately, struck the mind of a prisoner, named Tardif, as being expressly written to satirise himself; this erroneous idea invariably operated upon the demoniac spirit of the wretch, who, as it now appears, sought numerous opportunities to glut his vengeance on the person of Mr Legue, from whom he imagined the writer of

the lines had received the hints, enabling him to delineate the characteristic traits in question. Some weeks back the assassin, in order to render his weapon (a large clasp knife) the more certain in its operation, bound the handle with waxed cord, that his grasp might prove more firm, and also rendered the back, as well as the edge, of the sharpness of a razor: this weapon, since the commission of the deed, he has denominated his guardian angel, which was nightly his companion in bed: nor is it less a fact, that the dreams of this monster were so disturbed, that a person, who slept in the adjoining hammock, requested to know whether he (Tardif) would not wish to be awakened when he became so dreadfully agitated? "No!" replied this dæmon of vengeance, "for I am then dreaming of a deadly enemy that has dishonoured me, and although he appears to conquer for a time, yet the vision always terminates by giving me his blood." Thus, after the lapse of thirteen months, this evening, March 1st, about eight o'clock, Tardif found the long-desired opportunity, when, rushing upon his victim, he literally ripped him open, and the bowels in consequence obtruded themselves, when Legue, bending forward, received his entrails into his hands, exclaiming at the same time, "I am a dead man!" "Oh! no," cried the murderer, ironically, "it is merely a scratch?" Then twice plunging the knife up to the hilt in the back of Legue, exclaimed, "Take that, and that." He was proceeding thus to inflict further wounds, when another prisoner, at the risk of his own life, arrested his murderous arm in its progress, on which the villain calmly said, "I have now completed my work, and am content; you may take the weapon, and me too wheresoever you think fit." While binding his arms, he requested those around to stand aside, in order that he might glut his sight with the view of his immolated victim; and ironically remarked, "I have sent you before me upon your journey, that you may procure me a lodging." One of the prisoners then enquired, why he did not at least prove that he possessed one noble sentiment, by plunging the knife in his own breast, after the perpetration of the deed, in order to escape the gallows? "It was originally my intention," replied the wretch, "but it afterwards struck me that I might expire first, and then the certainty of having taken his life would not have been known to me, and nothing less would have gratified my heart." Soon after the villain was ironed, he fell into a sound and apparently tranquil sleep, from which he did not awake till a late hour the following morning, when he remarked that he had not enjoyed such repose for the last twelve months, and that he gloried in the immolation of his victim. On Wednesday, the coroner's inquest sat on the body of Legue, and pronounced a verdict of wilful murder against Tardif, who was removed next morning to Winchester gaol, in order to take his trial. *Executed.*

2d.—IRELAND.—The important trial between the Hon. F. Cavendish and the Atlas and Globe insurance company, terminated in the court of common pleas, Dublin. It was an action to recover the sum of 16,500l. from the defendants, who had insured the plaintiff's house and library at Clontarf to that amount; both of which were nearly destroyed by fire in July last. The defendants contended that the fire was not accidental, and the jury found a verdict in their favour. A question naturally arises, why no action has been brought, *per contra*, for wilful fire raising with intention to defraud?

5th.—COURT OF KING'S BENCH.—*The King* v. *Henry White, jun.—For a Libel on the Duke of Cumberland.*

—This was an information filed *ex officio* by his majesty's attorney-general for a gross and scandalous libel, published on the 30th August, and the 27th September last, in a newspaper called The Independent Whig, reflecting on the character of the Duke of Cumberland.

The principal libel was a letter to the Duke of ——— with this motto, "*Qui capit, ille habet*," and signed Philo-Junius.

Sir William Garrow, as counsel for the prosecution, stated the leading features of the prosecution.

Mr Scarlett, for the defendant, made a long and able defence.

Lord Ellenborough summed up for the jury, and said it would be for them to determine whether they had any doubts that the libels meant to accuse the Duke of Cumberland of having had a guilty concern in the death of Sellis. His lordship thought it was impossible for any one to peruse the libels without having the firm conviction on his mind that they had been written for the distinct and unequivocal purpose of maintaining that Sellis did not die by his own hands, and that the Duke of Cumberland had been concerned in accomplishing such death. The "home questions," for instance, did they not directly and unequivocally allude to the alleged fact, that the duke had some criminal connection with the death of Sellis?—But before he was "off," the writer said he would put a few questions to him. What! was it to be endured that this journalist should erect his tribunal, and that he should summon whom he pleased before his spurious jurisdiction, while the laws of the land were in full operation? Was such a spurious jurisdiction to impute crimes, and then to be suffered to put a string of questions to the accused? He knew it was much the habit of the journals of these times to erect themselves into tribunals, and to cal on every man to whom they chose to impute a crime, to obey their tyrannic despotism, and to answer the charges preferred against them. He would declare, that sooner than submit to be catechised in this way, he would rather live under the arbitrary rule of the tyrant of France, for he should deem that preferable to living under the arbitrary despotism of those journalists. It was his duty to pronounce a character upon the libels, and he did so by pronouncing those now before them to be most atrocious and notorious libels.

The jury almost immediately returned a verdict of Guilty. He was sentenced to be imprisoned fifteen months, and pay a fine of 200l.

6th.—The Hotspur, 36 guns, Hon. Capt. Percy, arrived on Tuesday evening at Portsmouth, from Lisbon, with a fleet of transports. She has brought an account of the lamented and melancholy end of Lieutenant-General Sir W. Erskine, commander-in-chief of the cavalry under the orders of Sir Rowland Hill. In a fit of delirium, Sir William threw himself out of the upper window of a house where he was quartered, and was killed on the spot.

7th.—While the people were assembled in the church of Roskeen, in the north of Scotland, a part of the gallery, which was immensely crowded, yielded suddenly with a crash, which excited the greatest alarm. In endeavouring to escape from the danger which threatened them, many persons were trampled down and dreadfully bruised. Two women died of the injury they received.

8th.—The lord chancellor has finally decided in the cause Wilkinson *v.* Adams and others, trustees, against the appellant. By this decision, nearly a million sterling in estates is confirmed to three illegitimate children of the late Mr Wilkinson, iron-master, in exclusion of his nephew, who had been brought up as his heir, resided with him, and managed his business

upwards of 30 years without any salary.—Mr W. became acquainted with the mother of the children in one of his visits to London, where she acted as a servant, and after he had attained his 70th year. This decision settles the question, which has lately been contested, that illegitimate children can succeed to estates by will.

11th.—King's Health.—On Sunday the following bulletin was shewn at St James's Palace :—

"*Windsor Castle, March* 6, 1813.

"His Majesty, since the last report, has been generally tranquil, but rather less so during the last week."

(Signed as usual.)

15th.—A Belfast tender, which went into Campbleton, sent a gang on shore to impress men, when, from their having met with some resistance, the officer commanding the party, ordered the marines to fire ; and a fine young girl of 14 years of age was shot dead, one man severely wounded in the leg, and another person stabbed. The officer was apprehended, and committed to jail to stand trial. He was afterwards acquitted by the sentence of justifiable homicide.

Execution of the Murderers of Mr Webb and his Servant.—Early in the morning, Ruddock and Carpenter, the murderers, were removed from Salisbury gaol to Warminster, in a mourning coach, attended by the usual escort of javelin men, &c. preparatory to their execution on the Down, close adjoining to Warminster. The spot chosen for this purpose was the point of an almost perpendicular hill, nearly 500 feet above the town, looking down on Warminster church, in which Mr Webb was buried, and nearly in view of the house where the murderous deed was perpetrated. About half-past eleven o'clock the procession began to move from the chapel, in Warminster market-place, where the miserable culprits had been from the time of their arrival. On reaching the place of execution, the clergyman spent a considerable time in prayer with the criminals ; the executioner then proceeded to do his duty : after they were tied up, a handkerchief was given to Carpenter, to drop as a signal for the cart to be drawn from under them ; the poor wretch, however, clung so to life, that he delayed dropping it for nearly half an hour, begging earnestly for a few minutes longer ; at length he dropt it, but, even then, endeavoured to prevent his fall as much as he could, whereby he suffered greatly in dying ; whilst Ruddock, who jumped boldly from the cart when it moved, was dead in a moment. After hanging the usual time, the bodies were cut down, and taken to the infirmary, at Salisbury, for dissection.

18th.—Sir Everard Home has published the following declaration :—

"Much pains having been taken to involve in mystery the murder of Sellis, the late servant of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, I feel it a public duty, to record the circumstances respecting it that came within my own observation, which I could not do while the propagators of such reports were before a public tribunal.

"I visited the Duke of Cumberland upon his being wounded, and found my way from the great hall to his apartment by the traces of blood which were left on the passages and staircase. I found him on the bed, still bleeding, his shirt deluged with blood, and the coloured drapery above the pillow sprinkled with blood from a wounded artery, which puts on an appearance that cannot be mistaken by those who have seen it. This could not have happened, had not the head been lying on the pillow when it was wounded. The night ribbon which was wadded, the cap, scalp, and skull, were obliquely divided, so that the

pulsations of the arteries of the brain were distinguished. While dressing this, and the other wounds, report was brought that Sellis was wounded, if not murdered. His royal highness desired me to go to him, as I had declared his royal higness out of immediate danger. A second report came, that Sellis was dead. I went to his apartment, found the body lying on his side on the bed, without his coat and neckcloth, the throat cut so effectually, that he could not have survived a minute or two; the length and direction of the wound were such, as left no doubt of its being given by his own hand. Any struggle would have made it irregular. He had not even changed his position; his hands lay as they do in a person who has fainted; they had no marks of violence upon them; his coat hung upon a chair out of the reach of blood from the bed; the sleeve from the shoulder to the wrist was sprinkled with blood, quite dry, evidently from a wounded artery; and from such kind of sprinkling, the arm of the assassin of the Duke of Cumberland could not escape.

"In returning to the duke, I found the doors of all the state apartments had marks of bloody fingers on them. The Duke of Cumberland, after being wounded, could not have gone any where but to the outer doors and back again, since the traces of blood were confined to the passages from the one to the other.

"EVERARD HOME."

20th.—This day was decided a very sporting wager between six gentlemen (three being chosen on each side), who should be nearest to Sir M. M. Sykes's fox-hounds. A great deal of money was betted on the occasion, and a very great interest naturally excited. The honourable Mr Hawke, Mr Treacher, and Captain Smith, of the 10th hussars, were on the one party, and Mr Lloyd, of York, Mr Stanley, brother of Sir Thomas Stanley, and Mr Blundell, of Lancashire, on the other. The latter three considerably the favourites at starting. The hounds found in Suet Carr, and went away in their usual most excellent and rapid manner, running a burst as severe and as killing for the pace (and over the deepest and strongest enclosed country in Yorkshire) as was ever known by the oldest huntsman, passing an extent of five miles of country in a twenty minutes burst, and after that going a steady rating pace for another half hour. The gentlemen named above came in as follows: Mr Treacher, on Old Nick, first; honourable Mr Hawke, on Lord of the Valley, second; Captain Smith on Jerry Sneak, third; Mr Stanley, on Neck-or-Nothing, fourth; Mr Blundell, on Rolla, fifth, and Mr Lloyd, on the York Dandy, sixth. It is needless to add, that the wager was won by the three first-named gentlemen. What is remarkable, Captain Smith met with a severe fall at his second fence, and Mr Hawke rode after and caught his horse, brought him back, and then made up his ground in the burst, though he rides above 14st.

PLYMOUTH.—LOSS OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP CAPTAIN.—We were most dreadfully alarmed this morning between one and two o'clock, by the fire-bells of the Dock-yard, Dock-Town, Royal Hospital, Victualling-office, and the fire-bell of this town, ringing incessantly. After some space of time, it was found to be the Captain (74) hulk, with part of the stores of the San Josef (110) lying along side. By the activity of the different boats crews from each ship, the San Josef was soon cut adrift, and floated out of reach of the hulk, which at three o'clock presented one blaze of fire. As it was feared she might burn her cables, and float in this state on board other men of war lying near her,

it was judged necessary to embark from the gun-wharf some howitzers, long medium twelve-pounders, and carronades, in men of war's launches, conducted by artillery-men, which, with their usual activity, was soon accomplished, with ample ammunition, to endeavour to sink her. She was soon completely surrounded, and after a most heavy firing of howitzers and guns at her, betwixt wind and water, she sunk, amidst a tremenduous blaze of fire. We are happy to state that no lives were lost, and only one artillery-man materially hurt. The Captain took the San Josef, 110, with the late gallant Nelson her commander, on the glorious 14th February, 1797, under Lord St Vincent, which now was alongside her, as a British man of war, to witness her ancient rival's conflagration and destruction.

21st.—This morning, about twenty minutes past six, the inhabitants of Exmouth were alarmed by the shock of an earthquake, which lasted for two or three seconds. The houses were shaken, the people hurried from their beds, and the utmost alarm prevailed for some time throughout the town. The shock was felt in like manner at Sidmouth, Budleigh, Salterton, Starcross, and for many miles along the coast; but we have not heard of any ill consequences from it.

SAINT PATRICK'S DAY.—The anniversary of the society of St Patrick was held on the 17th inst. at the city of London tavern, by a company of nearly 400 persons. The toasts were suitable to the occasion. In proposing "the prince regent," Lord Darnley, who, in the absence of the Duke of Devonshire, filled the chair, cautioned the company from mixing any thing of a political nature with the conviviality of the evening. The health of the prince regent was then drunk with applause, but not without slight marks of disapprobation in some parts of the room. Among the subscriptions received, the list of which was read by the treasurer, was one of 50l. from her royal highness the Princess of Wales. Loud applause followed the mention of this subscription, and the chairman was called on to give the health of the princess. The chairman said, this ebullition of feeling did honour to the Irish heart: and after the reading of the list, he proposed the Princess of Wales, the Marchioness of Downshire, and the Countess of Loudon and Moira."—(*Cries of* "*No, no! The Princess of Wales.*")

After some observations from General Matthew, the chairman proposed "the Princess of Wales and other lady patronesses of the society," which was drunk with applause. A letter was read from Lord Moira, excusing his absence; and on the chairman giving "Sir John Doyle and the 87th regiment," Sir John made a short and manly speech, returning thanks for himself and his brethren in arms.

22d.—Late on Saturday night, or early on Sunday morning, the house of Mr Elisha Long, of Sible Hedingham, in the county of Essex, was broke open, and robbed of a large quantity of English and Foreign coins, plate, &c. to a considerable amount. Several daring depredations of a similar nature having been committed in that neighbourhood lately, a Bow-street officer was sent for, and Lavender was dispatched in consequence. On the officer's arrival he found four men in custody, whose names are Davy, Finch, Halls, and Potter. The latter was admitted evidence by Mr Majendie, an active magistrate, who resides at Castle Hedingham, about a mile and a half from the spot where the robbery was committed. From a variety of evidence adduced before him, it appeared that the robbery was planned to be committed on Wednesday se'ennight, when all the prisoners

went, with their faces blacked, to attack Mr Long's house, but seeing a light in it they gave up their intention. They were induced to the act from its being generally believed in the neighbourhood that he had guineas hoarded to a very considerable amount. Saturday night was fixed upon for the second attempt, when Potter, who is admitted evidence for the crown, refused to accompany the others, or to have any thing to do with it; however, he agreed to lend them a chissel, a gimlet, &c. to break open the house with, and they went with their faces blackened and effected their purpose. On Sunday morning as a person was passing opposite to Finch's residence, a piece of paper was found, with the words "Seven Crowns" written on it. The person having heard of Mr Long's robbery, shewed Mr L. the paper, who identified the words to be his handwriting, and the same paper that contained seven English crown-pieces, which had been stolen. This circumstance led to the detection and apprehension of the gang.

23d.—The university of Cambridge was again thrown into considerable alarm by a fire breaking out at Sidney College, the incendiary, therefore, must be still within its walls. The flames were happily got under without much damage.

24th.—Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Brunswick expired last night at a quarter past nine o'clock. Her royal higness had been subject to an asthmatic complaint for some years, which was increased by the epidemic disorder now prevalent, with which she was attacked about two days ago, but no alarm was excited till the morning of yesterday. About five o'clock her royal highness seemed better, but spasms came upon her chest about eight, and her royal highness died at nine o'clock, without pain.

This venerable princess was in the 76th year of her age, and the last surviving sister of our sovereign. She was born on the 31st of July, 1737; and on the 17th of January, 1764, she was married to the late Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle, by whom she had issue, three sons and three daughters. Her royal highness was confined to her bed only two days. The Princess of Wales visited her on Tuesday, and remained with her royal mother for a considerable time.

27th.—The monument erected by the corporation of London to the memory of Mr Pitt was opened to public view. It is placed on the south side of Guildhall, exactly facing that of his father the late great Earl of Chatham. Mr Canning, accompanied by Lord G. L. Gower, attended the corporation committee; and, after viewing it, expressed his satisfaction with the design and the execution of it.

The massy substance on which the figures in this composition are placed, is intended to represent the island of Great Britain and the surrounding waves. On an elevation in the centre of the island, Mr Pitt appears in his robes, as chancellor of the exchequer, in the attitude of a public orator. Below him, on an intermediate foreground, two statues characterize his abilities; while, with the national energy, which is embodied, and riding on a symbol of the ocean in the lower centre, they assist to describe allusively the effects of his administration. Apollo stands on his right, impersonating Eloquence and Learning. Mercury is introduced on his left, as the representative of Commerce and the patron of Policy. To describe the unprecedented splendour of success which crowned the British navy while Mr Pitt was minister, the lower part of the monument is occupied by a statue of Britannia seated triumphantly on a sea-horse; in her left hand is the usual emblem of naval power; and her

right grasps a thunder-bolt, which she is prepared to hurl at the enemies of her country.

The inscription, written by Mr Canning, is clear and nervous; and avoids, more perhaps than could have been expected from the right honourable author, any very pointed allusions to those matters of policy on which such contrariety of opinion is still held.

WILLIAM PITT,
Son of WILLIAM PITT, Earl of Chatham,
Inheriting the genius and formed by the Precepts of his Father,
Devoted himself from his early years to the service of the State.
Called to the chief conduct of the Administration, after the close of a disastrous war,
He repaired the exhausted revenues, he revived and invigorated
the Commerce and Prosperity of the Country;
And he had re-established the Public Credit on deep and sure foundations;
When a new War was kindled in EUROPE, more formidable than any
preceding War from the peculiar character of its dangers.
To resist the arms of FRANCE, which were directed against the
Independence of every Government and People,
To animate other Nations by the example of GREAT BRITAIN,
To check the contagion of opinions which tended to dissolve the frame of Civil Society,
To array the loyal, the sober-minded, and the good, in defence of
the venerable Constitution of the BRITISH MONARCHY,
Were the duties which, at that awful crisis, devolved upon the British Minister,
And which he discharged with transcendant zeal, intrepidity, and perseverance:
He upheld the National Honour abroad;
He maintained at home the blessings of Order and of true Liberty:
And, in the midst of difficulties and perils,
He united and consolidated the strength, power, and resources of the Empire.
For these high purposes
He was gifted by DIVINE PROVIDENCE with endowments,
Rare in their separate excellence; wonderful in their combination:
Judgment; imagination; memory; wit; force and acuteness of reasoning;
Eloquence, copious and accurate, commanding and persuasive,
And suited from its splendour to the dignity of his mind
and to the authority of his station;
A lofty spirit; a mild and ingenuous temper;
Warm and stedfast in friendship, towards enemies he was forbearing and forgiving;
His industry was not relaxed by confidence in his great abilities.
His indulgence to others was not abated by the consciousness of his own superiority.
His ambition was pure from all selfish motives;
The love of power and the passion for fame were in him
subordinate to views of public utility;
Dispensing for near twenty years the favours of the Crown,
He lived without ostentation and he died poor.
A GRATEFUL NATION
Decreed to him these funeral honours
Which are reserved for eminent and extraordinary men.
This MONUMENT
Is erected by the LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, and COMMON COUNCIL,
To record the reverent and affectionate regret
with which the CITY of LONDON cherishes his memory;
And to hold out to the imitation of Posterity
Those principles of public and private virtue,
Which ensure to Nations a solid greatness,
And to individuals an imperishable name.

28th.—On Saturday morning, betwixt two and three o'clock, a fire broke out near the Townhead, Kelso, in a hay stack belonging to Gilbert Kilpatrick, which was entirely consumed, together with a great part of a stack of wheat, in spite of the prompt assistance which was rendered by the inhabitants. From the stacks being entirely distinct from any dwelling-house, and from several suspicious circumstances, it is believed the fire was wilful. A reward of 20 guineas has been offered, to be paid on the conviction and discovery of the incendiaries.

Bank of Scotland.—This day the following noblemen and gentlemen were unanimously elected governor, deputy governor, and directors of the Bank of Scotland, for the year ensuing:

Governor.—The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Melville.

Deputy-Governor.—Patrick Miller, Esq. of Dalswinton.

Ordinary Directors.—George Kinnear, Esq. Adam Rolland, Esq. Robert Wilson, Esq. Donald Smith, Esq. Robert Dundas, Esq. John Irving, Esq. Andrew Bonar, Esq. John Dundas, Esq. Harry Davidson, Esq. James Donaldson, Esq. James Hope, Esq. and Peter Wood, Esq.

Extraordinary Directors.—Duke of Montrose, Marquis of Douglas, Earl of Kellie, Earl of Glasgow, Robert Clerk, Esq. Archibald Douglas, Esq. Sir Patrick Inglis, Bart. General Sir D. Dundas, K B. Alexander Keith, Esq. Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart. A. C. Mait. Gibson, Esq. and Lord Balgray.

30th.—A very destructive fire occurred in Manchester, which has consumed property to the amount of 50,000l. The fire broke out about 12 o'clock at night, on the premises at Messrs Green and Co., and spread to those of Messrs Aspinall and Co., which were entirely consumed, as well as several adjoining warehouses.

31st.—Bury.—Ann Arnold capitally convicted of the wilful murder of her bastard child, a boy between four and five years old, about the 10th of February last, by deliberately taking off his clothes, with the exception of his shirt, and throwing him into a pond covered with bushes, in a field in the parish of Spekhall, whereby he was drowned. The body was not discoveted till near three weeks afterwards, in a putrid state; and then in a most extraordinary manner, by a boy keeping sheep in the same field, who observed one of his flock looking stedfastly into the water, and making a noise, which attracted him to the spot, where he at first thought it was a dead lamb in the water; but soon afterwards he tried to get the supposed lamb out, which was then floating, when he found it was a child, upon which he gave information to his father and others, which led to the inhuman mother's apprehension at Hardly, in Norfolk.

The inducement to this crime appeared to be, that the father of a second bastard child, of which she was delivered about nine weeks after Michaelmas, at Howe, in Norfolk, had promised her marriage, on condition that she could induce the father of the first child, who allowed her 1s. 6d. per week for its maintenance, to take the sole charge thereof—but this he refused, and she had the cruelty to destroy it in the manner above related, although she acknowledged the poor infant feelingly exclaimed, on being stripped at the pond, "Mother, what are you going to do?" She was sentenced to death on Friday, and immediately conveyed from hence to Ipswich gaol in a post chaise, was there executed on Friday last, apparently exhibiting a penitent behaviour, amidst an immense concourse of spectator, and

her body delivered to the surgeons, to be dissected and anatomised.

At an early hour, Hanover-square and the avenues leading thereto, were crowded with people who were assembled for the purpose of witnessing the commencement of the ceremonial of the funeral of her Royal Highness the Duchess of Brunswick. A detachment of the foot guards was on duty in the square, and formed a line from the late residence of her royal highness to the top of George-street, through which the procession was to proceed. There were also several troops of the 7th hussars on duty, who afterwards joined in the procession.

At half-past eight, the necessary arrangements having been made, the hearse, which was richly emblazoned with the armorial bearings of the deceased, drew up to the corner of Brook-street, and received the coffin. The persons appointed to accompany the procession, having taken their respective places, the whole proceeded round the north-side of the square to George-street, down which they passed into Conduit-street, Bond-street, and Piccadilly, and so on to Hyde-park Corner.

The cavalcade stopped at Stains, where refreshments were prepared, and remained there for some time.

The procession had a very solemn and grand effect in all the villages through which it proceeded. The solemn knell was sounded as it passed, and the inhabitants who lined the streets and public paths, behaved in the most decorous manner. It reached Frogmore about eight at night, where the road was lined with a party of the 33d regiment, carrying lighted flambeaux; and the whole of the military at Windsor were drawn out to receive it. The castle-yard was filled with infantry and cavalry, and illuminated by the blaze of flambeaux. As soon as the procession entered the yard, the whole presented arms, and the band struck up a solemn dirge, which gave the scene altogether a truly grand and impressive effect. At the porch of St George's Chapel, the body was taken out of the hearse and placed upon a bier, which was carried by ten yeomen of the guard. On entering the chapel, the aisles appeared lined with several troops of the royal horse guards, partly under arms, and partly with lighted flambeaux; the organ opened its pealing tones, and Dr Croft's admired funeral service was sung by the whole of the choir. The Duke of Brunswick had arrived at the Dean of Windsor's in the afternoon, and acted as chief mourner; he was supported by Barons de Hackel and de Nortenfeld. Among other noblemen present in the procession, were the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Winchelsea, Lords Somerville, Rivers, St Helen's, and Arden. The body being placed near the altar, the chief mourner took his seat in a chair at the head of the coffin. Th service was performed by the Dean. The gentlemen of the choir sung the anthem, "I have set God always before me," by Blake: The funeral service concluded with—"I heard a voice from Heaven;" after which, Garter King at Arms proclaimed her late royal highness's style, which ended the ceremony.

AGRICULTURAL REPORTS.

England.—The mild dry weather through nearly the whole of last month has favoured the seasonable avocations of the farmer. The spring sowing is in a more forward state than could have been expected, from the heavy rains that had fallen in the preceding months. The tenacious soils have worked kindly, except those that were rendered adhesive by the feet of animals, in the consumption of winter

crops; these require much labour, and for them some frost would be very acceptable.

The young wheats continue to increase in the promising appearance of a prolific tillow; the late congenial weather has given the flag the most healthful colour; and the late sown crops of the winter kind, have recovered from the effects of a superabundant moisture. The spring sown are breaking forth in the most healthful state, and promise, from the great breadths that have been sown, to add considerably to the future stock of this indispensable article.

The barley sowing is in a forward state, and the early-sown pease are putting forth the infant plants without having received much injury from the slug.

Rye, tares, lucern, saintfoin, clover, and all the soiling species, are in the most forward and luxuriant state.

SCOTLAND.—Throughout this month the weather has been singularly favourable for all sorts of husbandry work, to this degree, that seed-sowing of the different species is nearly finished in the best order, both in the lower and higher parts of the country, (not being retarded in the least by storms of frost, snow, or rain, so injurious last season). The young wheats are looking fresh and promising. New grass where there is plenty of plants, is very forward at this time. The whole month having been dry, and the air temperate, has caused strong vegetation; and thereby giving the cheering hopes of an early harvest, always best for the farmer, as it is to the public at large. There has been little variation in grain prices. Fine, and fresh barley, oats, and pease, were in great request, and kept the prices high. Wheat has declined a little: an expectation that there is a great quantity of this article coming from the Baltic, has had some effect on the holders to part with it on lower terms than if there were no hopes of any arrivals. The butcher markets continue to be plentifully supplied at former prices; and from the appearance of an early spring, it is considered that they will not be higher.

LOTHIAN.—Seldom has the weather been more favourable for the rural operations, than what has been experienced during the last and present month, as throughout both, neither frost nor rain have given the slightest interruption to the ploughing, even for a single day. Accordingly, the important operations which fall to be performed at that season, have been executed in a very satisfactory manner. Many fields were sown with wheat in proper season. Nearly the whole of the pease and beans have been deposited in a fine dry bed, and the sowing of oats is also about finished under the like favourable circumstances, although, in some cases, upon clay soils, it was found rather a difficult matter to render the mould sufficiently fine, from the uncommon dryness of the weather. In almost every situation, the wheat is close upon the ground, and looks very thriving, the greater portion of which, particularly after summer fallows, is already sown with grass seeds. In some instances, the young grass upon wet clays have failed, when the ground has been ploughed and sown with grain, which is rather an unfortunate matter, as, besides the expence, it has the tendency of deranging the farmer's plan of management in that rotation. Where there are plenty of plants, as well as in old pastures, vegetation has already made considerable progress, perhaps as much so as what was experienced last year at the end of next month; and, as the stack-yard holds out well, there is no danger of a scarcity of fodder before the pastures are fit for receiving the cattle. Grass-parks, especially where

the soil is of good quality, have brought higher rents than last year.

There has been little alteration in the corn market for some time past; and although the prices of wheat have been nearly maintained, yet the sales have been very dull for that article, as well as for oats. The quantity of barley offered for sale being very limited, that article, especially what is fit for seed, is gradually advancing in price. Butcher markets are upon the advance, nevertheless, the supply is still sufficient for the demand; beef from 8d to 9d., in some cases even 10d.; mutton from 9d. to 10d.; and veal, from 10d. to 1s. per lb. of 17½ oz.

Fashions.—*Walking Dress.*—A stone-coloured habit, trimmed round the body with swansdown, and ornamented quite across the bosom with a thick row of rich silk braiding to correspond. Waists much shorter than they have been worn for some time, and the sleeve longer and looser than those of the last three months. Regency hat of black beaver or seal-skin, ornamented with an elegant feather of the same colour, and finished by a gold button and loop on one side.—Large bear or seal skin muff; stone-coloured kid gloves, and black kid sandals. Some *elegantes* wear silk stockings, to correspond with the habit; but white are more general.

Evening Dress.—A short round dress of white satin, finished at the bottom by a trimming of floss silk, which is worn rather broader than the last month; body of fine white spotted lace, over one of satin, made as low as possible in the neck and bosom; stomacher *à-la-Venus*, made of narrow deep rose colour, and white silk trimming intermixed. The back is about the same breadth at last month; but the waist is much shorter. The sleeve, which is also composed of white spotted lace, is made very long and loose, and drawn up from a little above the waist, in front of the arm, by a fancy trimming of the same materials as the stomacher; the other part of the sleeve falls in a point. Long drapery of rose-coloured figured satin-cloth, about a quarter of a yard shorter than the gown in front, and a demi-train behind. A rich and broad letting in lace goes up the front, and becomes gradually narrower at the waist. This letting in is ornamented in front by a new-invented silk trimming, which is rather similar to a Spanish button, but lighter in its construction, and very small. The drapery is edged round with white floss trimming to correspond with that on the bottom of the dress.—Head dress *à-la-Turque*, superbly ornamented with pearls, a double row of which goes straight across the forehead, and is surmounted by a crescent of diamonds, within which sparkles a star also of diamonds; earrings to correspond.—White kid gloves, and white satin slippers.

Observations.—The hair is worn much lighter than the preceding month: it is full on each temple, but disposed in a number of light curls; one half of the hind hair is fastened up behind *à-la-Greque*, and the remainder falls in light ringlets on the shoulders. Pearls for the juvenile, and diamonds and feathers for mature *belles*, are the first stile of evening head-dress; but the small white satin hat still continues to be a favourite: turbans also are much worn.

APRIL.

Extract of a letter from Buenos Ayres, dated April 3.—"On the 30th ult. a boat of about 17 feet keel, arrived at this place with six persons on board. The following is the account they have given:—They sailed from

New South Wales, on board the brig Isabella, George Highton, master, on the 4th of December last; they made the land about Cape Horn on the 2d of February, and Falkland's Islands, on the 7th of the same month. In the morning of the 8th, about one a. m. the vessel struck on the rocks, and was wrecked. The crew and passengers got on shore on a desert isle, forming one of the group of the Falkland's Islands, and the weather being moderate they were enabled to save from the vessel the provisions and stores. On the 23d of February, having raised the long-boat, and decked her, it was agreed that a part of the unhappy sufferers should embark in her, for the purpose of arriving at some inhabited place, where the means might be procured of sending a vessel to bring away the other part of the crew and passengers. The six men who arrived here accordingly put to sea on the 23d of February, and after a voyage of upwards of 450 leagues on the ocean, they arrived in this river, without having seen the land for 36 days. Nothing but the protection of the Almighty could have preserved them from the inclemency of the weather, considering the great fatigue they must have endured, both in mind and body, and so long a navigation in seas almost proverbial for storms. On the first intelligence of the event, Captain Heywood, of his majesty's ship Nereus, gave instructions to Lieutenant W. D. Aranda, commander of the Nancy brig of war, to prepare for sea, and to proceed to the relief of the unhappy sufferers; it is expected she will sail about the 9th instant. It appears there were 55 souls on board the Isabella at the time she was wrecked, among whom are the following passengers:—

"Captain Drury, 73d regiment, wife and family; Mr Holt (Irish rebel), ditto, ditto; Sir Henry Hayes, and three females, returned convicts; Mr Madison; three marines and their wives.

"The following have arrived here:

"Captain Brooks, master of a merchant vessel; Lieutenant Lundie, (army); a marine, and three seamen.

4th.—This morning, about five o'clock, a fire was discovered to have broken out in the fourth story of that large building in Skinner-street, which was the capital prize in the city lottery, valued at 25,000l., and which has since been called the Commercial Hall. It was occupied by a wine company, at the head of which are Messrs Abbott and Brothers; by the new-invented brewing utensil manufactory, and others. The upper part was held as chambers by professional men, and some few merchants; and it is stated to have had at least 20 different inhabitants. From what cause the fire originated is unknown; but it spread with such rapidity, that by half past six the whole building (six stories high) was completely down, the back walls falling into the body of the building, and the front wall into the street, by which two firemen were severely bruised. A curious circumstance took place during the fire. A cat that had escaped from some of the apartments, was seen by the bye-standers on a part of the building that would inevitably soon be in flames; and all retreat being cut off, the only way to escape was to take a leap, but this the poor animal durst not attempt. As the flames approached her, a gentleman offered one of the firemen five guineas if he would save the cat: the fireman was induced to make the attempt, and with great difficulty succeeded, by getting behind, and with the weight of water from the pipe in his hand, forcing her to take the leap, when she fell into the midst of the spectators from the top of the 5th story. Poor puss was saved, and

the fireman immediately received his promised reward.

5th.—A most dreadful accident happened at the new works belonging to the London Dock Company, at the Hermitage-bridge, Wapping. As Mr Thomas, the engineer, in the evening was inspecting the machinery, he perceived that one of the double keys which fasten the top of the large lifting pump-rods was loose: he ordered round a man to him upon the platform, to drive in the key tighter, which the poor fellow imprudently attempted to do without first stopping the steam-engine: it appears, that in striking at the key, he missed his blow, and his arm getting entangled between the arms of the pump-wheel, his head was suddenly drawn in, and in less than one moment he fell backwards dead against Mr Thomas, with his head literally crushed to atoms. Mr Thomas's clothes and person were almost covered with the poor fellow's blood and brains. The man has left a wife and three children to lament his loss.

7th.—Scarcity of Money!—This morning, as early as five o'clock, a crowd of brokers and others, beset the Exchequer-bill office, in order to put down their names for funding Exchequer-bills. Such was the scramble to get in, that a number of the persons were thrown down, and many of them injured; some fainted by the excessive pressure of the crowd, and a few had their coats literally torn from off their backs The first 14 names (chiefly bankers) subscribed seven millions out of the twelve required; and very early in the day, notice was given that the subscription was full.

Although only twelve millions were to be funded all bills to the end of March were to be taken, of which the joint amount would be twenty millions. The public seem to have deluded themselves, and to have acted upon the persuasion that the whole was wanted, when only twelve millions could be received.

The scene at the Exchequer office would, in France, have given occasion to a flourishing exposé of the eagerness of the people to aid the government; but in England, when considered as the mode of executing a measure of finance, it is neither just nor proper. That the first characters in the country, as merchants, bankers, and others, are to be marshalled by police-officers, exhorted to be patient, cool, and passive, till they can enter the Exchequer through a door a third part opened by a chain, and of which the aperture is scarcely sufficient for a moderate-sized man to get in, is disgraceful in the extreme.

After violently struggling with each other, 373 persons obtained numbers, which in numerical order were called and examined from 12 to 4 o'clock; when the No. 184 completed the subscription of 12 millions.

11th.—For the first time this season nine mackerel were brought to the beach at Brighton, which were immediately purchased for the London market at 6s. 6d. each. The following day another boat arrived with 28 more, which were bought with equal avidity at the same price. On Thursday a third boat brought 93, which fetched after the rate of 40l. per hundred. Not a single mackerel has been retailed there, but all have been sent off to the metropolis.

14th.—Divorces.—An important decision, relative to the general principles on which divorces are obtained in Scotland, took place lately in the consistorial court at Edinburgh. The libel was at the instance of Marianne Homfrey, otherwise Newte, daughter of Sir Jere Homfrey, of Crom Ronda, in the county of Glamorgan; and set forth, that she was married in Dec. 1806, to Thomas Newte, Esq. of

Llandaff, in the cathedral church of Llandaff; that the parties cohabited together as husband and wife; that in January 1811, the defendant had withdrawn his affections from his wife, deserted her, and began a course of adulteries in London, Bath, and other places in England; that thereafter he came to Scotland, resided there some time, and continued his adulteries for several months in 1812; and, therefore, praying for divorce against him, with liberty to marry again in common form. After ample discussion and mature deliberation, the court found, "that according to the common and statute law, adultery committed in Scotland is a legal ground for divorce, without distinction as to the country where, or form in which, the marriage was celebrated; and for this reason also found, that whatever may be the views which the law of England takes of the indissolubility of marriage contracted there, or whatever force the degrees of the Scotch consistorial court may receive in foreign countries, all such foreign views and consequences, especially when, as in the present case, they are directly adverse to the settled dictates of the law of Scotland, can have no effect in regulating the decisions of that court. But in order to ascertain whether there was, or now is, any collusion between the parties, the court, before farther procedure, appoints the pursuer (Mrs Newte) to appear and depose *de calumnia*, and to be judicially examined upon oath, whether any communication took place between her and the defendant, their friends, or agents, relative to the action of divorce, previous to or since resident in Scotland."

This day, about ten o'clock, the side wall of Mr Barton's flour warehouse, in London-road, Liverpool, fell with a dreadful crash. Every floor broke down, destroying all the property on the premises. The persons in the house were Mr and Mrs Barton, and one daughter, who had retired to bed. They slept on the first floor, and were precipitated into the cellar. The neighbours immediately crowded to the spot, and on forcing the front door, discovered Mrs Barton clinging to a wooden prop, having miraculously escaped unhurt. It was nearly two hours, however, before they discovered the daughter, a girl of 13, who was considerably injured, but not dangerously; and about a qarter of an hour afterwards the body of Mr Barton was got out of the ruins, lifeless. The principal room in the warehouse had been generally used for exhibitions, at the time of the fairs held in that neighbourhood, and we understand was engaged for a similar purpose, yesterday, when the consequences might have been still more calamitous.

A duel was fought by two of the French prisoners on board the Samson prison-ship, lying in Gillingham Reach, when one of them, in consequence, was killed. Not havimg any swords, they attached to the end of two sticks a pair of scissars each. The deceased received the mortal wound in the abdomen; his bowels protruded, and yet he continued to parry with his antagonist while his strength would admit. Afterwards an application was made to the surgeon of the ship, who replaced the intestines and sewed up the wound, but he survived but a short time. The transaction took place below, in the prison, unknown to the ship's company.

15th.—A grace passed in the senate at Cambridge, to apply the surplus money (upwards of 1000l.) arising from the subscriptions received for a statue of the late William Pitt, now placed in the senate house, towards establishing a scholarship, to be called Pitt's University Scholarship.

17th.—CITY ADDRESS TO THE

Princess of Wales.—The humble adress of the lord mayor, aldermen and livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled.

May it please your royal highness, —We, his majesty's loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen and livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled, bearing in mind those sentiments of profound veneration and ardent affection with which we hailed the arrival of your royal highness in this country, humbly beseech your royal highness to receive our assurances, that in the hearts of the citizens of London those sentiments have never experienced diminution or change.—Deeply interested in every event connected with the stability of the throne of this kingdom, under the sway of the house of Brunswick; tenderly alive to every circumstance affecting the personal welfare of every branch of that illustrious house, we have felt indignation and abhorrence inexpressible, upon the disclosure of that foul and detestable conspiracy, which by perjured and suborned traducers has been carried on against your royal highness's honour and life.—The veneration for the laws; the moderation, the forbearance, the frankness, the magnanimity which your royal highness has so eminently displayed under circumstances so trying, and during a persecution of so long a duration; these, while they demand an expression of our unbounded applause, cannot fail to excite in us a confident hope, that, under the sway of your illustrious and beloved daughter, our children will enjoy all the benefits of so bright an example. And we humbly beg permission most unfeignedly to assure your royal highness, that, as well for the sake of our country as from a sense of justice and of duty, we shall always feel, and be ready to give proof of, the most anxious solicitude for your royal highness's health, prosperity, and happiness.

(Signed by order)

Henry Woodthorpe.

To which her royal highness returned the following most gracious answer:

I thank you for your loyal and affectionate address.—It is to me the greatest consolation to learn, that during so many years of unmerited persecution, notwithstanding the active and persevering dissemination of the most deliberate calumnies against me, the kind and favourable sentiments with which they did me the honour to approach me, on my arrival in this country, have undergone neither diminution nor change in the hearts of the citizens of London.—The sense of indignation and abhorrence you express against the foul and detestable conspiracy, which by perjured and suborned traducers has been carried on against my life and honour, is worthy of you, and most gratifying to me. It must be duly appreciated by every branch of that illustrious house with which I am so closely connected by blood and marriage, the personal welfare of every one of whom must have been affected by the success of such atrocious machinations. The consciousness of my innocence has supported me through my long, severe, and unmerited trials; your approbation of my conduct under them is a reward for all my sufferings. —I shall not lose any opportunity I may be permitted to enjoy, of encouraging the talents and virtues of my dear daughter, the Princess Charlotte; and I shall impress upon her mind my full sense of the obligation conferred upon me by the spontaneous act of your justice and generosity. She will therein clearly perceive the value of that free constitution, which, in the natural course of events, it will be her high destiny to preside over, and her

sacred duty to maintain, which allows no one to sink under oppression; and she will ever be bound to the city of London, in ties proportioned to the strength of that filial attachment I have had the happiness uniformly to experience from her.—Be assured that the cordial and convincing proof you have thus given of your solicitude for my prosperity and happiness, will be cherished in grateful remembrance by me, to the latest moment of my life; and the distinguished proceeding adopted by the first city in this great empire will be considered by posterity as a proud memorial of my vindicated honour.

19th.—Upon the night of the 12th current, Mr George Sutherland of the excise, Elgin, seized five illegal copper stills at work in the hilly parts of the county; the contents of these stills amounted to about 140 gallons, and a considerable quantity of wash, &c. destroyed. What renders this circumstance singular, this active officer made these discoveries in the dead of night, without any assistance, and succeeded in lodging the stills in the excise office at Elgin.

On Wednesday morning, about eight o'clock, a married woman, mother of four children, and aged about 27, committed suicide at Dunbarton. She cut her throat with a razor while sitting in the College Green, and, after it had bled very profusely, she waded into the river, from whence she was immediately taken out; but she died in a few minutes. The razor was found in the river more than 20 yards from the bank.

20th.—On Monday, in Albion-street, Glasgow, a bull, which had been cruelly torn by dogs, turned upon one of the persons concerned in the torture, and gored him so severely that his life is despaired of.—It is quite impossible to regret this.

The following inscription on the court-bell of Dumfries, which was taken down to repair the place where it was hanging, shews such venerable antiquity, as to make it worthy of insertion:

Gulielmus de Carleil, Dominus de Torthorwalde, me fecit fieri, in honore Sancti Michaelis, anno Domini m,cccc,xxxxiii.

"William Carleil, Lord of Torthorwald, caused me to be made, in honour of Saint Michael, in the year of our Lord 1443."

21st.—Mr Dupre's villa, at Beaconsfield, the seat of the late Mr Burke, was entirely consumed by fire. The loss is estimated at 30,000l.

Nine waggons, loaded with gold dust, bars, and silver bullion, worth upwards of half a million, arrived at the bank from Portsmouth. This valuable cargo was brought by the President frigate from the Cape of Good Hope, to which it had been conveyed at different times from the East India Company's possessions in India.

23d.—EXECUTION OF EDITH MORREY.—On this day, at 12 o'clock, this wretched woman was delivered by Mr Hudson, constable of Chester Castle, into the hands of Messrs Thomas and Bennett, the city sheriffs, for execution.

She walked from the castle to Glover's Stone, having hold of Mr Hudson's arm, with the utmost firmness, amidst an unusual pressure from the immense crowd assembled; she then got into the cart, and immediately laid herself down on one side, concealing her face with her handkerchief, which she had invariably done when in public, from her first appearance before the judges to her final dissolution; and no person obtained a view of her face out of the castle since her commitment, except the ordinary, &c.

Upon her arrival at the city gaol, she continued in prayer with the Rev. W. Fish, till one o'clock, when she as-

cended the scaffold with a firm and undaunted step, with her face covered with a handkerchief, and she immediately turned her back to the populace.

After continuing in prayer a short time, the clergyman withdrew, and the executioner prepared to finish the awful sentence of the law. At this period, when the clergyman had recommended her to dismiss all worldly thoughts, and fix her whole soul on her Redeemer, through whom alone she could hope for mercy, she twice called for the turnkey (John Robinson) to bid him farewell—he came at the second call, and having taken leave of her, she remained about half a minute, when she dropped the handkerchief, and was immediately launched into eternity.

She was very much convulsed for a few minutes, when her pangs ceased in this world. After hanging the usual time, her body was delivered to the surgeons for dissection, and was open to the public inspection during all Saturday.

There appeared an apathy in this woman which is truly astonishing. When the judges came into the town she asked permission to go on the terrace of the castle to see the procession, though she knew their coming was the signal of her fate. On the morning the Rev. Mr Fish preached what is usually denominated the condemned sermon, she was suffused in tears, and her convulsive sobs were heard throughout the chapel; yet, an hour after, the impression seemed entirely erased. She slept very sound the night previous to the morning of her execution, and ate a hearty breakfast upon her awakening.

Letter addressed by the Emperor of Russia to the Widow of Prince Kutusoff, dated Dresden, April 25.

Princess Catherine Ilinislina!—The Almighty, whose decrees it is impossible for mortals to resist, and unlawful to murmur at, has been pleased to remove your husband, Prince Michael Labionovitz Kutusoff Smolenski, in the midst of his brilliant career of victory and glory, from a transient to an eternal life. A great and grievous loss, not for you alone, but for the country at large! Your tears flow not alone for him. I weep. All Russia weeps with you. Yet God, who has called him to himself, grants you this consolation, that his name and his deeds are immortal; a grateful country will never forget his merits. Europe and the whole world will for ever admire him, and inscribe his name on the list of the most distinguished commanders. A monument shall be erected to his honour; beholding which, the Russian will feel his heart swell with pride, and the foreigner will respect a nation that gives birth to such great men. I have given orders that you shall retain all the advantages enjoyed by your late husband, and remain your affectionate ALEXANDER.

26th.—The remains of Major-Gen. Sir Barry Close, Bart. were interred with military honours in Marylebone church-yard.

28th.—Sir Henry Halford has published the following narrative of the investigation which lately took place at Windsor, in the vault of King Henry VIII. in presence of the prince regent.

"On removing the pall, a plain leaden coffin, with no appearance of ever having been enclosed in wood, and bearing an inscription, "King Charles, 1648," in large legible characters, on a scroll of lead, encircling it, immediately presented itself to view. A square opening was then made in the upper part of the lid, of such dimensions as to admit a clear insight into its contents. These were, an internal wooden coffin, very much decayed, and the body carefully wrapped in cerecloth, into the folds of which a quantity of unc-

tuous or greasy matter, mixed with resin, as it seemed, had been melted, so as to exclude, as effectually as possible, the external air. The coffin was completely full; and from the tenacity of the cerecloth, great difficulty was experienced in detaching it successfully from the parts which it enveloped. Wherever the unctuous matter had insinuated itself, the separation of the cerecloth was easy; and when it came off, a correct impression of the features to which it had been applied was observed in the unctuous substance. At length the whole face was disengaged from its covering. The complexion of the skin of it was dark and discoloured. The forehead and temples had lost little or nothing of their muscular substance: the cartilage of the nose was gone; but the left eye, in the first moment of exposure, was open and full, though it vanished almost immediately, and the pointed beard, so characteristic of the period of the reign of King Charles, was perfect. The shape of the face was a long oval; many of the teeth remained, and the left ear, in consequence of the interposition of the unctuous matter between it and the cerecloth, was found entire.

" It was difficult at this moment, to withhold a declaration, that notwithstanding its disfigurement, the countenance did bear a strong resemblance to the coins, the busts, and especially to the pictures of King Charles I. by Vandyke, by which it had been made familiar to us. It is true, that the minds of the spectators of this interesting sight were prepared to receive this impression; but it is also certain, that such a facility of belief had been occasioned by the simplicity and truth of Mr Herbert's Narrative, every part of which had been confirmed by the investigation, so far as it had advanced; and it will not be denied that the shape of the face, the forehead, and eye, and the beard, are most important features by which resemblance is determined.

" When the head had been entirely disengaged from the attachments which confined it, it was found to be loose, and, without any difficulty, was taken up and held to view. It was quite wet, and gave a greenish red tinge to paper, and to linen which touched it. The back part of the scalp was entirely perfect, and had a remarkable fresh appearance; the pores of the skin being more distinct, as they usually are when soaked in mixture; and the tendons and ligaments of the neck were of considerable substance and firmness. The hair was thick at the back part of the head, and in appearance nearly black. A portion of it, which has since been cleaned and dried, is of a beautiful dark-brown colour: that of the beard was a redder brown. On the back part of the head, it was not more than an inch in length, and had probably been cut so short for the convenience of the executioner, or, perhaps, by the piety of friends soon after death, in order to furnish memorials of the unhappy king.

" On holding up the head, to examine the place of separation from the body, the muscles of the neck had evidently retracted themselves considerably; and the fourth cervical vertebra was found to be cut through its substance, transversely, leaving the surfaces of the divided portions perfectly smooth and even, an appearance which could have been produced only by a heavy blow, inflicted with a very sharp instrument, and which furnished the last proof wanting to identify King Charles the First.

" After this examination of the head, which served every purpose in view, and without examining the body below the neck, it was immediately restored to its situation, the coffin was soldered up again, and the vault closed.

"Neither of the other coffins had any inscription upon them. The larger one, supposed on good grounds to contain the remains of King Henry VIII. measured six feet ten inches in length, and had been enclosed in an elm one two inches in thickness; but this was decayed, and lay in small fragments near it. The leaden coffin appeared to have been beaten in by violence about the middle; and a considerable opening in that part of it exposed a mere skeleton of the king. Some beard remained upon the chin, but there was nothing to discriminate the personage contained in it.

"The smaller coffin, understood to be that of Queen Jane Seymour, was not touched; mere curiosity not being considered, by the prince regent, as a sufficient motive for disturbing these remains.

"On examining the vault with some attention, it was found that the wall, at the west end, had, at some period or other, been partly pulled down, and repaired again, not by regular masonry, but by fragments of stones and bricks, put rudely and hastily together without cement."

30th.—Letters from Constantinople mention the following unfortunate incident:—Mr Levy, an English gentleman, well known and highly esteemed in Russia, was lately drowned in the Black Sea, together with Count Fogessiera, a Piedmontese nobleman, two orderly dragoons of the 20th regiment, and a servant, on their route to join Sir Robert Wilson, with the rest of the crew of the vessel, one Greek only excepted. Mr Levy was on his return from Constantinople, whither he had been dispatched by Sir Robert Wilson, at the critical period of the retreat of the French from Moscow. The count had also been the bearer of dispatches to the same quarter. In their anxiety to rejoin Sir Robert Wilson, they could not be induced to postpone their passage till the weather moderated, and met their fate near Varna, after being many days at sea. Besides his friends, dragoons, and servants, Sir Robert Wilson must have lost much valuable and curious property on this melancholy occasion.

The ravage of the plague had been dreadful: 250,000 are computed to have perished by this scourge. It had, at the date of these advices, entirely ceased.

A melancholy event has taken place at Dumbarton: Serjeant Jarvis, who kept the mess of the Galloway militia, and had got a little behind with some accounts, disappeared on Tuesday the 6th current, and various reports were circulated about him. On Friday forenoon, the 20th, he was found by some boys who were nesting, suspended from a tree in the Barwood, where he had hung from the time of his departure. He was buried within the water mark in the sands late on Monday night. He has left a widow and eight or nine children. His dog staid beside him two or three days, and then returned, but being frequently missing for the whole day, it is supposed that he returned to the place. Jarvis had a high character in the regiment for sobriety and ability, and his untimely death gives great grief to officers and men.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

Sowing proceeds with rapidity, but much remains to be done. In all probability the seed will be got in during the present season in the most perfect state, the lands having worked well throughout, from the dryness and mellowness of the soil. A greater breadth of land by many thousands of acres, than ever before upon this island, have been this season prepared for potatoe planting, which has already advanced in the forward districts. The spring crops all look well, but the barley and oats will soon be in want of rain. The

hop bine is said to come up strong and healthy.—Rye very bad.—The wheats still appear thin, which will be no sort of disadvantage to the crop should the remainder of the spring prove warm and genial, with moderate showers; upon some parts, however, of the clover ley wheats, the plant has been so dreadfully ravaged by the slug and wireworm as to be deemed irrecoverable.—The risk of sowing wheat upon clover leys, in a suspicious season, is too great. As the only, though partial security against this misfortune is the rook, which should be preserved, not destroyed, in the country. The small damage done to corn and roots by rooks may be guarded against, but they are our only guards against most destructive insects. The fruit-trees are loaded with blossom, and, notwithstanding the continuance of cold north and easterly winds, hitherto no great appearance of blight.

Reports of the stock of corn on hand more favourable in general than last month, arising probably from the vast quantities of foreign lately exposed for sale; it is, nevertheless, confirmed by persons of the most extensive information, that, independently of foreign supply, our last crop of bread corn, large as it really was, would be insufficient for the year's consumption.

Cattle markets, both for fat and lean stock, somewhat reduced in price.—Milch cows and cart horses never before at such a price in Britain; cows just calved have been sold at 35l. each—cart horses from 60l. to 100l. each. This extraordinary price it may be hoped, will promote the use of oxen for labour, one of the greatest savings, both individual and national, in the whole range of rural economy.—The distemper arising from atmospheric influenza, in horses, has prevailed considerably this spring.—The rot in sheep has fortunately ceased, and the lambing has been, thus far, successful.

FASHIONS.—*Morning Costume.*—A Polonese robe and petticoat, of fine cambric or jaconet muslin, ornamented at its several terminations with a border of net work, finished with an edging of muslin, gathered very full, and a vandyke cuff, *en suite.* A bonnet cap, composed of jonquille satin, and treble borders of scollopped lace, confined on one side with ribbon of the same colour. Gloves and slippers of yellow kid.

Carriage Costume.—A high round robe of jaconet or cambric muslin, with plaited bodice, long sleeve, and deep falling frill, terminated with a vandyke of needle-work. A Russian mantle, of Pomona, or spring green sarsnet, lined with white satin, and trimmed with rich fog fringe and binding, confined with a cord and tassel, as taste or convenience may direct. A cottage slouch bonnet, of corresponding materials, edged with antique scolloped lace, confined under the chin with ribbon, tied on the left side; and appositely ornamented with a small cluster of spring flowers. Slippers of green kid, or jean, and gloves of primrose kid.—*Ackermann's Repository.*

Half Dress.—Gown of fine jaconet muslin, with a demi-train, and finish-round the bottom with a fine but not broad lace; body of pink sarsnet, made very low both before and behind in the neck; a stripe of white satin is laid in front, and is ornamented with two rows of rich silk buttons, below which a large full bow of white figured satin ribbon gives a very elegant finish to the dress; white satin sleeves, made rather longer than the last month; they are very full, and are confined at bottom with a plain band. A rich white silk handkerchief is crossed on the bosom, but so as to display a cornelian necklace. Rose-coloured regency cap, ornamented with a plume of white feathers; cornelian necklace.—White kid gloves and shoes.

Evening Dress.—Pink sarsnet gown, with a demi-train, rather longer in the waist than the half dress which we have described, and made in a style entirely novel; the fronts are open a little above the waist, and they go in a gradual slope to the shoulder, and from thence in a point behind to the middle of the back; a rich but very light embroidery, in gold thread, goes round the train, bosom, and bottom of the sleeves, which are very full. The principal ornament of this dress is the cestus *a la Venus*, which is of white silk. The bottom of the cestus is wrought in a rich embroidery, similar to that which goes round the dress, but much broader; necklace, earrings, and locket of pearl. Hair turned up quite flat behind, and a superb white lace veil, put on so as to form a drapery, which partly shades the hair on one side of the front; the other is displayed in a variety of light curls. White kid gloves, and white satin slippers, with gold spangled or embroidered rosettes.

MAY.

1st.—Christiana Jensdatter, of Holkerup, in Zealand, was lately convicted before the Danish supreme court of justice, of having poisoned her father. Her sentence was, that she should be conveyed from her father's residence to the place of execution, and during the procession tortured five times with red-hot pincers, then to have both her hands struck off, and afterwards to be beheaded. Eilerr Hansen, convicted of being accessary to the atrocious deed, was, at the same time, sentenced to lose his head.

2d.—The prince regent received an account from Windsor, of the queen's being indisposed, in consequence of an attack from a female domestic, who was seized with a violent fit of insanity. The prince ordered a special messenger to be sent to Windsor, to enquire after the health of his royal mother, and the full particulars of the attack. On the return of the messenger the prince sent off Sir Henry Halford, at seven o'clock in the evening, to attend her majesty. The circumstances of the attack are stated as follow:—The unfortunate female who caused the alarm is named Davenport, and held the situation of assistant mistress of the wardrobe to Miss Rice. Her mother has been employed a number of years about the royal family; she was originally engaged as a rocker to the princesses; and after filling a variety of situations very respectably, she was appointed housekeeper at the lower lodge, Windsor. Her daughter, the subject of this article, was born in the queen's palace; she is now upwards of 30 years of age, and has lived constantly with her mother, under the royal protection. When she was a girl, she was attacked with a fit of insanity, but was considered perfectly cured; however, she has frequently been seized with fits of melancholy, crying and being very desponding, without any known cause. Her mind had been more affected since the death of the Princess Amelia. She was present at the delivery of the funeral sermon which was preached at Windsor on the melancholy occasion, and which had such an effect on her mind, that she became enamoured of the clergyman who delivered it, and report assigns love to be the cause of the violent mental derangement with which she was seized on Sunday morning. She slept in the tower over the queen's bed-room. About 5 o'clock her majesty was awakened by a violent noise at her bed-room door, accompanied with a voice calling loudly for the queen of England to redress her wrongs, and with the most distressing shrieks

and screams imaginable. The queen's bed-room has two doors; she used such violence as to break open the outer door, but found herself unable to break the inner one. Mrs Beckendorf, the queen's dresser, sleeps in the room with her majesty. They were both extremely alarmed, particularly at first. Her majesty and Mrs Beckendorf hesitated for some time about what had best be done; when having ascertained that it was a female voice, Mrs Beckendorf ventured to open the inner door and go out. She there found Miss Davenport, with only her body linen on. She was extremely violent with Mrs B., insisting upon forcing her way into the queen; and the latter feared that, could she have obtained her object of getting into the queen's bed-room, she would have vented her rage upon her majesty, from the language she used. She had a letter in her hand, which she insisted on delivering to the queen. Mrs Beckendorf was placed in a most perilous situation for about half an hour, being subject to her violence, and endeavouring to prevent her from forcing her way in to the queen; and during this time the queen heard all that was passing, and was in great agitation and distress, lest Miss Davenport should gain admittance to her; the unfortunate female declaring the queen could and should redress her wrongs. Mrs Beckendorf in the mean time kept ringing a bell in the passage, but unfortunately did not at first awake any one, though at last the incessant and violent ringing of it awoke Mr Grobecker, the queen's page, and two footmen, who came to Mrs Beckendorf's assistance. Miss Davenport made use of very profane language to Mr Grobecker. All these persons could not manage her till Mr Meyer, the porter, came, and he being a very powerful man, accomplished it. When she found herself overpowered, she insisted upon seeing the king, if she could not see the queen. Mr Meyer carried her by force up to her bed-room. Dr Willis was sent for, who ordered her a strait waistcoat; and she was sent off in a post-chaise, accompanied by two keepers, to a house at Hoxton for the reception of insane persons.

3d.—YARMOUTH.—This morning his Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland, with his aides-de-camp, &c., embarked on board the Nymphen, Captain Hancock, for the continent. He was received on the jetty by the Bedfordshire militia, with their colours, and the band playing "God save the King," and the soldiers with presented arms. The barge in which his royal highness embarked had the royal standard flying, and his highness was accompanied by Admiral Murray. Lieutenant M'Culloch acted as coxswain. Second barge, Admiral's Flag, Captains Curry and Spears, and several gentlemen. Six other barges, with captains, and the prince's suite. On the boats leaving the jetty, the populace, which was very numerous, gave three hearty cheers; the ships of war's yards were manned, and on his royal highness' stepping on the quarter-deck, the royal standard was hoisted on board the frigate, and the ships in the roads fired a royal salute.—The horizon being very clear, the beauty of the scene was beyond all description.

4th.—THE FASTING WOMAN.—The pretensions of Ann Moore, of Tutbury, to live without bodily sustenance, have at length been set at rest. Some time ago several respectable gentlemen in that neighbourhood, with her own consent, agreed to watch her, to prevent the secret conveyance of food to her, and to ascertain whether her powers corresponded to her pretensions. The result was, that she gave in on Friday morning last, the

ninth day of the watch, by which time she was reduced to a state of extreme debility and emaciation.

The following paper afterwards appeared relative to this woman.

The committee who have conducted the investigation of the case of Ann Moore, after an unremitting and assiduous course of examination, have discovered the imposture which she has so long practised on the public, and think it their duty to publish this her own declaration and confession thereof:

"I, Ann Moore, of Tutbury, humbly asking pardon of all persons whom I have attempted to deceive and impose upon, and above all, with the most unfeigned sorrow and contrition, imploring the divine mercy and forgiveness of that God whom I have so greatly offended, do most solemnly declare, that I have occasionally taken sustenance for the last six years.

"Witness my hand this 4th day of May 1813.

ANN MOORE, her ✕ mark."

"The above declaration of Ann Moore was made before me, one of his majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Stafford.

THOMAS LISTER."

6th.—On this night, during a severe thunder-storm, part of the steeple of Greenwich church was precipitated into the church-yard. A public-house, (the Mitre) was also injured. The weather-cock, with a large stone attached to it, perforated the earth several feet. Stepney church has received some injury, and some of the trees in Vauxhall-gardens were struck.

7th.—The nephew of a British peer was executed at Lisbon. He had involved himself by gambling, and being detected in robbing the house of his English friend, by a Portuguese servant, he shot the latter dead to prevent discovery. After execution, his head was severed from his body and fixed on a pole opposite the house in which the murder and robbery were committed.—The following are the particulars of the execution:—

"On the 7th instant, the unfortunate gentleman, Mr H. late of the Impetueux, underwent the sentence of the Portuguese law. Our readers are already acquainted with the offence for which he suffered.—The Portuguese law appears to be, that if the aggrieved party can be satisfied, and they petition for the prisoner, a pardon is obtained. Money was offered to the wife of the deceased for this purpose, but without the desired effect. The law for a murderer decrees that he shall be strangled, and then have his head and hands cut off, and be removed to the place where the murder was committed, and put up upon a pole, with the hands nailed under the head, and there to continue three days. The prisoner was accompanied from the prison by police soldiers, and walked bareheaded, without shoes or stockings on, with a kind of surplice tied round with a cord. He proceeded thus to the place of execution, through the streets, amidst torrents of rain. When he arrived at the place where he was to terminate his earthly career, a minister of the church of England, (the chaplain of a ship,) knelt down with him for some time, and after a suitable devotion, he was led up the ladder, where he gave up his life. After being suspended some time, the executioner proceeded to perform the other part of his duty, and severed his head from his body, which was put into a basket, and carried away to the place where he committed the act. Some sailors attended with a coffin, and put the body of the deceased into it, and carried it away in a boat. The cutting off his hands was remitted. His head was placed upon a pole, for some hours, opposite to the spot where he committed the murder, and after that

time was taken down and thrown into the sea."

Two English soldiers were lately stabbed in the night in the streets of Lisbon, and both of them are since dead. A few nights afterwards, a Portuguese was killed with a bayonet by an English soldier, who remains undiscovered.

10th.—An act of intrepidity was performed at Portsmouth, which merits commemoration. Three officers of the Inverness militia were in a pleasure-boat, and when sailing between the prison-ships, a sudden current of wind upset the boat, which, having heavy ballast, immediately sunk. Two of the officers could swim, and they kept themselves upon the surface until boats took them up; but the other was in the most imminent danger of drowning. A French prisoner on board the Crown, named Morand, the moment he saw the officer struggling, jumped off the gangway into the water, and by putting his feet under the officer's body as he was sinking, raised him to the surface, and then held him fast till further assistance was obtained. A proper representation has been made to government, and one part of the brave fellow's reward has been a release from his present situation.

15.—ROXBURGH CAUSE.—COURT OF SESSION.—The remaining branch of this very important cause, which relates to the feus, was on Thursday determined by the court, when the Judges of the First Division were, with the exception of Lord Gillies, unanimous in opinion, that the feu-rights granted by the last duke, of almost the whole estates, were contrary to the spirit and intention of the entail, and, therefore, their lordships reduced and set aside these feu-rights. A decision to this effect was formerly given by the court here, but the House of Lords, after a long hearing of counsel, remitted the case to be reheard before the whole judges of the Court of Session. Long and able papers were given in, and afterwards full pleadings took place before the two divisions of the court, met together for the purpose, last winter. The judges of the Second Division, as they do not vote on the point, the case not being before their branch of the court, gave opinions, in writing, which were printed, and laid before their brethren of the First Division; and, after full deliberation by the latter, on Wednesday and Thursday, a decision was given, setting aside the feus.

17th.—MURDER.—A few evenings since, a murder was committed in Portsmouth, by a boy eleven years of age; the circumstances of which make manifest as great a degree of youthful depravity as any we have in remembrance.—It appeared on the coroner's inquisition, that some boys were at play in Capstern-square, on the Point, when one of them, named W. Pound, conceived a sudden affront against another, named G. Smith, because his hat was knocked off his head, and Smith, whom he supposed did it, would not bring it to him. Pound then quitted the company, under pretence of acquainting his father of the reason for his offence; but instead of doing so, he concealed himself round the corner of the square, occasionally observing the movements of the boys. In a short time he returned to the company with a clasp knife in his hand, and going up to Smith, accused him of having been the one who had beaten his hat off, but which Smith denied, when Pound repeated his accusation. Smith (not observing Pound had a knife in his hand) struck him with a small cane; upon which Pound closed upon him, and stabbed him near the hip-bone with the knife, of which wound he died the next day.—The boys attempted to disarm Pound, but he defied their efforts, threatening them with similar treat-

ment.—The jury found a verdict of *Wilful Murder*.—Smith was fifteen years of age.

18th.—DUKE OF CUMBERLAND'S SALE OF WINES.—This sale, as might be naturally expected, drew together a vast assemblage of the nobility and fashionable world to Robins's Rooms, on Saturday; from 3 to 400 persons were present. There was much competition, but the prices were not so extravagant as would in all probability have been the case, had not considerable doubts existed in the minds of many that the duke parted with them because the quality was not particularly good. This, however, we are assured, was an erroneous impression, and the plain fact simply this: The royal duke has it in contemplation to remain on the continent several years, and in consequence of this alone directed the sales to take place immediately after his departure.—Amongst the fashionable purchasers were—

The Earl of Carlisle, Marquis of Blandford, Lords Suffolk and Breadalbane, the Duke of St Albans, Lord C. Townshend, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Bart., Mr Canning, Sir George Wombwell, J. F. Heathcote, Esq. M. P. &c. &c.

The average prices were as follow:

Champaigne, (Œuil de perdris) per doz.	12 guineas
Ditto, Scillery,	11 ditto.
Hermitage, about	14 ditto.
Hock,	11 ditto.
Madeira,	7 ditto.
Claret,	7 ditto.
Port,	5 ditto.

19th.—THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.—*The King* v. *White*.—*Libel*.—This morning, as soon as the judges took their seats on the bench, the defendant was brought into court, in custody of the Marshal and Tipstaff, when Mr Justice Grose addressed him shortly, animadverting in strong terms up what he termed the 'atrocity of his offence,' and stating that it was considerably enhanced by its deliberate malice in stigmatising so basely the character of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, who never gave him, the defendant, cause to slander him. The learned judge commented on the tendency of a libel, the bitterness of which consisted not more in its foulness, than in its falsity; for to any individual nothing could be so heart-wounding as to be stigmatized with the accusation of murder, but to so elevated a person, that of being the destroyer of his own domestic, must give the most acute affliction.—"But, thank God! (said the learned judge) the falsity of the charge was most manifestly established by the verdict of the coroner's jury, who, upon the fullest proofs, has shewn that Sellis died by his own hand."—After some further observations, he pronounced the sentence of the court, which was,

That the defendant should be imprisoned in his majesty's gaol of Newgate fifteen calendar months, pay a fine to the king of 200l., and be imprisoned till such fine be paid.

20th.—GREAT FOOT RACE.—No sporting event, since the great Barclay match, has engrossed so much attention as one which commenced on Friday night and Saturday morning, on Sunbury Common, between Rainer, the Kentish man, and Cross, Captain Barclay's groom, the latter of whom had been six weeks in training, under the immediate direction of the captain, according to his own system, and was in perfect condition, as was Rainer also, who was managed by R. Grindler. A marquee for the pedestrians was pitched on each side of the road, at the starting-place, and from the concourse of people, and the number of stands and booths, the whole had the appearance of a race-course. Cross started to do the 100 miles at twelve o'clock, and Rainer at one, and betting was

two to one on Cross, even betting the winner did the ground in eighteen hours, and even that Cross did it in eighteen and a half. Cross went the first eight miles in seventy minutes and a half, and Rainer did eight miles in a minute within the hour. Cross did twenty miles in two hours and fifty-seven minutes, and halted a few minutes for refreshment; and Rainer did the same distance in two hours and a half, and halted to change his shoes. Both men ran fresh and strong for an hour after this time, and made more play than was expected. Rainer was within three miles of his adversary at 28 miles running, when he breakfasted, during which time Cross headed him considerably. Rainer ran in the thirty-second mile much weakened, and he was confined to his marquee by a sort of sickness some minutes, when betting became in favour of Cross, who was going on well. Rainer was six miles behind, when he recovered, and Cross shewed symptoms of weakness, having gone forty miles in five hours and forty minutes, taking off stoppages. He continued his journey, until he fell down in going the 46th mile, but he recovered a little, got to the marquee, and after having been rubbed he went another four miles, when he was completely broke down. It appeared that the failure arose from the tendons below the calfs of his legs having been injured, and he was conveyed to Hampton and put to bed, although he was desirous of attempting to go on, but Captain Barclay would not suffer him to add to the injury already sustained. The captain accompanied his man the first eight miles, and the greater part of the journey, and repeatedly urged him not to make such play, but the reply of the pedestrian was, that he was doing within himself, but this was the probable cause of the failure. Rainer went on fresh, and offered to do nine miles in one hour.—His great object was next to perform the distance in 18 hours, to do which he had something more than five miles an hour to perform. He was often distressed, but recovered, and in doing the 91st mile in 17 hours, he fell exhausted, and was carried to the marquee, and from thence to Hampton. Both remained in bed on Saturday, but one must do the distance to win the race, and two umpires are in attendance to see it done. Cross is in good condition, excepting lameness, and Rainer, it seems, fell from exhaustion, and has no other injury. After the failure of Cross, Captain Barclay opened his marquee to Rainer, and supplied him with flannels and refreshments.—Cross has 54 miles to do, and Rainer nine and a half.

Rainer got fresh yesterday morning, and did the remainder of his ground in little more than two hours, thus winning the stake of 400 guineas.—Cross remains very lame.

21st.—A coroner's inquest was held at Hainford, by the coroner of the duchy of Lancaster, on the bodies of Dinah Maxey, aged 50, and Elizabeth Smith, aged 22, her daughter by a former husband. After a minute examination of witnesses, and the bodies being opened by an eminent surgeon, the jurors' verdict was—Killed by poison administered by a person or persons unknown. It appears, that on the Thursday morning preceding, these unfortunate victims breakfasted at their usual hour, and made their tea from water out of a kettle which it was their custom to fill the evening before, and place in a closet, and into which arsenic, or other corrosive poison, had been infused. The young woman observed the water being white as it was poured out, but took no further notice. She was soon after taken suddenly ill; the mother was attacked in the same manner, and a few hours terminated their

existence. James Maxey, the husband, was committed to Norwich gaol, on suspicion of perpetrating this atrocious crime. (He was afterwards tried, but acquitted.)

26th.—This morning, between nine and ten o'clock a very melancholy event took place in Somerset-street, Portman-square. The Honourable Mrs Gordon, who resided at the house of her daughter, Mrs Williams, threw herself from the window of the first floor upon the foot-path, and though taken up alive, she expired in a few minutes afterwards. Mrs G. was between sixty and seventy years of age, and had for some time laboured under a great depression of spirits.

31st.—A most melancholy accident happened on the river Severn, at Upton-upon-Severn. Eight young men, consisting of a corporal, fifer, and four recruits of the 2d regiment of foot, and two watermen, named Pumphry and Oakley, took a fisherman's boat, intending to go to Hanley quay, and back by water. They were returning from Hanley quay to Upton, when Pumphry, who was conducting the boat, said he would frighten the recruits a little, and began rocking it. The water came in on one side, and the recruits, being alarmed, immediately rushed to the opposite, which so overbalanced the boat that it was instantly filled with water. Oakley and the fifer swam to the shore, procured another boat, and rowed after their companions, who by the force of the current had been carried a considerable distance. They succeeded in picking up one of the recruits, who was saved, but the other five were drowned.

AGRICULTURAL REPORTS.

England.—Spring sowing is finished, and almost universally in the best manner; the lands having received the alternate benefit of dry weather and genial showers. Potatoe planting proceeds with rapidity, and the breadth of that crop, it is supposed, will be at least one-third greater throughout the island than in any former year. The turnip lands work very well, and some of the very extensive turnip growers have already begun sowing.

Some damage has been done to the wheat, pease, and rye, by the wire-worm first, and since by the slug. Part of the wheat which proved too thin planted, not having recovered, has been ploughed up, and but little spring wheat has been sown this year. Some crops of the above thin description, on the other hand, have become extremely luxuriant and promising; and partially, the wheats are very large and fine. Much corn is beaten down by the storms of wind and rain, and that which is weak from too much sowing will scarcely recover. Beans, oats, and barley, look well almost everywhere; pease and rye bad. The bulk of grass, clover, and winter tares, never greater; whilst the stock of hay on hand is considerable. Hops look well and clean. The continued high winds have destroyed too much of the fruit blossom; and the cherry and plum-trees particularly have been injured by lightning. Apples are said to promise well.—Dry and warm weather alone can contribute to the blessing of a plentiful harvest.

The lambing season has proved one of the most successful; but the effects of a two years's rot must be felt for at least twelve months to come. Live stock of every species short in quantity and dear, beyond all precedent.—Pigs and hogs advancing in price.—The present has been one of the earliest grazing seasons within memory.

Scotland.—The weather from the 1st to the 4th of May was cold, with some rain from the east. From the 5th to the 15th, it was tolerably warm, with moderate drizzling showers almost daily, and vegetation made con-

siderable progress. The cold rains from the 16th to the 25th have greatly injured the crop and retarded its growth, but as the last five days of the month have been mostly dry, and some of them tolerably warm, the corn will, if such weather continue, soon resume its verdant colour. The ground has, upon the whole, been by far too much drenched during this month.

Weeds are beginning to spring; the blades of the corn look sickly and yellow in wet grounds, and it has made little progress during the last two weeks, but the hay crops and pasture grass are luxuriant, and the wheat, though injured by the rains, both in spring and during this month, has a tolerable appearance.

The injury sustained by what is called worming, has been much greater this season than for many years past. Many fields have been sown a second time, some planted with potatoes, or preparing for turnip or fallow, and patches of others remain almost bare, to be occupied by weeds. Even the pease and beans are much injured by the worm on some farms. As these enemies make greatest havock on rich land, the injury sustained by them this year is very considerable. At a time like the present, when so many farmers, and of course, the public at large, have been injured by these casual depredations, it would be desirable to ascertain whether these injuries are committed by insects, or from what other causes they proceed, and how such evils could be prevented. From the loose hoved state of the ground, where what is called worming happens, it seems somewhat doubtful whether the young growth is eaten by worms, or destroyed by the hoving of the ground from fermentation, excited by a large portion of vegetable matter in the soil.

The fruit-trees on the banks of the Clyde were injured by the severe frost and east winds during the month of April, and by electrical fluids during May; but in some orchards there appears to be a decent portion of fruit saved. It is too early, however, to speak with precision on that species of crop.

As the winter and spring food of cattle was never more abundant, and the grass sprung early, cattle are in the very best plight, and the returns in dairy produce more than double what they were at this period last year. Of course the prices of dairy cows are high, and rendered more so by the increasing demand for those of the proper breed, from all parts of Britain.—The Dunlop cheese, and Cunningham breed of dairy cows, have justly attained such celebrity, as to have taken place of all others, over the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, and the Middle and Lower Wards of Lanarkshire, and they are so fast extending to all other parts, that several scores of them are now sometimes bought up at a single fair, by dealers from England, and carried by them to that kingdom.

The moor sheep and lambs are also in excellent plight, and of course are selling at high prices.—Horses of the draught breed, and of the proper age and condition, also bring very high prices.

All sorts of grain have rather fallen; and neither butcher meat nor dairy produce has advanced in price during the month.

Fashions.—*Walking Dress.*—Jaconot muslin high dress, made a walking length, and richly embroidered up the front, round the collar, and round the bottom of the sleeve, which is very long, and rather more loose than they have been worn. The embroidery in front is divided, and goes up the bosom in a slope on each side. Round cottage mantle of stone-coloured fine cloth, richly embroidered in floss silk of the same colour, and lined with delicate pink; high collar, and small round cape, finished with embroidery to correspond. A thatched straw hat,

turned up in front, and lined with satin of the same colour as the hat; it is ornamented with a small quilling of lace on one side, and a pink rose on the other. Sandals and gloves of straw-coloured kid. Parasol to correspond, straw-colour shot with white, and trimmed with white silk fringe.

Half Dress.—Frock of plain jacconot muslin, with a demi-train; body of amber and white shot sarsnet, made in the same manner as last month, except that the waist is a little shorter; the sleeve, which is of a jacconot muslin, is very full, and is looped up with a floss silk ornament in the shape of a heart; a row of rich narrow lace goes round the bottom of the sleeve, which is something longer than they were worn last month; round the bosom a rich puffing of lace, and a Queen Elizabeth ruff behind, finishes the dress at the neck. The cestus *a la-Venus*, trimmed at the ends, with a superb-knotted silk fringe. Pearl necklace and ear-rings. White kid slippers, cut very low in front, and trimmed with a plaiting of white ribband instead of rosette; white kid gloves. Head-dress white satin cap, ornamented with a half wreath of moss roses scarcely blown.

General Observations.—Slippers for full dress are universal; but if our fair fashionables have them cut down much more in front, there will be some difficulty in keeping them upon the foot; a plaiting of white ribband has taken place of the rosette. For the walking costume, coloured jean boots will be universal. White and lemon-coloured kid sandals will be most ge.eral for the carriage costume.—Fans are diminished in size.

JUNE.

.—MURDER OF MR AND MRS THOMSON BONAR AT CHISLEHURST.—This murder equals any the most atrocious which have lately disgraced this country. On Sunday evening, May 30, Mr Thomas Bonar went to bed at his usual hour: Mrs Bonar did not follow him till two, when she ordered her female servant to call her at seven. The servant at the appointed time went into the bed-room, and found Mr Bonar mangled and dead upon the floor, and her lady wounded, dying and insensible in her bed. The footman, Philip Nicholson, came express to town for surgical assistance, and to give information at Bow-street. He performed the journey in 40 minutes, though he stopped three times on the road to drink as many glasses of rum. Mr Ashley Cooper arrived with all possible dispatch, but it was too late; Mrs Bonar expired at one o'clock, having been during the whole of the previous time insensible. The linen and pillow of the bed in which Mrs Bonar lay were covered with blood, as was also the bed of Mr Bonar. They slept in small separate beds, but placed so nearly together that there was scarce room to pass between them. The interval of floor between the beds was almost a stream of blood. About seven o'clock in the evening, Mr Bonar jun. arrived from Feversham, where he was on duty as colonel of the Kent local militia. He rushed up stairs, exclaiming, "Let me see my father; indeed I must see him." It was impossible to detain him; he burst into the bed-chamber, and immediately locked the door after him. Apprehensions were entertained for his safety, and the door was broken open, when he was seen kneeling with clasped hands over the body of his father. His friends tore him away, tottering and fainting, into an adjoining chamber.—The unfortunate subjects of this narration had resided at Chislehurst about eight or nine years; their mansion is called

Camden-place, and is remarkable as being the spot from which the late Lord Camden, who resided there, took his title. Mr Bonar was upwards of 70 years old. Perhaps scarce a man exists in whose praise a more generally favourable testimony could be borne. Both he and his lady have died regretted by all ranks in the vicinity of their residence.

During Monday, Nicholson, the footman, did not make his appearance, and it was alledged that, before he had given information at Bow-street, he had gone to a man named Dale, and said to him, 'The deed is done. You are suspected; but you are not in it.' Dale was taken up and examined, but clearly proved an *alibi*. From this and other collateral circumstances the lord mayor was induced to issue a warrant for the apprehension of Nicholson. When examined by Sir C. Flower, he was in such a drunken state that no rational answer could be obtained from him.—The coroner's jury, after a most patient investigation, returned a verdict of *Wilful murder* against Nicholson; but the evidence has become much less interesting since the subsequent ample confession of the murderer. While the coroner was reading over the depositions to the several witnesses for their assent and signature, Nicholson was permitted to go into a water-closet in the passage leading to the hall, attended by two of the officers, and the moment he was released, he cut his throat with a razor which he had previously concealed in his breeches. He bled so copiously, that it was supposed he could not live many minutes; but, fortunately, Messrs Roberts and Hott, surgeons, of Bromley, were in attendance, and the latter gentleman seized the arteries, and contrived with his mere grasp to stop the blood till the wound could be sewed up.

On the 7th, in consequence of the numerous visitors (among whom were Lord Castlereagh, Lord Camden, and Lord Robert Seymour) who went to contemplate the supposed murderer, Nicholson showed repeated symptoms of annoyance and agitation. On the morning of the 8th, at half past six, Nicholson voluntarily requested Mr Bramston, the priest, who had been with him a short time, to bring Mr Bonar to him immediately; when Nicholson burst into tears, and, begging pardon of Mr Bonar, expressed a wish to make a full confession. Mr Wells the magistrate, who resides at Brickley-house, in the neighbourhood, was sent for; and in his presence Nicholsol made, and afterwards signed, a deposition, acknowledging himself to be the murderer. The following particulars may be relied upon: "On Sunday night, after the groom left him, he fell asleep upon a form in the servants' hall, the room where he was accustomed to lie: he awoke at three o'clock by dropping from the form: he jumped up, and was instantly seized with an idea, which he could not resist, that he would murder his master and mistress; he was at this time half-undressed: he threw off his waistcoat, and pulled a sheet from his bed, with which he wrapped himself up; he then snatched a poker from the grate of the servants' hall, and rushed up stairs to his master's room: he made directly to his mistress's bed, and struck her two blows on the head; she neither spoke nor moved; he then went round to his master's bed, and struck him once across the face. Mr Bonar was roused, and, from the confusion produced by the stunning violence of the blow, imagined that Mrs Bonar was then coming to bed, and spoke to that effect: that when he immediately repeated the blow, Mr Bonar sprung out of bed, and grappled him for 15 minutes, and at one time was n[...] ting the better of him; but b[...] hausted by loss of blood, he [...]

length overpowered. Nicholson then left him groaning on the floor. He went down stairs, stripped himself naked, and washed himself all over with a sponge, at the sink in the butler's pantry. He next went and opened the windows of the drawing-room, that it might be supposed some person had entered the house that way: he then took his shirt and stockings which were covered with blood (the sheet he had left in his master's room), went out at the front door, and concealed his bloody linen in a bush, covering it with leaves: the bush was opposite the door, and not many yards from it he then returned without shutting the outer door, and went to the servants' hall; he opened his window-shutters and went to bed (it was not yet four o'clock): he did not sleep, though he

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front. Nicholson, who before the confession looked gloomy and fierce and malicious, has, since that period, been perfectly calm, and has even an air of satisfaction in his countenance.

Nicholson states that his parents were Irish, his father a protestant, his mother a catholic; he was born and bred in Ireland, was discharged from the 12th light dragoons in January last on account of a broken wrist, and entered the service of the city remembrancer; from whence, about three weeks before he committed the horrid deed, he entered the family of Mr Bonar. He is a man about the middle height, (five feet six inches), not bulky, but well set and muscular. His countenance bears in it a decided resolute character; but its features are neither unfavourable nor unpleasing. His age is 29 years.

7th.—MURDER OF MRS STEPHENS.—Mrs Stephens, an elderly widow woman, who kept a chandler's shop within 200 yards of the castle inn at Woodford, was found murdered this morning. The murder must have been committed late on Saturday night the 5th instant. Her skull was dread...

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before the magistrates, the prisoner was fully committed for trial.

15th.—BOW-STREET.—It having been ascertained that Mrs Stephens, who had been murdered at Woodford, had been robbed of nearly a new silver watch, and that the maker was Thomas Ridley, of Woodford, No. 1544, and this description having been pretty generally advertised, it has been the cause of tracing it out, and of leading to the detection of the murderer.

On Wednesday, a man of the name of William Cornwell, who some time since worked as an ostler at the Red Lion inn-yard in Holborn, but had left that neighbourhood about two months since in consequence of being in debt, called in at the Sun public-house, in Gate-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields. The landlady, Mrs Davis, upbraided him for leaving the neighbourhood without paying his score he owed her. He replied, she need not be surprised if he paid her before he left the house; and in a short time after he proposed to Mr Davis, the landlord, to give him his watch for a 1l. bank-note, and to clear off his score of fourteen shillings. Mr Davis declin[...] proposition, saying, he had [...] one-pound note to sp[...] afterwards propos[...] watch, which [...] Davis's old me[...] only to be wort[...] and clear his sc[...] give him half-a-c[...] vis agreed to, a[...] watches. Mr Dav[...] of the exchange he [...] showed him the wa[...] on Monday morni[...] the advertisem[...] Mrs Stephe[...] the time [...] upon [...]

tion at the above office of the discovery. Enquiries were then made respecting Cornwell; and it is ascertained that on Wednesday morning, previous to his going to Mr Davis's house, he had been at the Red Lion and Axe and Gate inn-yards, in Holborn, and had offered the watch for sale, or to exchange it, but could not succeed. Vickery was dispatched in a chaise to Woodford, attended by Westbrook, one of the patrole, it being understood that Cornwell was at work there. In the evening, Vickery returned to town with Cornwell in his custody, when the business underwent an investigation of three hours, from eight o'clock till eleven. The officer learned that Cornwell was in the employ of Mr Pattingale, the proprietor of the Woodford stage coaches, as an ostler, and h[...] worked for him during the last [...] six weeks. Cornwell was the[...] in a hay-field, about a mi[...] from Woodford. V[...] after him, and [...] loading it [...] a war[...]

at a cottager's but a short distance from the house of Mrs Stephens, where he found he slept with a man of the name of Winterflood. He ascertained the clothes and other things belonging to Cornwell, and seized them. Vickery then proceeded to the stables which Cornwell had the care of. On a corn-bin he found a pair of corded breeches which had evidently been stained with a considerable quantity of blood, particularly on one of the thighs, and had since been washed without soap, they being but partially cleansed. In another part of the stable he found a jacket, which had been washed in a similar way. He took all the things to Cornwell, at the Castle inn, who owned them all except the jacket, which he said was his master's, but he occasionally wore it; the stains on it were with some stuff he washed some horses' mouths with. The blood on the breeches was occasioned by bleeding a horse. A new hat and a new coarse blue coat were found in his lodgings; the former he said he bought on the Sunday morning after the murder, of Mr Saville, a hatter in Woodford, and paid him with a 1l. Bank of England note; the new blue coat he purchased for 1l. when he was in London, on Wednesday, in the neighbourhood of Clare-market, but could not point out where. The note he paid for the hat with, he said he had had in his possession for three months, and the note he purchased the coat with he had had by him since last harvest. —As they were leaving Woodford, they stopped the chaise at the door of Mr Saville, the hatter, who recollected selling the hat to Cornwell on the Sunday morning after the murder, but had not got the 1l. note he received from him: he had unfortunately parted with it that day, but had no doubt he could get it again, and could identify it from some particular marks in red ink on it.

Mr Thomas Davis, the landlord of the Sun public-house in Gate street, attended during the examination, and identified the person of the prisoner, also the old metal watch found on him by Vickery, to have been the same he exchanged for the watch belonging to the late Mrs Stephens, which was proved to be her property by Mr Ridley, the watchmaker, of Woodford.

The prisoner behaved in a very indecent manner, appearing in a continued laugh or grin during the whole of the examination.

On Mr Read asking him what he had to say, he gave an account of himself up to nine o'clock on the Saturday evening previous to the murder, when he stopped short, and said he would answer no more questions.

Cornwell persisting in refusing to answer any more questions, or to give any further account of himself than up to nine o'clock of the night of the murder of Mrs Stephens, Mr Stafford read over to him what he had taken down of what he had said, and he corrected some trifling errors. He was then asked if he chose to sign the account of what had been taken down in writing of what he had said respecting his conduct, which he did, and was committed to the house of correction for further examination.

Cornwell is a native of Cambridgeshire, and was born within about six miles of the town of Cambridge. He is about 24 years of age. He was employed a few years since by Mr Moore, at the Axe and Gate inn in Holborn, and left there about two years since with Mr Moore. Some time after that he returned to that neighbourhood, and was employed at the Red Lion inn in Holborn, when he contracted several debts, for one of which he was summoned to the court of request in Fulwood's Rents, Holborn, and not paying the instalments as ordered by the court, an execution

was issued; to avoid being arrested on which he left his place and London about two months since. He went to Woodford, and got work there about five or six weeks since. He was tried and found guilty 6th August, and executed.

ROBBERY OF THE NORWICH MAIL.—For some time the Norwich mail has been repeatedly robbed of bankers' and other valuable parcels to an immense amount. Mr Caldwell, the mail contractor, has exerted himself in every possible way to discover the depredators. One of the parcels sent by the mail by Messrs Oakes and Co. bankers at Bury St Edmunds, directed to their agent in London, contained exchequer bills, notes, and bills of exchange, to the amount of 13,000l. Some of the notes, after a little time had elapsed, were traced to the porter employed at Bury, connected with the mail. By the continued exertions of Mr Caldwell, the mail contractor, a number of persons in connexion with each other have been discovered to be concerned in carrying on the depredations. Codlin, the book-keeper at Hertford, has been detected in being connected with the porter at Bury, and the circumstances proved against them are deemed sufficient to commit them both to Norwich castle for trial. A parcel containing gold watches and jewellery goods, sent by a jeweller in London to one of the same trade in Norwich, did not arrive as directed. One of the watches which were in this parcel was lately traced into the possession of Mr Mann, a respectable cabinet-maker at Hertford. The account he gave of having possession of the watch was, that he had purchased it of his apprentice, Thomas Maslin, who had since run away from his service, and he did not know what had become of him. He was afterwards traced to London. On Tuesday, Pearkes, the Bow-street officer, apprehended him in the neighbourhood of Bethnal-Green.

EXECUTION.—On Wednesday morning Robert Kennet, for having forged a draft for 2,090. on the firm of Sir Rich. Carr Glynn and Co. was, pursuant to his sentence, executed in the Old Bailey. The unhappy man was brought upon the scaffold at eight o'clock, dressed in a plain suit of mourning, and attended by the ordinary of Newgate, with whom he remained a few minutes in prayer; during this short and awful period he appeared to be perfectly resigned to his fate, which he met with becoming fortitude. Some further particulars of the antecedent life and connexions of the above person may be learnt by reference to the parliamentary debates of 1809, on the conduct of the Duke of York; from which it appears that Kennet engaged to advance the sum of 70,000l. to his royal highness upon annuity, with the additional consideration of a place to be obtained for him the said Kennet under government. The negotiation was ultimately broken off, on intelligence that Kennet was not a man to be trusted.

The library of John Horne Tooke, Esq. by King and Lochee, consisting of 805 lots, sold for 1251*l.* 14s. 6d.—Among the articles we select the following, which were enriched by his notes:—

Burke on the French Revolution - - - - - - - - L.	8	12	0
Godwin's Enquirer, 1797 - -	3	15	0
Hardy's Trial, 4 vols - - - -	5	5	0
Tooke's ditto - - - - - - -	6	15	0
Harris' Hermes - - - - - -	16	0	0
Johnson's Dictionary, purchased by Major James - - - -	200	0	0
Locke on the Understanding, 2 vols	13	0	0
Locke's Works, folio - - - -	18	0	0
Louth's Grammar - - - -	5	10	0
Another Copy - - - - - - -	4	1	0
Lye, Dict. Saxonicum - - -	34	0	0
Monboddo on Language - - -	5	7	0
Oswald on Common Sense - -	4	3	0
Piozzi's Synonimy - - - - -	4	13	0
Ritson's Remarks on Shakespeare	7	2	6

Skinner's Etymologican Lexicon	7	17	6
Spelman's Glossary - - - - -	3	17	0
Vossii Opera - - - - - -	12	12	0
RARE ARTICLES WITHOUT HIS NOTES;			
191 A lytel Treatise, called the disputacyon; or, Complaint of the Herte—Printed by Winkin de Worde - - - - - - - -	30	0	0
194 Dives and Pauper, by ditto	16	16	0
499 Nychodemus' Gospel - -	26	5	0
570 A Book on Purgature - -	17	0	0
759 Virgil by Stainghurst, 1583 -	15	0	0

Upwards of a thousand persons attended the sale, and the books were divided among a hundred purchasers.

16th.—IRELAND.—A shocking affair took place at the fair of Carrokeel, county of Donegal, between a party of Orangemen and a party of Ribbonmen, in which a number of lives were lost. The origin of the quarrel does not seem to be well understood, it having been related in various ways; but the contending parties appear to have met with intentions determinedly murderous, each having supplied themselves with arms and ammunition. The Orangemen, having been worsted in the onset, retreated to a village, where they took shelter in some houses, which their pursuers set on fire. Driven to desperation, they fired out of the windows, and killed two of their opponents on the spot: afterwards they sallied out, with the intention of saving themselves by retreat, when they stabbed another, who is now dead, but, being overpowered, three of them were killed. Thus three of each party have been killed, and, we understand, a great number have been wounded.

17th.—EDINBURGH.—Yesterday, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, signed a commission to the reverend Alexander Brunton, appointing him Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages, in the University of Edinburgh, in room of Dr Murray, deceased. Likewise a presentation to the reverend Walter Tait, minister of Tealing, in the presbytery of Dundee, to be minister of the Trinity College Church of this city, in room of the reverend Dr Andrew Grant, translated to St Andrew's church.

BIBLIOMANIA.—ROXBURGH DINNER.—June 17th, the commemoration of the first anniversary of the sale of the far-famed Boccaccio, at the dispersion of the Roxburgh library, took place at the St Alban's Tavern. Earl Spencer was in the chair, supported by the Marquis of Blandford, Earl Gower, Lord Morpeth, Sir M. M. Sykes, Mr Heber, &c. About twenty-three *choice spirits* in the black-letter line of collecting, were assembled upon the occasion, when, instead of the usual toasts of Army and Navy, Church and King, Lords and Commons, &c. we understand that scarcely any thing but the "immortal memories" of William Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, William Faques, &c. were proposed by the president, and received with thunders of applause by the company.

18th.—While Mr Browne of Armayle, Ireland, and his family, were sitting in the parlour at an early hour of the night, accompanied by their guest, Surgeon Brailsford, of the royal dragoons, the house was beset and entered by a banditti of armed villains, seven in number, of whom four took posts as sentries, and three burst into the parlour. The leader of them instantly presented a blunderbuss, and demanded arms; on which Mr Browne knocked him down. Dr Brailsford attacked a second, when in the conflict one of the villains fired at him, and another at Mr Browne. The latter was desperately wounded by a discharge of small slugs from a blunderbuss, having received several of them in the breast and body; the former was severely wounded by a pistol-shot in the arm, and had his face and head savagely cut and mangled. Dr Brailsford's servant, hearing the shots, got a pistol from some part of the house, and attempted to fire it

in vain; the powder having been taken out, although the ball was left in the pistol. This gallant fidelity cost the poor fellow his life; the wretch at whom he aimed having instantly blown the contents of a blunderbuss through his body. The ruffians seemed satisfied at the perpetration of these shocking enormities, and left the house, without taking or searching for any arms. Mr Browne's recovery is doubtful; Dr Brailsford is out of danger.

Yesterday was laid with the usual solemnities, the foundation-stone of the new bridge over the Clyde at Garion, near Dalserf, Scotland, in presence of Sir James Stuart of Coltness, Bart. Sir Alexander Lockhart of Lee, Bart. and various other gentlemen.–By means of this bridge, a straight and direct road will be opened up from all the north of England to the north-west of Scotland; and those who travel from Carlisle to Stirling will by it take a shorter road, by sixteen miles, than that which they at present use, which is round by the bridge across the river at Glasgow. By this bridge too, on that journey, they will go by Moffat and Ardrie. In like manner, by this means, a straight and direct road will be opened from Ayrshire to Edinburgh, five miles shorter than that which is used at present by the bridge at Hamilton; and in this track travellers will take the towns of Strathaven, West-Calder, and Mid-Calder.

A serious accident happened to Mr Tackle, of Rainham, in consequence of an attack from a dog which belonged to him. Mr T. had fastened the dog in his stable, where he made so much noise, that he went out to beat him; when the dog sprung upon him, and in a moment tore him to the ground, seized him by the throat, and shook him with extreme violence. The cries of Mr T. brought several persons to his assistance, but the savage animal would not relinquish his hold till he was killed. Mr T. was nearly ten minutes under the power of the dog, and had one of his fingers bit off, is otherwise severely wounded, and would undoubtedly have been killed before any person could have assisted him, had it not been for his neckcloth: he is now doing well.

One T. Standish, of Blackrod, assuming himself to be heir of the late Sir F. Standish, with numerous followers, assembled at Duxbury hall, near Chorley; took possession of the house, and turned out the servants, in defiance of the peace officers, who exerted themselves on the occasion, and were personally insulted and abused. They continued in the house till Saturday, when the magistrates, R. Fletcher and J. Watkins, Esqrs. being informed of these proceedings, at the head of a party of light horse, proceeded to the scene of action. On the appearance of the military the depredators began to make off in every direction. By a proper arrangement, however, the military surrounded the hall, and the magistrates demanded admission; which not being complied with, the door was forced, and a crowd of men, with several women, appeared. Being warned of the consequence of resistance, they submitted; and after a proper hearing before the magistrates, Thomas Standish, the assumed heir, Thomas Prescot, John Dike, William Gadinan, and Thomas Aspinall, were committed to Lancaster Castle; and sixty other persons were bound over to answer for their conduct at the next quarter sessions at Wigan. The freebooters, during their continuance in the hall, had made very free with the stock of liquors, &c.

Broadstairs.—A few nights since, as some fishermen of this place were fishing for mackarel at the back of the Godwin Sands, they discovered a large fish entangled in their nets, which they were obliged to cut from their boat to

prevent the danger that threatened them. Some hours after they fell in with their nets again, with the fish completely rolled up in them, and it appeared nearly exhausted. On their approaching the fish, it proved to be of an enormous size; and, with the assistance of another boat, they towed it into the harbour. On examination it appeared to be of the species of the basking shark, of the largest male kind; its length is 31 feet, and its greatest girth, at the top of the back, 17½ feet; it is supposed to weigh about six tons; it has five transverse apertures of the gill on each side, and is of a dark leaden colour: the form of the body, like that of the shark, is tapering; the upper jaw projects considerably beyond the lower, and is round at the end. A great number of people came from all parts of the isle of Thanet to view this monster of the deep; and the fishermen have been amply paid for the damage sustained by the loss of their nets. After this fish had been shewn for three days, the fishermen sold it to Messrs. Turner and company, fish merchants, who dissected it, and 150 gallons of excellent oil were drawn from the liver alone. The body was taken away by the farmers' servants for manure.

19th.– An inquest was taken in Sackville-street, Piccadilly, before A. Gell, Esq. the Westminster coroner, on the body of Roger Brograve, Esq. who shot himself at his apartments in the above street, with a duelling pistol, on Monday morning. From a view of the body it appeared that the deceased had the fore-finger of his right hand round the trigger of the pistol, grasping the butt, while his left hand grasped the barrel. He had evidently introduced the pistol into his mouth in a sitting posture in bed, and the ball had lodged in the back part of his head.

Trilleo, valet to the deceased, stated, that his master appeared much dejected since the second spring meeting at Newmarket, and more particularly so since Epsom races. Witness followed his master off the course after the Derby race, who then mentioned to him that he had lost an immense sum of money. This was all the conversation that passed on the subject. The deceased had lost his appetite, and witness thought he had not slept since Friday night, when he returned from Epsom. He got up at four o'clock on the morning of Saturday, apparently much disturbed, and asked witness about some keys which he always kept in his own pocket, and then returned to bed; but he had been walking in the night about the room. He did not go out on Sunday, nor attempt to dress; such a circumstance never had happened before. As half-past nine on Sunday evening he rang, and asked witness the hour, who replied, "half-past nine," and with a significant stare, the deceased rejoined, "What! in the morning?" Witness considered him to have been quite insane two days before the suicide; and in this he was corroborated by a gentleman, a friend of the deceased. No report of the pistol was heard. The jury returned a verdict of *insanity*.

The deceased was brother of Sir George Brograve. He was originally a captain in the second dragoons, and for some years had sported considerably on the turf. He was originally, at least of competent, if not of splendid fortune: he was considerably minus at the last Newmarket meeting; and is known to have lost 10,000l. on the Derby race, in backing the field against Smolensko. He had, it seems, gone round to some of his creditors, as it is supposed, to solicit time; but whether or not he met any rebuff is not known. Monday, the day of paying and receiving at Tattersall's, was fast approaching, and the deceased

could not sustain the shock of meeting the demands against him, without the means of discharging them.

This morning two lads of the names of Eyre and Bishop were found senseless on a brick-kiln, near the New-cut, St George's-fields. The eldest of the two was recovered from suffocation by medical assistance; but the other was completely lifeless. It is supposed, that they had resorted to the kiln for the sake of warmth, and having fallen asleep, were suffocated by the fumes.

20th.—Last week, Mr Lowe, one of the constables of Birmingham, having ascertained that some premises in Freeman street were inhabited by people employed in coining and forging bank-notes, proceeded with assistants to the house, which they found most strongly barricadoed. They, at length, succeeded in forcing their way, when two men, who were within, immediately threw into the stoves a considerble quantity of thin paper, blanks, dies, &c. The officers took six persons into custody, with various materials for coining and forging.

21st.—CALLENDER.— A surprising occurrence happened here lately. James Balfour, who sometimes betrays symptoms of insanity, the day after Cockhill fair, having been irritated, when in one of these paroxysms, left his friends and was not heard of till twelve days after, when he was discovered, by the people of Callender and the neighbourhood, who had been collected together *en masse* for the purpose of searching for his body by the sides of the river, snugly lodged in a den above Brackland Bridge, covered with straw, and fast asleep. When roused from his sleep he conversed freely, and appeared to be in good health and in his right senses. He averred, when found, that he had taken no sustenance during his stay in the den—twelve days—except occasionally a drink of water.

The following melancholy occurrence took place in the neighbourhood o' Dunfermline. A young man belonging to the royal train of artillery, on furlough from his corps, visited his relations here, and being, it is supposed, disinclined to return to his duty, went out on pretence of shooting birds; but it appears with the real intent of maiming himself, for the purpose of procuring his discharge. In accomplishment of his design, he placed his right hand on the muzzle of the piece, and drawing the trigger with his toe, lodged the bullet (marble) in his wrist, which came out through the back of the hand. The effect was, that he was seized with a locked jaw, under which he lingered for some days, when a mortification took place in his head, and he fell a victim to his own folly.

A coroner's inquest was held lately on the body of William Allen, tailor, Kendal, when they returned a verdict, *Died by excess of drinking*. The circumstances attending the decease of this unfortunate man were awful and deplorable. He had called about noon on his landlord, in perfect health, to pay his rent, on which occasion spirits were introduced, when, melancholy to relate, he plied them so freely (though he had the character of being a temperate man), that, before eight o'clock, the following morning, he was a corpse in his landlord's house, (from which he could not be removed), in spite of the utmost attention of the faculty called in to his aid.

A short time back a revenue officer discovered one hundred and fifty gallons of wine concealed under some faggots, in a field at Gillingham. An enquiry was immediately instituted, and a vessel having arrived at the Victualling office, Catham, from Deptford, with a cargo of wine, for the use of

the royal navy, a strict search was immediately instituted on board her, when a variety of implements were found for the purpose of drawing off the contents of the casks with which the vessel might be laden, many of which were marked with recent stains of red wine. On an examination of the cargo, the casks appeared to have been moved; a farther examination of the vessel opened a discovery of such a nature as convinced the agent victualler (H. Stokes, Esq.) who has been indefatigable in his exertions, that a system of fraud has been carried on in the vessels in the victualling employ for a length of time, to a very great extent. Several persons are in custody on suspicion of being concerned, and have undergone several examinations, but nothing yet has transpired to fix any individual with a positive charge.

RACING.—Sir Charles Bunbury, it is said, has won 20,000l. from three Dukes by one bet, on his celebrated colt Smolensko, now only rising 3 years old.--The bet was, that he would win, in the present year, the three matches, viz.

1st. The 2000gs Stakes at Newmarket first Spring meeting, on Tuesday, May 4.

2d. The renewal of the Newmarket Stakes of 50gs. each, at the same meeting, on Wednesday, May 5.

3d. The Derby Stakes at Epsom, on Thursday the 3d instant.

All these three matches Smolensko won in fine style.

In the first the Judge could place but three.—Twelve started, and 17 paid forfeit

In the second the Judge could place but four.—Ten started, and 14 paid forfeit.

In the last the Judge could place but three.—Twelve started.

This achievement of Smolensko is, we understand, unprecedented in the annals of the turf. No colt of such excellence has appeared since Eclipse astonished the sporting world by his extraordinary powers.—Smolensko is one of the gentlest animals in the world. Eclipse had not a good temper.

22d.—Mr Cowan and Mr Coutts, two masters of vessels, lately effected their escape from a French prison, where they had been confined more than nine years, and were picked up at sea, in a boat only fourteen feet long, by the Andromache frigate, Captain Tobin, while cruising on the coast of France. They had been furnished with bread and water, a compass, quadrant, &c. by an American captain, and were two days and nights at sea, happily experiencing fine weather all the time; but only a few hours after they were picked up, a tremendous gale of wind came on, with a heavy sea, which continued more than forty-eight hours; and had they not been thus timely rescued, they most unquestionably must have been consigned to a watery grave. The American captain who assisted in their escape, has since been taken prisoner, and is now at Plymouth. We have the gratification to add, from subsequent information, that his humanity was amply rewarded.

26th.—CORN LAWS.—COUNCIL-CHAMBER, EDINBURGH.*—The Lord Provost stated to the Council, that the committee, appointed on the 2d instant to consider the proposed alteration of the corn laws, had framed a report upon the subject; and as the bill for altering these laws was now in its progress through the honourable House of Commons, it had been deemed expedient to call an extraordinary meeting of Council to consider the report, in order that they might immediately

* We have given at this great length the sentiments and resolutions of the different public bodies in Edinburgh on this subject, for ready reference, hereafter, to a number of our readers, to whom we learnt it would be particularly acceptable.

adopt such measures as the importance of the subject required.

Baillie Hill then produced the report, of which the tenor follows :

Edinburgh, June 25, 1813.

The committee appointed by the Town Council, on the 2d June instant, to consider of the proposed alteration in the corn laws, beg leave to report—

1st, That from the long period which has elapsed since the date of their appointment, it becomes necessary to explain to the council, that the delay in reporting upon the matter remitted to them did not proceed from any misapprehension, on their part, of the importance of the subject, but from information communicated to them, erroneously it now appears, of its not being the intention of the honourable House of Commons to follow out the report of the select committee appointed to enquire into the corn trade of the united kingdom, by any legislative measure, during the present session of parliament; but the resolutions of that committee, ordered to be printed on the 11th May last, having been adopted by that honourable House, and a bill, founded upon these resolutions, introduced for the purpose of altering the existing laws regulating the importation and exportation of grain, your committee deem it expedient to call the immediate attention of the magistrates and council to the subject, as deeply affecting the interests of the community.

2d, That your committee have considered with attention the report of the select committee of the honourable House of Commons; and although that degree of dependence on foreign countries for a sufficient supply of grain, which, it is inferred, has taken place during the last 21 years, is much to be deprecated, yet it does not appear to your committee that the evils arising from this cause are to be effectually counteracted, far less the great advance in the price of corn, which has taken place during the above period, remedied, by imposing the additional restrictions on importation recommended by the committee of the honourable House.

3d, That by the act 44th George III. cap. 109. (the existing corn law), the high duty on importation of wheat, which is known to operate nearly as a prohibition, it is to be paid until the price reaches 63s. per quarter; when at that price, but under 66s. there is payable a duty of 2s. 6d. per quarter; when at or above 66s. a duty of 6d. per quarter.

4th, That, by the resolutions of the select committee, upon which the bill now in progress is founded, it is proposed that the high duty upon the importation of wheat shall be paid till the price reaches 130s. 2d. per quarter—when at that price, and till it reaches 135s. 2d. that there shall be paid a duty of 2s. 6d. per quarter—and if above 135s. 2d. 6d. per quarter.

5th, That your committee think it quite unnecessary at present to go minutely into the details upon which the resolutions of the select committee are founded; or to state the difference between the present and proposed prices for regulating the importation of other sorts of grain,—that of wheat, above stated, being sufficient to shew the principle of the new plan; but it may be further noticed, that these prices are not to be stationary; for it is proposed that, on the 1st of January 1814, and on the 1st of January in each subsequent year, the prices at which importation at the first low duty may take place, shall be calculated by adding one-third to the average price of the preceding twenty years.

6th, That such an advance in the prices at which grain may be imported, does not appear to be called for.—Your committee does not doubt that the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland possesses the means of growing such an additional quantity of corn as would supply the consumption of the people, from their own soil, and they would cheerfully concur in every measure calculated to promote an object so desirable; but they regard the expedient recommended by the select committee, as calculated to afford encouragement to agriculture at an unnecessary expence to the great body of the nation.

7th, But, further, the circumstances of the country are such as to induce your committee to think that no measure of this kind is at all necessary, even for the promotion of agriculture. The fact is notorious, that, of late years, the cultivation of the soil has been prosecuted with an activity and zeal, and a capital has been engaged in this branch of national industry, beyond all former example. It is expressly

stated, by the select committee themselves —"That in Great Britain there has been a great increase of tillage during the last ten years, and that the increase of tillage in Ireland, during the same period, has been estimated, by many skilful persons, at nearly one fourth"—a fact sufficient to shew that the high and increasing prices of grain will of themselves produce a better and more extended system of agriculture but, when viewed in conjunction with the circumstance stated, also by the select committee, "That the supply in the last year (1812), was equal to the consumption for the first time since 1764," leaves no doubt in the minds of your committee, that, under the existing corn laws, all the encouragement is afforded to agriculture which it requires.

8th, From what is above stated, your committee have come to these conclusions:—

1. That the increased importation of grain, stated in the report of the select committee to have taken place during the last 21 years, has arisen not from any neglect of the agriculture of the country, but from other causes; among which may be enumerated, the supplies afforded to our troops serving abroad from the mother country; the known increase of population; and the greater consumption of the necessaries of life, arising from the more extensive diffusion of wealth among the different classes of the community.
2. That the high price to which grain has of late years attained, in consequence of this increased consumption, has afforded, and will continue to afford, such encouragement to a better and more extended system of tillage, as may ultimately enable the country to raise the requisite supplies within itself, under the existing corn laws.
3d. That the immediate effect of enhancing the importation prices of grain, will be to raise it to, and to prevent it from falling below, those prices; consequently, to increase the rates of labour, and the prices of all kinds of provisions, and of every article of native produce or manufacture depending on the price of grain.

9th, That your committee are, therefore, humbly of opinion, that it is the duty of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, immediately to present petitions to both Houses of parliament against the proposed measure, praying that no advance may be made in the prices at which the importation of the different sorts of grain may take place; and also for leave to be heard by counsel, if they shall think necessary, against the provisions of the bill.

P. HILL, Preses.

Which report having been considered by the council, they unanimously approved thereof, and resolved immediately to petition parliament against the proposed measure.—Extracted from the records.

C. CUNNINGHAM, Conj. Clk.

28th.—*Goldsmiths' Hall, Edinburgh.*—At a meeting of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh, held here this day, Deacon Howden stated to the meeting, that a committee having been appointed by the Town Council of this city, on the 2d instant, to consider and report on the alteration proposed to be made on the corn laws, by the bill now depending in parliament, a report had accordingly been framed by the committee, which was produced, and laid before the Town Council, at an extraordinary meeting, called to receive and consider the same, on the 26th instant: That this subject appeared to him to be of the greatest importance to the community, and he had, therefore, considered it his duty to take this early opportunity of calling the present meeting, to lay the report of the committee of the Town Council before them, and request their opinion thereon.

The report having been then read, and considered by the meeting, it was unanimously resolved,

1. That, though this incorporation do not pretend to judge how far the proposed alteration on the corn laws may be sufficient to produce those effects which are the professed object of the measure, there is just reason to apprehend, that any beneficial effect which may possibly result from such a measure, will accrue solely to the

landed and agricultural interests, as the immediate result of the additional restrictions on the importation of grain into this country must necessarily be to prevent it falling below the importation prices.

2. That the measure now proposed is one of the greatest importance, and deeply affecting the interests of the community, and in particular the manufacturing and mercantile classes, who already labour under severe privations, and have been reduced to great distress by the general stagnation of commerce and trade of every kind, in so far as every advance in the price of grain must necessarily produce an advance on the rates of labour, and thereby render it almost impossible for the manufacturers of this country to meet those of other countries upon equal terms in a foreign market.

3. That, in these circumstances, the proposed alteration in the corn laws, not only merits the most serious consideration of the manufacturing and mercantile classes of the community, but also calls for the most prompt and energetic adoption of those constitutional privileges and means which the subjects of this country enjoy, to oppose the bill now pending in parliament, and prevent the proposed measure from being carried through and passed into a law.

4. That this Incorporation cannot help expressing their surprise and regret, that a measure of such vital importance to the great body of the nation, should have been introduced in parliament at so late a period of the session.

5. That this Incorporation do highly approve of the report of the committee of the Town Council, and of the resolution of the Town Council thereon, to petition parliament against the proposed alteration in the corn laws; and that this Incorporation will give their most cordial co-operation and support to every legal and constitutional measure for opposing the alteration now proposed to be made on the corn laws.

6. That these resolutions be signed by the deacon, and inserted in all the Edinburgh, and one of the Glasgow newspapers.

(Signed) Francis Howden, Deacon.

Extracted from the records of the Incorporation, by

Sam. Cunningham, Clerk.

29th.—*Skinners' Hall, Edinburgh.* ——This day the Incorporation of Skinners and Furriers being assembled, and their meeting duly constituted, the preses laid before them a printed minute of an extraordinary meeting of the Town Council, dated 26th current, containing a report of a committee which had been appointed by them, to consider the bill now in its progress through the honourable House of Commons for altering the corn laws; and also, an unanimous resolution of the Town Council consequent upon said report, immediately to petition parliament against the proposed measure.

Which report and resolution being read, and maturely considered, the meeting unanimously and most cordially approve of the same, and appoint this extract to be inserted in the Edinburgh newspapers.

Harie Guthrie, Clk.

Magdalene Chapel June 28th.

At an extraordinary meeting of the Incorporation of Hammermen, the deacon informed the meeting, that he had called the members of the incorporation together, in order to bring under their notice certain resolutions of a select committee of the House of Commons, upon which it was understood that leave had been given to bring in a bill to alter the existing corn laws, and, in particular, greatly to increase the rates at which foreign grain may be imported, and he laid before the incorporation the minute of a meeting of the Town Council of Edinburgh, containing certain resolutions, in regard to this measure, dated the 26th instant;

All which having been considered by the incorporation, it was resolved unanimously,

1. That the thanks of this incorporation are due to the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Council, for their attention to the interest of the community, in adopting measures of decided opposition to any alteration in the existing corn laws, at this particular time.

2. That this meeting contemplates with serious apprehension any attempt to increase the importation prices of grain, because such a measure, if carried into effect, appears to them calculated to efford encouragement to the agriculturist at the expence of the manufacturing and labouring classes of the community.

3. That the rapid increase, of late years, made in agricultural improvement, and the great capital now employed in rural affairs, are such as to convince the members of this incorporation, that no legislative measure is required for the further encouragement of the cultivators of the soil, but that the high prices to which grain has arisen, and at which, from the circumstances of the country, it is likely to continue, will, without the intervention of parliament, secure due attention to this essential branch of national industry.

4. That the difficulties and embarrassments to which the labourer and mechanic have of late been reduced, and the privations which they suffer, ought to avert any permanent tax from this class of society; for it does not seem to this incorporation that the circumstances of the country, or its commercial relations, are such as to hold out any hope of being able to afford such an increase of wages as any permanent advance in the price of grain must necessarily infer.

5. That no sufficient grounds have been stated for the proposed measure; that it appears unjust and oppressive, inasmuch as it holds out encouragement to the agricultural interest, which is not in a situation to require it, at the expence of the great body of the people, who are unable to bear any advance in the prices of the necessaries of life.

6. That petitions be therefore humbly submitted to both houses of parliament, praying that no alteration may be made in the existing corn laws, at least that no advance may take place on the prices at which grain may be imported; and that the deacon be authorised to sign and seal the said petitions, in the name and on the behalf of the incorporation, and forward the same to Lord Viscount Melville, and Mr Dundas, to be presented.

Wilm. Armstrong, Deacon.

29th.—At Edinburgh, this day, the united Incorporations of Wrights and Masons being duly assembled, there was laid before them the report of a committee, appointed by the Town Council of this city, relative to the bill, now pending in the House of Commons, for augmenting the prices at which corn is to be admitted to importation from foreign parts, together with the resolutions of the Town Council to oppose the said bill in parliament;

Which having been most seriously and deliberately considered by this meeting, they do unanimously approve of the said report and resolution, as being calculated to prevent a bill from passing into a law, which, in its consequences, would enhance the price of provisions, already so high, and thereby bear hard on all ranks of society, but more especially on labourers and manufacturers of every description.

From a regard to the general welfare of the country, this meeting would most cordially concur in any reasonable measure for the improvement of its agriculture, but they cannot help thinking, that the present and late prices of corn hold out sufficient encouragement to the farmer, without resorting to a scheme which would bear so hard on the other classes of the community.

The meeting, having thus publicly expressed their sentiments upon this most important subject, do earnestly invite all public bodies to concur in opposing, by all lawful means, this measure, which appears fraught with ruin, in the first instance, to the manufacturers, and ultimately to the landed interest itself.

The meeting order the above resolutions to be inserted in all the Edinburgh newspapers, and in the London Courier and Morning Chronicle.

Extracted from the records by
Alex. Gardner, Clerk.

At a meeting of the Incorporation of Tailors in Edinburgh, held on the

28th current, the Deacon Convener represented, That he had called the incorporation together for the purpose of considering certain alterations proposed to be made on the corn laws, by a bill now depending in the House of Commons, which appeared to him to be of the utmost importance to the community. The proposed alterations would enhance the price of corn, to the great prejudice of the labouring classes, whose burdens were now greater than they had ever been at any former period. In deliberating on this subject, he considered it his duty to lay before the meeting the report of a committee appointed by the Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh for that purpose, of which the Magistrates and Council had unanimously approved on the 26th of June current, when they resolved to petition parliament against the proposed alterations in the corn laws. This report met with his unqualified approbation, and he had no doubt it would also be approved of by the meeting.

The report of the committee of the Council was then read to the meeting, and, after maturely considering the subject, they unanimously approved of that report, and instructed the Deacon Convener to use his utmost exertions, in assisting the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, to counteract the proposed measure, as one which could not fail to be productive of the most injurious consequences to that class of society who were both the most numerous and most necessitous.

The meeting ordered the above resolution to be published in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, the Caledonian Mercury, the Edinburgh Advertiser, and the Weekly Journal.

WM. FRASER, Junior,
Deacon Convener.

At a meeting of the incorporation of Bakers of the city of Edinburgh, held on the 29th current, Deacon John Murray stated, that he had called this extraordinary meeting of the incorporation, in order to lay before them, for their consideration, a report of the Town Council of this city, respecting the proposed alteration of the corn laws; and the same having been considered by the incorporation, they unanimously coincide, and agree in opinion, that the present circumstances of the country do not by any means call for an advance in the price at which grain may be imported. That the encouragement which is thereby intended to be afforded agriculture, will be obtained at an enormous and unnecessary expence: That the zeal with which the agricultural art has been prosecuted of late years, the capital which has been employed, and the success with which these exertions have been crowned, prove this beyond a doubt, and must satisfy every person, that no circumstances whatever can tend more effectually to produce an extended system of agriculture than the high and increasing prices of grain; that being the case, the incorporation are decidedly of opinion, that the existing corn laws afford to agriculture every encouragement it requires. The incorporation, therefore, hereby authorise Deacon Murray, their representative in council, to concur with the Town Council in taking such steps as may appear to them proper for preventing any alteration upon the existing corn laws.

The incorporation ordered this minute to be inserted in the Edinburgh Evening Courant and Mercury, and London Courier and Times.

Extracted from the records of the incorporation by

RO. HENDERSON, Clerk.

29th.—EDINBURGH.—*Websters' Convening house.*—The incorporation of Websters being duly called and convened, and having deliberately considered a report of the committee of the

Town Council, relative to the proposed alteration upon the corn laws, with the resolution of the ouncil to petition parliament against the said alteration,

The incorporation unanimously and most cordially approved of the said report and resolution in all points, and resolved to concur with the other incorporations of this city, in such proceedings as may appear most effectual for preventing the adoption of the proposed measure, so repugnant to sound policy, and fraught with the most injurious consequences to almost every class of the community.

The incorporation further resolved that an extract of these minutes be published in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, Caledonian Mercury, and Edinburgh Star. THOMAS THOMSON, D.

28th.—At a meeting of the incorporation of Waukers, the report of the committtee of the Town Council of Edinburgh, of date the 25th instant, against the proposed alteration in parliament of the corn laws, having been taken into consideration, the report was unanimously approved of by th members, who resolved to join all th aid in their power to oppose any alteration of the existing laws, which unanimous resolution they ordered to be published in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, Mercury, Correspondent, and Advertiser.—Extracted from the records.

JAS. WADDEL, Clerk.

At a meeting of the incorporation of Bonnet-makers and Dyers of Edinburgh, held this day, Deacon Lawrie stated, that he had convened the members of the incorporation, for the purpose of laying before them a report drawn up by a committee of the Town Council of this city, and approved by the council, respecting the alteration proposed to be made on the corn laws, by a bill now depending in parliament, a subject which, he was satisfied, would be considered of the highest importance, not only to the country in general, but particularly so to the manufacturing and trading interests, with which the prosperity of this incorporation is intimately connected.

The report having been read and considered by the meeting, it was resolved unanimously,

1st. That as it is now generally allowed, that attempts, by statutory interference, to force a greater part of the industry of the country into any channel than what would have gone to it in the ordinary course of affairs, ought only to be resorted to in cases of great necessity, there is reason to fear that the proposed rise on the price at which importation of grain is to be permitted, would, if carried into a law, tend to raise the price of all the necessaries of life, and consequently the expence of manufacture, and the price of manufactured goods, without ultimately benefiting the landholders of the country.

2d. That any experiment of the sort proposed appears to be highly inexpedient, at a time when all classes of the community, and particularly the manufacturing, trading, and labouring classes, are suffering so much from a general stagnation, as well as precariousness of trade.

3d. That for these and many other very obvious reasons, this incorporation do most heartily approve of the resolutions come to by the Town Council of this city, and more particularly of the resolutions to petition parliament against passing the proposed corn bill into a law; to which last resolution, and to every other legal and constitutional mode of opposing the said bill, this incorporation pledge themselves to give their cordial concurrence and support; and the meeting authorise their Deacon to sign these resolutions in their name, and to cause publish the same in the Edinburgh newspapers.

(Signed) ALEX. LAWRIE, Deacon.

Convening Room, Chalmers Close,
June 29.

At a meeting of the incorporation of Hammermen of Easter and Wester Portsburgh, held in the Convening

House, on the 29th curt. Deacon Drysdale represented to the meeting, that the Town Council of Edinburgh had appointed a committee, on the 2d instant, to consider and report on the proposed alteration on the corn laws, by the bill now pending in parliament, and a report had accordingly been made by the committee to the Town Council, at an extraordinary meeting, called on the 26th instant, to take the same into consideration; that he conceived this subject of very great importance to the public, and he had, therefore, considered it incumbent upon him to call this meeting to lay the said report before them for their opinion.

The meeting, having considered the said report, unanimously came to the following resolutions:—

1st. That this incorporation are alarmed at the alteration proposed in the corn law, and dr ad the consequences that will result to them as individuals, and to the body of the nation at large, considering the present awful crisis, with regard to the stagnation of trade and dearth of the markets.

2d. That they regret that a measure of such vast importance should have been introduced at this advanced period of the session, and trust that the further consideration thereof will be postponed until next session, and that the wisdom of parliament, after mature deliberation, will reject the proposal, as involving consequences fatal both to individuals and the manufacturing and commercial interest of the nation.

3d. That this incorporation approve of the resolutions of the Town Council to petition parliament against the proposed alteration in the corn laws, and that the thanks of this meeting should be returned to the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, for their meritorious effort in checking the progress of an act so injurious to the country at large.

4th. That these resolutions be signed by the Deacon, and published in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, the Caledonian Mercury, and the Edinburgh Advertiser, of this city.

W. S. DRYSDALE, Deacon.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

ENGLAND.—The hay harvest, which commenced early in June, is nearly finished in the vicinity of the metropolis, and in full activity throughout the country. The crop, somewhat contrary to expectation, is not heavy, excepting of clover and the artificial grasses, which are abundant.—The stock of both old hay and straw is very large.

Turnip sowing is scarcely commenced yet, and unless some warm showers fall, will be late. Barley and oats are particularly in want of rain and warm weather, looking but indifferently. Pease and beans good.—Rye and tares have been much taken off by the slug, of which the breed this year is immense, and great damage will probably accrue from them to the coming turnip crop, on which account the Earl of Thanet's and Mr Greg's practice lately published, is strongly to be recommended. In the greatest probability, the damage done to the turnip plant, usually attributed to the fly, is really effected by young slugs.

Hops are promising, but will soon want warm showers. Apple and cherry trees much injured by blight. Onion crop generally bad.

Wheat is an irregular crop. Much has looked ill and defective throughout the season, which portion the late cold and blighting weather has by no means improved. Some well-planted wheats, upon fine and thorough-cultivated lands, make a most luxuriant display. In some districts the weak and inferior wheats were much beaten down by the rains.—The stock of English wheat in the country, according to report, is small.

Cattle markets still continue high in the country, both for fat and lean stock; the latter however has been somewhat reduced in price by the coldness of the weather, which is much

against the growth of keep, and the former fell 1s. per stone for mutton and beef, during last week. A defect of the solar heat, without which neither the vegetable nor its seed can be perfected, has been most remarkable during the preceding month.

The lambing season has proved a prolific one, and the accounts are generally favourable about the recovery of the Down flocks from the rot, with which they had been so much affected.

Mid-Lothian.—We always expect the June month to be very warm, but this has not been the case this season, it being cold throughout, except three or four days of the last week, which were exceedingly warm and nourishing for the growing crops of every description. On the whole, however, it has been favourable for turnip sowing, and for cleansing the drilled potatoes, beans, &c. Wheat has the appearance of being an abundant crop, and not to be too late. Other grains have not generally the same rich and plentiful aspect at present, but the weather may make up what is wanting before it comes to the sickle. Some of the thinnest and worst fields of hay are begun cutting within these few days past. The grain markets have been without much variation, except wheat, which has fallen 3s. or 4s. per boll during the month. The butcher markets are plentifully supplied with good meat, at nearly the former prices, and lamb is coming on fast, in excellent condition.—*June* 30.

Middle Ward of Lanarkshire.—The dry warm weather, which commenced about the 26th May, has continued, with little interruption, through the whole of the month of June, and has, since the 23d inst. been hotter, and the sun less clouded, than for so long a period during any part of the two preceding summers. From the ground having been so much drenched in the month of May, and some mild showers, that fell during this month, the drought has not yet been injurious, but if it continues much longer without some rain, the pasture on dry land will be hurt; indeed the clay lands that were so wet about five weeks ago are beginning to be much dried. In every other respect, however, the drought, and especially the heat and sunshine, are highly propitious to the growth of grain and roots. Our climate is not so much hurt by the quantity of rain that falls, as from the length of time that the light of the sun is obscured by continued slow rains. A few weeks (or even a few more days now and then) of sunshine would have rendered the last crop the best that ever grew; but from the sun being so much obscured, the grain was deficient in quality.

The crop, on dry land which is in good condition, where it was early sown—the seed good—and the worms (or what goes by that name) have not destroyed the plants—never had a better appearance. But in strong clay land, of a meagre quality and high altitude, or where the ground has been overburdened with moisture, the crop has been much hurt, and in some places almost lost, by the heavy rains in May. From that, the weakness of the seed, and the worming, the crop has suffered much, and been kept back during the month of May. But the present warm and clear weather has already revived it much.

From the drenching rains in February and March, the cold nipping frost and piercing east winds in April, after the ryegrass had sprung too far to bear such weather, and the heavy cold rains about the middle of May, the ryegrass turns out a medium crop only.

The hay harvest now going forward has been highly favourable. But, as usual, too many farmers injure their hay and their ground, by allowing the grass to ripen its seeds before being

cut. Except where seed is an object, the grass ought to be cut much sooner than is generally done. The pasture land continues productive, and all sorts of live stock fare well.

The fruit on the banks of the Clyde has been greatly injured by the severe weather in April, and will turn out far below a medium crop.

The markets have remained steady during the month of June. The bad seed, depredations of the worms, and cold rains in April, prevented the price of grain falling so much as it might otherwise have done; and the proposed alterations on the corn laws will have a similar effect.

FASHIONS.—*Promenade Dress.*—A plain morning gown, of fine cambric or jaconet muslin, with long sleeves, and front cut low at the bosom, appliqued with a lace; a shirt of the same, with a full gathered frill round the throat. A Pomeranian mantle of jonquille satin, trimmed round with a deep white lace.

Evening or Ball Dress.—A Grecian round robe, of lilac or apple-blossom crape, worn over a white satin petticoat. A satin bodice, the colour of the robe, ornamented with white beads and drops, *à la militaire;* the same continued down the front of the dress; short Circassian sleeves, with similar ornaments; a deep vandyke trimming of lace, or lilac. Angola silk, round the bottom of the robe. An Indian turban, of silver frosted crape, decorated with pearl or white beads; and a bunch of spring flowers beneath, blending with the hair over the left eyebrow.

In the walking costume we have little variety to announce to our fair readers. Spensers are universal. Silk scarfs are also high in estimation; and black lace shawls begin to be very general.

In the carriage costume we have noticed a very elegant novelty; it is the tippet cloak, composed of alternate stripes of white lace, and green satin ribband of different shades; the form of this elegant cloak is that of a tippet behind, but in front it hangs something lower than the waist, and is rounded at the corners; it is trimmed with a rich white lace, and instead of a cape, a double frill of lace at the neck.

Walking bonnets of willow shavings are very general, and extremely neat.

Caps are more generally worn than bonnets, in the carriage costume.

For full dress, crape is universal; the robe *a-la-Russe* is composed either of crape or fine white lace; it is made quite loose in the body, a demi-train, and open on one side in front; the bosom and back of the neck are displayed as much as possible; it is confined to the waist by a white silk girdle, fastened in front by a diamond clasp; the sleeves also, which loop up very high, are ornamented with diamonds.

JULY.

1st.—CORN LAWS.—At a numerous meeting of the company of merchants of the city of Edinburgh, held this day in Merchants' Hall, Andrew Bonar, Esq. banker, in the chair,—The master stated, that he had called the present meeting to consider a proposed alteration in the corn laws, the object of a bill lately brought into parliament, and now in its progress, which had created much surprise to the country at large, and which, in its consequences, deeply affected the interests of every class of the community; and the members having deliberated on the subject, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1st. That the agricultural, commercial, and the manufacturing interests of the country are so closely blended, that it seems as unwise as it is inexpedient to adopt any public measure to protect and encourage one of these interests at the hazard of affecting and injuring any of the others.

2d. That it has been incontrovertibly ascertained by evidence upon the records of parliament, that, for a period of upwards of forty years, Great Britain has not raised from its own soil, grain sufficient for the consumption of its inhabitants; and that hence it is evident, that the agriculturist must have had the strongest possible encouragement for his exertions in the improvement of the soil.

3d. That the prices at which importation from abroad is prohibited, must necessarily regulate, if not fix, the lowest price at which grain at home can be obtained, and that consequently the infallible result of the present measure to raise the import prices, will be greatly to raise the price of every sort of grain.

4th. That it does not appear to this company to require any legislative measure to encourage the agriculturist, by raising the import prices of grain, particularly at the obvious hazard of hurting other classes of the community, and while it is established by the report of the committee of parliament itself, that the encouragement which agriculturists already enjoy from the high prices of grain of late years, has, in the course of last year, produced a supply equal to the consumption; and while it is a fact within the knowledge of every one, that the present high prices of grain bear hard upon every description.

5th. That the object of the present bill, therefore, and the exorbitant rise proposed upon the importation prices, seem justified by no discoverable reason, and the company deeply regret the introduction of a bill of this kind, involving so many important considerations, and requiring the utmost deliberation, at the present advanced period of the session.

6th. That this company will most cordially unite with the Lord Provost and Magistrates, and with the other public bodies throughout the kingdom, in petitions to both houses of parliament, praying that no advance whatever may be made on the prices at which grain may be imported; and that petitions for this purpose may be immediately prepared, signed by the master in name of the company, and transmitted to the Right Hon. William Dundas, member for the city, with a request that he will present the same to the House of Commons, and to Lord Viscount Melville, requesting his lordship to do this company the honour to present the same to the House of Lords.

ANDREW BONAR, Master.
JAMES JOLLIE, Clerk.

At a meeting of the incorporation of Cordiners of Edinburgh, held within their hall the 29th June, 1813,—The incorporation having taken into their consideration the bill now pending in parliament, with regard to the corn trade, and the report of a committee of the magistrates and council of this city relative thereto, they unanimously resolved,

That a matter of more importance to the interests of the community, whether in relation to their internal or external comfort and advantages, can seldom or never occur, than that now under consideration, for the regulation of the prices of corn, and consequently of all the other necessaries of life.

That the prosperity of this country is not less advanced by its manufacturing and mercantile exertions and adventure than by its progress in agriculture. While, therefore, they are disposed to promote every means of increasing the cultivation of the soil and the prosperity of the proprietor, they would most seriously deprecate any plan suggested for this purpose at the expence, and perhaps the ruin, of the merchant, the manufacturer, the artisan, and labourer; while these plans, too, are at best but of doubtful success.

That, with these sentiments, the incorporation cannot view, without alarm, the restrictions upon the importation of grain, proposed by the bill now under consideration of the legislature. They are convinced, that, if carried into a law, they would become immediately burdensome to the industrious and labouring community, and ultimately tend to great national

disadvantage, by preventing a competition with foreigners, whose means of subsistence are more easily procured.

That, therefore, the regulations proposed by the bill would be oppressive, impolitic, and unjust; that they entirely approve of the resolutions of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, and determine to concur in such measures as may be proper and necessary to prevent the passing of the bill.

The incorporation farther recommend to other public bodies to take the matter into their speedy and most serious consideration.

(Signed) John Aird, Deacon.
Extracted by Will. Innes, Clerk.

At a meeting of the incorporation of Hammermen, Canongate, held this day, Deacon Robb stated, that he had called this meeting of the members of the incorporation for the purpose of laying before them the report of the committee appointed by the Town Council of Edinburgh, relative to the bill, now pending in the House of Commons, for augmenting the prices at which corn is to be admitted to importation from abroad, together with the resolutions of the Town Council to oppose the said bill in parliament. Which report having been duly considered, they were unanimously of opinion,

1st. That, considering the high rents of land, and the price of corn of late years, in Great Britain, and the consequent increase of capital employed in the cultivation of land, there was no necessity for any additional encouragement to agriculture at the expence of trade and manufactures, and to the distress of the labouring classes of the community.—And,

2d. That any interference on the part of the legislature to prohibit the importation of grain from abroad, unless at prices so much higher than is at present permitted by the existing laws, must have the effect greatly to enhance the price of corn, and other necessaries of life, to the community, at a time when, from the distressed state of trade and manufactures, the country was not able to bear it, and was therefore highly inexpedient and hurtful.

The meeting accordingly approved of the resolutions of the Lord Provost and Magistrates of the city, to oppose the present bill, for an alteration of the corn laws regarding foreign importation, being passed into a law; and direct the deacon to sign those resolutions, and that he cause them to be inserted in the newspapers.

Alex. Robb,

Convenery-room, Morocco's Close,
Canongate, July 1.

At a meeting of the society of incorporated trades of Calton, called by the preses, for considering the tendency of the bill proposed to be introduced into parliament, relative to the alteration in the corn laws, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1st. It is the opinion of this meeting that the bill is impolitic in principle, and that it will prove most oppressive in its operation, in so far as its effects will be chiefly felt, by that most useful class of society, the manufacturers and labourers, at a time, too, when every branch of labour and commerce is greatly circumscribed; and it is well known that the individuals which compose this society are of the above description.

2d. That the object of this bill is framed for the interest of the landholder, to the apparent disadvantage of every other class of the community.

3d. It is the opinion of this meeting, that, were this bill to pass into a law, it would ultimately operate even against the landholders themselves, in so far as it might be the means of compelling the artisan and labourer to emigrate to a foreign country.

4th. This meeting apprehend that the unexampled high price of provisions holds out ample encouragement to the farmer to cultivate his waste lands; and as a proof that he has done so, we have only to look to the unprecedented high price of butcher meat, occasioned solely from the farmer finding it more for his interest to throw his improved lands into tillage than rearing cattle.

5th. This meeting most earnestly recommend to their fellow-citizens, and the

public in general, to come forward and testify their decided disapprobation of a bill so pernicious in its principle, and fraught with such serious and incalculable consequences to the community at large.

6th. That this meeting shall heartily concur in every lawful and constitutional measure, along with other societies, in praying the honourable House of Commons to make no alteration in the present existing corn laws.

Thereafter, it was unanimously resolved, that the thanks of the society shall be transmitted to the Right Honourable William Creech, Lord Provost, and the honourable Magistrates of Edinburgh, for the early and active measures they have taken, in giving information to the public of a business in which its interests are so deeply involved.

The thanks of the meeting were also given to Mr Samuel Wordsworth, the preses, for having called them together, in order to have an opportunity of expressing their sentiments;

And appointed these resolutions to be inserted in the London and Edinburgh newspapers.

Extracted from the minutes of said society by WILL. FORBES.

Calton of Edinburgh,
July 2d.

At a meeting of the incorporation of Wrights, Masons, Slaters, Glaziers, and others, held in their convening-house, Leith, this day, they were unanimously of opinion, That the alterations proposed in parliament of the existing corn laws would tend much to the disadvantage of the labouring classes of the community, and that the more especially in these necessitous times, when trade was almost at a stand in this as well as in other places of the kingdom; and, therefore, resolved to petition parliament against such calamitous measures; and that the incorporation heartily coincide with every public body to prevent such alterations, which appear to them not only prejudicial to tradesmen in general, but must ultimately be ruinous to the country at large; and appoint the same to be inserted in the Edinburgh Courant, Advertiser, Correspondent, and London Courier.

(Signed) PETER LAMB, D. W.
GEO. ANDERSON, D. M.

Extracted from the incorporation's records by
A. NEILSON LAMB, Clk.

Leith, 2d July.

At a meeting of the society of Barbers of Edinburgh, held on the 1st of July, 1813, the preses stated, that he had convened this meeting for the purpose of submitting to them a report of the committee appointed by the Town Council of this city, to consider the proposed alterations on the corn laws, upon which the Town Council had unanimously resolved to present petitions to both houses of parliament against the bill now in its progress through the House of Commons, respecting the duties payable on the importation of grain.

The meeting, having seriously considered the said report, coincide entirely in opinion with the committee, that the proposed increase on the duties on imported grain is not necessary at present for the encouragement of agriculture, and will add greatly to the pressure already so severely felt by the middle and lower classes of the people, owing to the unavoidable burdens of a long-protracted and expensive war. This meeting do therefore cordially approve of the said report, and concur with the resolutions adopted by the Town Council in consequence thereof; and they unanimously voted the thanks of the society to the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Edinburgh, for the attention they have shewn to the interests of the community on this occasion.

The meeting request the preses to communicate the above vote of thanks to the Lord Provost and Magistrates,

and they appoint an extract of this minute to be inserted in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, Caledonian Mercury, and Correspondent.

(Signed) WM. WEST, Preses.
Extracted by
WILL. BALDERSTON, Conj. Clk.

1st.—Last night the Prince Regent gave a ball and supper to a numerous and splendid party. By the heavy and incessant rain which fell during the day, considerable damage was done to the tents erected on the lawn at Carlton-house, and it was feared they could not be used; however, the preparations went on. The entrance to these temporary erections was from the supper-rooms, along a temporary passage about sixty yards in length, boarded, and covered in with canvas, lined with green glazed cotton, decorated with artificial flowers, and the whole illuminated by chandeliers at proper intervals. The tents were arranged on each side of this passage or promenade, and their entrances were hung with curtains, festooned with artificial flowers. The tents were eighteen in all, and supper was to be laid in each of them for twenty-eight persons. At the extremity of the promenade was the Prince Regent's tent, which was lined with light printed cotton, and the centre pole ornamented with artificial flowers.

About nine o'clock, the Queen and the Princesses proceeded in their chairs from the Queen's Palace to Carlton-house. The company began to arrive after this in great numbers.

LINCOLNSHIRE.—Robert Fountain, a gardener, at Waltham, was poisoned by Azubah Fountain, his wife, and George Rowell, a cooper, who lodged at the house of Fountain. It appeared before the coroner and jury, that the deceased being suspicious of a criminal correspondence between Rowell and his wife, was so disturbed in his mind as frequently to get intoxicated. About two months ago the parties agreed to take away his life by poison, and there appearing to be a favourable opportunity on the 30th ult. they gave him four ounces of laudanum in ale and elderberry wine; that quantity, however, not having the desired effect, they gave him eight ounces more the next day, which, according to the opinions of Doctors Bell and Foreman, who opened the body, caused his death. Mr Bennett, druggist, of Grimsby, deposed to Rowell's purchasing a quantity of laudanum of him; added to which evidence, the jury had the confession of the wretched woman, and brought in a verdict of wilful murder against her and Rowell. They were committed to Lincoln Castle, to take their trials at the ensuing assizes, at which they were convicted and executed.

2d.—A most atrocious murder was perpetrated at a colliery called Woodsess, near Kirkmuirhill, in Lanarkshire, on the night between Thursday the 1st and Friday the 2d inst. On Friday morning, about six o'clock, one of the workmen, on descending into the coal-pit discovered the corpse of Agnes Watson, who wrought at the said colliery, lying at the bottom in a shockingly mangled condition, her head nearly severed from her body, which was stabbed in different parts, and the whole of her person exhibiting a most frightful appearance. In the shed, or lodge as it is called, at the mouth of the pit, a considerable quantity of blood, some hair, a comb, and other articles belonging to the deceased, were found, which plainly shewed that the unfortunate woman, who had been missing since ten o'clock the preceding evening, had made considerable resistance before she was subdued. James Jackson, a collier at Woodsess, by whom Agnes Watson was far advanced in pregnancy, is in custody on suspicion of the murder; and a precognition is going on, with

the view of enquiring into the circumstances attending this most barbarous affair.

The following is a copy of the Prince Regent's letter to Lord Wellington :--

"Carlton-House, July 3, 1813.

"My dear Lord—Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above my reward. I know no language the world affords worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left to say, but devoutly to offer up my prayers of gratitude to Providence, that it has, in its omnipotent bounty, blessed my country and myself with such a general. You have sent me among the trophies of your unrivalled fame, the staff of a French Marshal, and I send you in return that of England. The British army will hail it with enthusiasm, while the whole universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it. That uninterrupted health, and still increasing laurels, may continue to crown you through a glorious and long career of life, are the never-ceasing and most ardent wishes of, my dear Lord, your very sincere and faithful friend, G. P. R.

"The Marquis of Wellington."

The following is the form of prayer and thansgiving for the repeated successes obtained over the French army in Spain by the allied forces, and especially for the signal victory of the 21st of June.

"O Lord God of Hosts, who chiefly declarest thy almighty power, by protecting the oppressed, and smiting to the ground the proud oppressor, and who, in the defence of injured nations, teachest thy servants to war, and girdest them with strength for battle, we yield thee praise and thanksgiving for the continued successes in Spain, with which thou hast been pleased to crown the conduct of our general, and the valour of our soldiers; but more especially for the signal and decisive victory which, under the same commander, thou hast recently vouchsafed to the allied armies in the battle of Victoria. Continue, we pray thee, thy blessing upon the councils of our general; maintain and support the courage and strength of the allied armies; sanctify the cause in which they are united; and as it hath pleased thee to put back, with confusion of face, the proud invader of Spain and Portugal, let the allied armies and allied kingdoms prostrate themselves with one consent before thee, and acknowledge with humility of heart the victory to be thine. These prayers and thanksgivings we humbly offer to thy Divine Majesty, in the name and through the mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.—Amen."

Under the decree issued by Buonaparte on the 6th of April, 1809, on the subject of naturalization, a special court at Paris, on the 14th of June, condemned to death M. Joseph Darguines, 23 years of age, born at Arles, but who had retired into Spain with his parents when he was 14 years of age. He had obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Spanish service, and in that quality he signed the capitulation of the garrison of Figueras. M. Chauveau Lagarde, his counsel, urged in his defence, that the law was not applicable to those who had been naturalized anterior to the issuing of the decree; but the judges declared, that no subject could withdraw himself from the allegiance he owed to his sovereign, and that no letters of naturalization obtained from a foreign government could be pleaded by one who had borne arms against his country, and incurred the penalty of treason. The prisoner was ordered for execution.

5th.—The lord mayor went in state, accompanied by the aldermen and sheriffs, from Guildhall to Whitecross-street, to lay the first stone of the new debtor's prison for the city of London. The Dukes of Kent and Sussex, Mr Whitbread, and a great concourse of ladies and gentlemen, were present at the ceremony. The lord mayor, aldermen, &c. with the royal dukes, afterwards dined together at Albion-house, Aldersgate street. This prison will receive all the debtors from Newgate, Giltspur-street, and Ludgate prisons. It will be calculated to contain 500 debtors: a chapel is to be erected in

the centre; and there are to be separate rooms for working in, so that no person will be allowed to work in the bed rooms. Alderman Wood, when sheriff, suggested the plan of a debtors' prison, that the unfortunate debtor might not be sent to Newgate; and from that time he has laboured with great zeal to carry it into effect. When finished, it must tend greatly to relieve the crowded state of the other city prisons.

7th.—A fatal accident occurred at Ipswich races. Towards the close of the first heat, as several horsemen were pushing forward to get in, Major Myer, of the German legion, and F. Favier, a young man, servant to Mrs Trotman, unfortunately came in contact with the utmost violence. The major and the servant were both thrown; the former was considerably hurt, and the latter, the horse having rolled over him, was taken up in a senseless state, and died shortly after.

8th.—Between seven and eight o'clock this morning the inhabitants of Woolwich were thrown into consternation in consequence of prodigious volumes of smoke, which enveloped the whole town. It was soon discovered that the white hemp store-house, in the rope-yard, was on fire. The alarm immediately spread, and the engines were quickly on the spot. The drum beat to arms, and upwards of 1000 artillerymen from the barracks arrived to assist in quenching the flames; but notwithstanding the most prompt and active exertions, the fire continued to burn with irresistible rapidity till about nine o'clock, when the roof of this part of the building fell in. For some time great apprehensions were felt for the safety of the adjoining buildings of the royal arsenal; but by the prompt supply of water and the great exertions of the military, the flames were prevented from spreading, and were got under about ten o'clock. The greatest intrepidity was evinced by the artillerymen, many of whom were placed in the most perilous situations, in endeavouring to subdue the flames. The damage done must have been considerable, and it is supposed that several thousand pounds worth of hemp and oakum have been destroyed. The cause of the fire has not yet been discovered, though various conjectures are afloat as to its origin. It is only a few months ago since a fire happened in another part of the buildings. It has been conjectured that the fire-works exhibited the evening before may have been the accidental cause of the calamity.

The remains of the celebrated William Huntington were removed from Tunbridge to Lewes, and there interred on Thursday. A stone, at the head of his grave, exhibits the following epitaph, dictated by himself a few days prior to his death:

"Here lies the Coal-heaver; who departed this life July 1, 1813, in the 69th year of his age; beloved of his God, but abhorred of men. The omniscient Juge, at the Grand Assize, shall ratify and confirm this, to the confusion of many thousands; for England and its metropolis shall know that there hath been a Prophet among them! W. H. S. S.

12th.—The official dispatches, announcing the capture of the American frigate Chesapeake, by the Shannon, were received at the Admiralty on Wednesday. The action was fought off Boston, and took place in consequence of a challenge sent by Captain Broke to the American commander, inviting him to try his strength.—The Chesapeake was superior in size, superior in weight of metal, and superior in numbers to the Shannon. She came out fresh from her own port, in all the completeness of preparation, in all the consciousness of superiority, and in all the confidence of conquest. She was attended by several American barks

and boats, laden with the friends and countrymen of her crew, eager to witness the battle and the victory; but in 15 minutes after she came into action, she was forced to yield to the superior gallantry of her antagonist. Twelve minutes after the action began, our seamen boarded, and three minutes were sufficient to complete the business.

The following account of the action was published at Halifax on the 11th ult.

"Captain Broke, of the Shannon, having directed his late consort, the Tenedos, to leave Boston Bay, with a view of inducing the Chesapeake to venture out, on Tuesday the 1st of June, that ship, commanded by Captain Lawrence, lately promoted from the United States sloop Hornet, left the roads and put to sea, manned with picked seamen, and completely fitted in every point for action. The Shannon dropped under easy sail a few miles from the Road, and at half-past five, P. M. the Chesapeake came upon her weather quarter, and was instantly saluted with a sweeping and most destructive fire. The action commenced at half pistol shot, and in a few minutes the terror-struck enemy fell alongside the Shannon, and was boarded by the gallant Captain Broke, his first Lieutenant, a few other officers, and the seamen and marines, with an impetuosity that bore down all resistance. The result of such a meeting might have been very fairly anticipated, yet the lightning-like rapidity of the action (not more than 10 or 11 minutes) seems almost unparalleled, even in the annals of the British navy.

"The loss on board the Shannon was Lieutenant Watts (1) a brave and meritorious officer; Mr Oldham, purser; Mr Dunn, Captain's clerk, and 28 men, killed. Captain Broke, 1 midshipman, 56 seamen and marines, wounded.

"The Chesapeake had Lieutenant Ballard (1st), Lieutenant Broom (marines), Mr White (master), several petty officers, and about 70 men, killed; and Captain Lawrence mortally, Lieutenant Ludlow severely, Lientenants Budd and Cocks, (2d and 3d), Mess. Weaver, Abbot, and Nichols (midshipmen) and Mr Lovemore (chaplain) with nearly 100 seamen, wounded. Lieutenant Wallis (2d) of the Shannon, son of George Wallis, Esq. of his majesty's naval yards, in consequence of Captain Broke being wounded, took charge of the ship subsequent to the action. Captain Lawrence languished some days at Halifax, and was buried with naval and military honours there. He was attended to the grave by the remaining officers and ship's company of the Cheapeake, and the officers of the British navy. Captain Broke is recovering."

"Plymouth, July 7.

"The Nova Scotia brig of war, a prize commissioned at Halifax, arrived here this morning from Halifax, having left that place on the 12th ult. and landed an officer with intelligence of the capture of the Chesapeake by the Shannon, with which he set off for town express. The particulars of the action are detailed in the preceding extract from the Halifax paper.—It took place close to the mouth of Boston harbour, in sight of thousands of spectators. Captain Broke's wound was in the head, by a sabre; but he was nearly recovered. Captain Carden, of the Macedonian, came home passenger in the above vessel. She brings no other news.

"A challenge was sent in by Captain Broke, two days before the Chesapeake came out, being all that time preparing for the action; she was accompanied out of the harbour by some hundreds of small vessels and boats, with people on board, to see the action. Captain Broke was the first man on board; and it is stated, that through a mistake of one of our seamen having, in a hurry, hoisted the American colours over the British, which occasioned the Shannon to fire into her, after she was in our possession, Lieutenant Watt of the Shannon, and seven men of that ship, were killed.

"So confident were the Americans of victory, that a grand dinner was actually prepared for the officers and ship's company, on their return with their prize.

"The Chesapeake carried 24-pounders on her main deck, and had 100 men more than the Shannon."

13th.—Yesterday came on the trial of James Henry, midshipman, serving on board the Maria impress tender at Campbeltown, accused of murder,

in having, in an affray, shot, or caused to be shot, Agnes M'Lean, a young girl about thirteen years of age, one of the crowd who were assembled, under the alleged intention of deforcing the prisoner in the discharge of his duty.

It appeared from the evidence, that, on the 15th of March last, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, Mr Cole and Mr Henry were sent from the tender, which lay about half a mile from Campbeltown quay, with orders to land in different directions, and impress all the seafaring people they could find, but on no account to use fire-arms, unless attacked in the discharge of their duty. They landed accordingly, and impressed eight men; but a mob assembled, rescued five of them, and wounded several of the gang with stones, particularly one Johnston, who was knocked down and forced to take shelter in a house, round which the crowd collected, swearing vengeance, and threatening to break open the door. Johnston was accompanied on board the Maria by several of the magistrates of Campbeltown, to protect him from any further violence; but previous to this, Henry, who had returned to the ship with the three impressed men, was sent ashore again, in consequence of the vessel being hailed that Johnston was in custody, with two marines and five or six round of ball cartridge, to escort him in safety. An order was given from the boat, on its approaching the shore, to clear the quay, but this being disregarded, and a shower of stones thrown, which struck one of the marines, and fell into the boat, Henry gave them orders to fire, and also fired several shots himself, by which Agnes M'Lean, servant to Mrs Langlands, was killed.

The evidence being closed, the Lord Advocate addressed the jury for the crown, and Mr Cranstoun, in a most eloquent speech, replied in behalf of the prisoner; after which the Lord Justice Clerk summed up the evidence with great candour. The jury were then enclosed, and ordered to return their verdict next day.

Next day the court met at 11 o'clock, when the jury returned their verdict, finding, by a plurality of voices, that the said James Henry has committed an act of justifiable homicide. Some observations were made by their lordships on the unusual terms in which the verdict was couched, and they recommended a strict adherence to the common mode, of finding the liable proven or not proven—guilty or not guilty. The Lord Justice Clerk having admonished the prisoner, with regard to his future conduct, and recommended to him the most extreme caution and tenderness in the use of those arms with which he was entrusted, especially when used against his fellow-citizens, he was assoilzied simpliciter and dismissed from the bar.

14th.—A daring robbery was committed last night in the house of Mr Rothe, a farmer, at Cothen-hill, Bucks. Three fellows entered the house by forcing open the back-yard door, and made to the bed of Mr Rothe. With horrid imprecations they demanded to be shewn his money; and whilst one stood over him with a bludgeon, the other two ransacked the bed room of gold to the amount of more than 100l. and notes, plate, silver, &c. also to more than that amount. The robbers then fastened the farmer to the bed, and decamped with their booty. There were four men-servants and a maid who slept in another part of the house, but unfortunately were not alarmed.

On Saturday se'ennight, a dreadful accident happened at Collingwood Main colliery, near North Shields. By an explosion of fire-damp, eight of the

men were killed, and two severely burnt. Among the sufferers were Mr Hope, one of the viewers; Mr Wild, an overman; and two young men of the name of Richardson, who having no parents, maintained their grand-mother (now in her 102d year) in a manner that did them great credit.—A number of horses were also suffocated.

15th.–BELFAST.–It is with much regret we have to mention circumstances which occurred on Monday night in this town, in consequence of the revival of that hateful spirit of party which has so long divided this country. We had hoped, that as the legislature had given their opinion in such a decided manner against the legality of Orange Societies, there would have been prudence, and even patriotism, in abstaining from the usual processions on the 12th of July, (the anniversary of the battle of Aghrim.) This, however, was disregarded. A number of lodges (about 3000 men in all) assembled in Lisburn, where they walked in procession, with some respectable men at their head. They afterwards heard a sermon in the Linen-hall there. It is but justice to state, that in Lisburn they conducted themselves with the most unexceptionable propriety; to shew that cordiality prevailed, a number of them even took their refreshment in the house of a Roman catholic.

In the evening, about seven, the lodges that had gone from this town returned, with colours flying, and all the usual orange insignia. One party proceeded by Hercules-street to the house of one Thompson in North-street. In their progress they were hooted by some of the spectators, and stones and mud were thrown amongst them. Some of Thompson's windows were broken, when the orangemen rushing out of the house with loaded muskets, fired upon the people; in consequence of which a cooper, of the name of Hugh Graham, was shot dead on the spot; a bricklayer, named Andrew M'Narry, was mortally wounded, and died next morning at one o'clock; and William M'Laughlin, a young lad, received a ball in his thigh, and yesterday underwent amputation. Another man was shot in the arm.

It is also material to observe, that arms and ammunition appear to have been previously deposited in Thompson's house, apparently in the anticipation of such an occurrence.

On the circumstance being made known, several magistrates immediately attended in North-street, and General Mitchell having ordered out a party of military, peace was restored; and a soldier was made prisoner in Thompson's house, along with two others.

A coroner's inquest was next day held on the bodies, and a warrant issued for the apprehension of one Morgan, charged with the murder of M'Narry.

16th.--For some time past, a most diabolical conspiracy has been formed on board the Sampson prison-ship, at Gillingham Reach, by three French prisoners, to murder the master's mate, and the serjeant of marines, belonging to the ship, together with seven of their own countrymen.—The murders were to have been perpetrated on each victim singly, as opportunities presented, when the escape of the murderer, by mixing instantly with the great body of the prisoners, was to be facilitated by the other conspirators, and lots were drawn who should commit the first murder. The first lot fell to Charles Mausereaux; but this man being troubled by some "compunctious visiting of conscience," on reflecting that the serjeant was a married man, with a family, who would be left destitute by his death, determined to dispatch one of the private marines in his stead. Whilst this wretch was watching for

an opportunity to effect his purpose, Thomas King, a private marine, came on the forecastle, when Mausereaux steppedbehind him, and plunged a knife into his back, which passed through the kidneys, and inflicted a dreadful wound, of which the poor fellow lingered for four days, when he expired. Mausereaux was observed by a fellow prisoner, who instantly knocked him down and secured him, or he would probably have escaped without being detected. Mausereaux, on being confined, made a discovery of the whole plan, and named his associates, both of whom were standing by at the time of the murder. The three prisoners have undergone an examination, and been remanded for a further hearing till the coroner's jury have returned their verdict.

Comparative statement of the quantity of porter brewed in London by the twelve principal houses, shewing the decrease on this year's brewing :–

	1812.	1813.	Decrease.
	Barrels.	*Barrels.*	*Barrels.*
Barclay - -	270,259	257,265	12,994
Meux - - -	189,993	165,153	24,839
Hanbury - -	150,162	140,114	10,048
Whitbread and Martineau	146,594	135,892	10,702
Calvert - -	108,212	100,093	8119
Combe - - -	100,824	97,055	3789
H. Meux - -	102,493	82,012	20,481
Goodwyn - -	81,022	71,467	9555
Elliot - - -	58,034	49,269	8765
Cocks - - -	51,279	45,500	5779
Taylor - - -	50,210	41,850	8360
Clowes - - -	34,010	29,844	4166

Statement of the number of barrels of ale brewed by the eight principal ale brewers in the London district, from the 5th of July 1812, to the 5th of July 1813 :—

Stretton, Broad Street, Golden Square	20,016
Charington and Co. Mile End -	13,729
Wyatt, Portpool Lane - - -	13,128
Golding and Co. Knightsbridge - -	10,610
Hale and Co. Redcross Street - -	8208
Thorpe and Co. Clerkenwell - -	6301
Webb and Co. St Giles' - - - -	4881
Davies, Lambeth - - - - - -	2911

Finances and Commerce of Great Britain.—The annual statement laid before parliament, of the finances and commerce of the country, has been printed; and from it we have made the following extracts, relative to the revenue and expenditure, the imports and exports, of the year ending the 5th of January, 1813 :—

The revenue of that year, including the loan, amounted to 95,712,695l. The gross receipt of the income-tax, within the same period, was 13,131, 548l.

The total expenditure during the year ending the 5th January, 1813, was 104,398,218l.

The public debt during the same period cost the country 36,607,128l. of which the sum of 13,482,510l. passed into the hands of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt.

The following comparative view of the imports of the country for three years, ending the 5th of January in each year :—

IMPORTS.

1811 - - - - - - - -	L36,427,722
1812, - - - - - - - -	24,520,329
1813, - - - - - - - -	22,991,243

The imports from India are not included in any of the three sums given above. They amounted, in the year ending the 5th January, 1812, to 4,106, 251l.

The following comparative view of the import of corn seems to afford a satisfactory proof that we are becoming less dependent on foreign countries for that necessary article :—

IMPORT OF CORN.

1811, - - - - - - - - -	L2,701,240
1812, - - - - - - - -	465,995
1813, - - - - - - - -	378,872

The following is a comparative view of the import of coffee, cotton, and sugar for three years, ending the 5th of January in each year :—

COFFEE.

1811, - - - - - - - - -	L5,812,795
1812, - - - - - - - -	3,646,814
1813, - - - - - - - -	2,573,614

COTTON.

1811, - - - - - - - - -	L3,882,423
1812, - - - - - - - - -	2,990,821
1813, . - - - - - - - -	2,166,412

SUGAR.

1811, - - - - - - - - -	L6,499,044
1812, - - - - - - - - -	5,324,409
1813, - - - - - - - - -	5,033,396

The imports of this country from Ireland, it appears, are regularly on the increase :

In 1811, - - - - - - - -	L3,280,747
1812, - - - - - - - -	3,318,879
1813, - - - - - - - -	3,551,269

But if the imports of Great Britain fell off during the last year, it appears that the exports have materially improved. The following is a comparative view of our exports for three years, ending the 5th of January in each year :—

EXPORTS.

1811, - - - - - - - - -	L34,023,575
1812, - - - - - - - - -	24,131,734
1813, - - - - - - - - -	31,243,362

The real value of British produce and manufactures exported, as estimated at the custom-house, is 23,657,834l.

Besides which the amount of foreign merchandise exported is given as follows :—

1811, - - - - -	L10,946,284
1812, - . - - - - - - -	8,277,937
1813, - - - - - - - - -	11,998,179

The following is a comparative view of the principal articles of which these exports consist :—

COTTON GOODS.

1811, - - - - . . - -	L18,033,794
1812, - - - - - - -	11,715,501
1813, - - - - - - - -	15,972,286

WOOLLENS.

1811, - - - - - - - - -	L5,773,719
1812, - - - - - - - - .	4,376,397
1813, - - - - - - - - -	5,084,291

COFFEE.

1811, - - - - - - - - -	L1,455,472
1812, - . - - . - - -	1,418,034
1813, - - - - - - - - -	4,382,730

SUGARS.

1811, - - - - - . - -	L1,471,697
1812, - - - - - - -	1,[illegible]15,[illegible]19
1813, - - - - - -	1,570,570

16th.—This evening about six o'clock, the largest rectifying still in the distillery of Messrs Langdale and Co. High Holborn, caught fire, and burst with a tremendous explosion. Fortunately the fire did not reach any of the other stills, or receivers of spirits, but ascended to the roof of the distillery, to which it instantly set fire. In consequence, however, of a large reservoir of water at the top of the premises being immediately opened, the progress of the fire was arrested, and by the timely arrival of several engines, got completely under by seven o'clock. The still which exploded is said to be the largest in London, and contained at the time it burst 2,804 gallons.

An attempt was made by some French prisoners to escape from the depot at Pennicuik, near Edinburgh. They contrived to get a false bottom affixed to one of the carts which carry away the dust from the prison, in which three secreted themselves, and got without the walls. The driver being accidentally stopped by an acquaintance, they came from their lurking hole, and were proceeding to a wood, when they were met by a soldier, who immediately seized one ; he drew a dagger which he had concealed about him, wounded the soldier in the neck, and afterwards stabbed him in the left side. The soldier was unfortunately unarmed at the time ; and fainting through loss of blood, he was obliged to let the prisoner go, but the whole three were afterwards secured.

18th.—M. Texier, jeweller, in the Palace Royal, Paris, was last month robbed of articles of jewellery to the amount of 8000l. sterling.—Suspecting one of his domestics to be the thief, he gave information to the police. The officers pursued the criminal so close, that in despairing of escaping, he threw himself into the Seine. The officers were at his heels, and took him out in a few minutes, but he died in their arms, apparently through terror.—The jewellery was found in the lining of his clothes.

19th. —On Wednesday, as C. Montague, Esq. of Lackham, near Lavcock, Wilts, was shooting in company with a gentleman who was on a visit at his house, Mr M.'s gun accidentally went off, and lodged its contents in the body of his friend, who survived only a short period.—Mr M.'s state of mind is indescribable.

Edinburgh.— On Wednesday, M'Donald and Black, who were convicted before the High Court of Justiciary of the robbery and murder of Mr Muirhead, near Coltbridge, were executed upon the spot where the murder was committed. About one o'clock these unfortunate young men were brought out of prison and placed upon a cart, having seats elevated and railed round. They were escorted along the Lawn Market, Bank-street, the Mound, and Prince's street, by the magistrates of the city, the high constables, a detachment of the Northampton and Norfolk militias, a party of the 7th dragoons, and the city guard. Upon reaching the west end of Prince's street, the procession halted, when the magistrates delivered over the prisoners to the sheriff of the county, and they were then escorted by a strong detachment of the Mid-Lothian yeomanry cavalry, and the sheriff and police constables, through the village of Coltbridge to the place of execution. After some time spent in devotion, the prisoners mounted the platform, and about a quarter before three they were launched into eternity. On the way to the place of execution the prisoners employed their time in reading, but occasionally looked round on the surrounding multitude. At the place of execution they behaved with seeming fortitude and resignation; in a particular manner, Black, who first mounted the platform, and prayed.—M'Donald was not visited by any catholic clergymen till after sentence had been passed upon him. On the first visit, he was found not so grossly ignorant as might have been apprehended, seeing that he had never attended any religious duty: and his dispositions seemed to correspond with his awful situation. On the scaffold, as on the way to it, and indeed during the whole preceding day, he seemed entirely taken up with those exercises of devotion which had been suggested to him as proper for the occasion. In all appearance he died truly penitent and resigned to his fate. At half past three the bodies were cut down, and conveyed in the same cart, escorted by a body of constables, to the College of Edinburgh, and delivered over to the professors of anatomy.

20th.—At Ragely, on Friday, tw girls aged fourteen, were accidentally shot as they passed in front of a cannon, which hung fire; it was highly loaded with powder and wadding. One of the girls died in great agony the day after, and the other is not expected to recover.

Parliament was prorogued yesterday to the 23d of August, with a speech delivered by the Prince Regent from the throne. It is usual, on such occasions, when the sovereign attended in person to prorogue parliament, for the Speaker of the House of Commons to address him, taking a general view of the leading features of the public business that has come under the consideration of parliament, which was done by Mr Abbot, in a most eloquent speech.

The speech of the Prince Regent, after noticing the principal events that have taken place since the meeting of parliamefit, concluded with expressing the determination of his Royal Highness to employ the powerful means placed in his hands, in such a manner as may be best calculated to reduce the extravagant pretensions of the enemy, and thereby, in conjunction with his allies, to facilitate the attainment of a secure and honourable peace.

FESTIVAL IN CELEBRATION OF THE VICTORY OF VITTORIA.—The public expectation, which had been so strongly excited by the project of this festival, in honour of Marquis Wellington and his army, was yesterday gratified by an entertainment perhaps among the most superb, extensive, and costly that was ever given in England. Curiosity, and still more the desire of paying all respect to the man to whom they are indebted for so large an accession to the national fame, incr ased the list of the applicants so rapidly within these few days, that the limited number was exceeded, and, in consequence, from ten to fifteen pounds was offered for a ticket.

The stewards assembled early yesterday, at Vauxhall, to arrange the ceremonial, and about four the doors were opened for general admission.

The dinner was in the range of covered buildings, with the addition of a temporary saloon. The rotunda held the table of the Duke of York, as president. This table was raised on a platform of a few steps from the ground, so as to be seen through the whole range of the halls; it formed a crescent. Two lines of tables for the general guests were placed down the length of the saloon, and smaller tables at the sides occupied the vacant spaces. The occasional saloon was singularly novel and beautiful. As it spread over a large space, interspersed with trees, the branches had been made the supports of a splendid canopy of British, Spanish, and Portuguese flags. From this rich roof chandeliers hung with a profusion of lights, the ground was covered with cloth, and the tables disposed in a manner to which nothing could be added for convenience or effect. At five the bands in the garden struck up the "Duke of York's March," and the stewards went to receive his royal highness at the gate. He entered in a few minutes after, attended by the Dukes of Kent, Sussex, and Gloucester; and dinner commenced. It was entirely cold, with the exception of turtle soup, and consisted of a profusion of fowls, hams, pastry, and the usual composition of a public dinner. Madeira, claret, and punch, were on the tables in abundance. When the whole company, of probably more than twelve hundred, had taken their seats, the general view was admirable. The orchestra of the rotunda had been hung like a tent with flags and festoons; within, by a strong light, was seen a row of crimson steps, covered with massive pieces of ornamental gold and silver plate, with the bust of Lord Wellington on the summit. At the foot, and leaning against a silver vase of exquisite workmanship, was the marshal's staff taken in the battle. Two trumpeters in their sta e liveries, and with silver trumpets, stood forward from the pile, and between them a grenadier of the Guards held the standard of the 100th French regiment of the line. The Duke of York sat in the centre of the first table, with the Russian ambassador on his left. The Duke of Clarence was on his right, and in succession, on the same side, the Duke of Gloucester, the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Kent, the Duke of Sussex, the Turkish envoy, Lord Castlereagh, and the Speaker of the House of Commons. The ministers, who were chiefly in uniforms, and the principal part of the foreigners of distinction in London, sat at the president's table. Military and naval uniforms were chiefly worn, and even this contributed to the picturesque effect of the assembly. Marquis Wellesley came in after dinner had commenced, and when the seat due to his peculiar share in the feelings of the day had been occupied. The dinner was plain, but plentiful and well served. The conclusion was announced by a flourish of trumpets and the singing of "*Non*

nobis Domine," by Taylor and other performers, who were placed midway between the extremities of the tables. Next followed, "The King;" drank standing, and with three times three. "God save the King" was then chaunted, and accompanied by the band. The president next gave "The Prince Regent;" drank as the former, and with great applause. The usual toasts succeeded. "The Queen and Royal Family." "The Duke of York and the Army." "The Duke of Clarence and the Navy." "Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington." This produced the loudest acclamations, the assemblage rising at once, and renewing their plaudits for a long time. "General Sir Thomas Graham, and the other Generals in the Peninsula." "The Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Privates of the Army." "Ferdinand the Seventh, and the Cause of Spain;" drank with universal applause. "The Emperor of Russia;" loud huzzas. "The King of Prussia." "The King of Sweden." "The Prince Regent of Portugal." "Marshal Beresford, and the Portuguese Armies." "The Spanish Armies, and the brave Guerillas." These toasts were all drank with three times three, and standing. The Duke of York gave the toast; it was announced from the head of the table by a flourish of trumpets; and then, with the spirit of "antique time" of royal feasting, was returned from the foot by another flourish. The Marquis of Huntley presided in the temporary saloon. About nine the ladies began to arrive, and the gentlemen, who had already risen for some time from dinner, went to the avenues to receive them as they entered. The gardens were, as the night advanced, gradually brightening until they exhibited a blaze of splendour.

Admission was given to the company who came with the stewards' tickets for the evening, for some time previous to the hour of ten. They were received at the coach door by Lord Yarmouth, and others of the stewards. The numbers of carriages which crowded the road for above an hour before the doors were opened, rendered the access very tardy. The general effect of the illumination of the gardens was, unquestionably, much more brilliant and striking than usual. The facades of the quadrangle in which the orchestra stands, were ornamented above the colonnades, with variegated lamps, expressing the names of all the places in which the British, Spanish, and Portuguese arms have been distinguished in the glorious war of the peninsula, as well as of those of the gallant officers who have taken an eminent share in those exploits of heroism. On these inscriptions decorations were raised like battlements, intermixed with trophies, and with shields, representing the Crosses of St George, St Andrew, and St Patrick, the Union Cross, and various other emblematical devices. Vast numbers of additional lamps were suspended in the more retired and umbrageous walks, of which the principal one formed a most beautiful *allée verte*; the entrance to this delightful promenade was distinguished by a magnificent arch, and on each of its verdant sides were hung a triple festoon of lamps; between which and the gravel walk, were placed beds of the most charming and odoriferous shrubs and flowers. At the east end there was a superb Gothic illumination, enclosing a transparency of his majesty on horseback. In one corner of the retired part of the garden, a fanciful rustic temple was erected; the rude pillars that supported it were entwined with foliage. In another corner there was an exhibition of "*Les Ombres Chinoises*," with a representation of wild water fowl, and the amusements of angling, supported by a dialogue from

behind the transparent scene. At the back of the orchestra was a very large picture of the Marquis of Wellington, mounted, receiving from a soldier the baton of Marshal Jourdan. The fire-works were very well managed, and were repeated several times during the fete. There was nothing particularly meritorious in the devices: but the rockets excited much admiration from the superior height to which they rose, and the splendour of their explosions. Among the bands who attended, were selections from those of the foot and life guards, together with those of the Duke of Kent's regiment, and of the 7th hussars. The appearance of some of these bands in the forest part of the garden was extremely picturesque, and presented some idea of soldiers in a campaign regaling and reposing themselves under the shade. "God save the King" was sung in the orchestra between ten and eleven.

The many personages present exalted by their rank in the orders of the state, or by their transcendant merits in its defence by land and by sea; the fascinating groups of females in all the beauty of countenance, grace of manner, and rich, yet elegant simplicity of attire, still continuing to rush into this festival of national joy; the fineness of the weather; the profuse blaze of the lights, and their magical effect on the trees, which seemed to create a species of artificial day; and the unity of sentiment and disposition that pervaded all, rendered the *coup d'œil* of this national gala truly beautiful and imposing.

The *baton* of Marshal Jourdan was placed on the buffet behind the president's chair. The *batons* of the old *Marechaux de France* were ornamented with the *fleurs de lis*. This imperial *baton*, now a trophy of British valour, is of the ordinary size, covered with black velvet, and decorated with the imperial eagles of France in gold: the case in which it was contained is red, with ornaments somewhat similar.

The stewards wore small white ribbands at the button-holes of their coats, ornamented with a green laurel leaf.

Allowance for the Ladies.—The following letter to her husband, William Lord Compton, was written by Eliza, the daughter and heiress of Sir John Spencer, Lord Mayor of London in 1594, who died in 1610, worth, as some say, 300,000l.; but others carry his wealth as high as 800,000l. All this came to William Lord Compton, who married Sir John's daughter; and it is said that the succession to such a vast property *turned his head.* It has, however, been doubted by Winwood, in his "State Papers," whether the contents of the following letter might not have had some effect in turning his lordship's brain, as well as the extent of the legacy. Be this as it may, our readers cannot fail to be amused by perusing the demands of a lady of fashion at that distant period, which, we are apt to fancy, was the age of female delicacy, modesty, and good sense.

COPY OF THE LETTER.

"My sweet life!—Now I have declared to you my mind for the settling of your state, I suppose that it were best for me to bethink or consider with myself what *allowance* were *meetest* for me; for considering what care I have had of your estate, and how respectfully I dealt with those, which both by the laws of God, of Nature, and of civil polity, wit, religion, government, and honesty, you, my dear, are bound to, I pray and beseech you to grant me 1000l. per annum, quarterly to be paid.

"Also, I would (besides that allowance for my apparel) have 600l. added yearly (quarterly to be paid), for the performance of charitable works; and those things I would not, neither will be, accountable for.

"Also, I will have three horses for my own saddle, that none shall dare to lend or borrow; none lend but I, none borrow but you.

"Also, I would have two gentlewomen, lest one should be sick, or have some other let: also believe that it is an indecent thing for a gentlewoman to stand mumping alone, when God hath blessed their lord and lady with a good estate.

"Also, when I ride a hunting or hawking, or travel from one house to another, I will have them attending, so, for either of those said women, I *must* and *will* have for either of them a horse.

"Also, I will have six or eight gentlemen; and I will have my two coaches, one lined with velvet to myself, with four very fair horses; and a coach for my women lined with sweet cloth; one laced with gold, the other with scarlet, and laced with watched lace and silver, with four good horses.

"Also, I will have two coachmen, one for my own coach, the other for my women.

"Also, at any time when I travel, I will be allowed not only carroches and spare horses for me and my women, but I will have such carriages as shall be fitting for all, orderly; not pestering my things with my women's, nor their's with chambermaids', nor their's with wash maids'.

"Also, for laundresses, when I travel, I will have them sent away before with the carriages, to see all safe; and the chambermaids I will have go before with the greens, that the chambers may be ready, sweet and clean.

"Also, for that it is indecent to crowd myself up with my gentleman usher in my coach, I will have him to have a convenient horse, to attend me either in city or in country.—And I must have two footmen. And my desire is, that you defray all the charges for me.

"And for myself, besides my yearly allowance, I would have twenty gowns of apparel: six of them excellent good ones, eight of them for the country, and six of them very excellent good ones.

"Also, I would have to put in my purse 2000l. and so for you to pay my debts.

"Also, I would have 6000l. to buy me jewels, and 4000l. to buy me a pearl chain.

"Now, seeing I am so *reasonable* unto you, I pray you to find my children's apparel, and their schooling and also my servants (men and women) their wages.

"Also, I will have my houses furnished, and all my lodging chambers to be suited with all such furniture as is fit; as bed, stools, chairs, suitable cushions, carpets, silver warming-pans, cupboards of plate, fair hangings, and such like: so for my drawing-chambers in all houses, I will have them delicately furnished, both with hangings, couch, canopy, glass, carpet, chair-cushions, and all things thereunto belonging.

"Also my desire is, that you would pay all my debts, build Ashby-house, and purchase lands; and lend no money (as you love God) to the Lord Chamberlain (Thos. Howard, Earl of Suffolk) which would have all—perhaps your life—from you. Remember his son, my Lord Walden, what entertainment he gave me when you were at Tilt-yard. If you were dead, he said he would be a husband, a father, a brother; and he said he would marry me. I protest I grieve to see the poor man have so little wit and honesty, to use his friend so vilely. Also he fed me with untruths concerning the Charter-house; but that is the least; he wished me much harm; you know him.—God keep you and me from such as he is.

"So now that I have declared to you what I would have, and what that is I would not have, I pray that when you be an earl, to allow me 1000l. more than I desire, and double attendance.—Your loving wife, ELIZA COMPTON."

24th.—A dreadful thunder-storm passed over Margate, which was productive of fatal effects in its immediate vicinity. A donkey party, consisting of a gentleman, two young ladies, and two little boys, had gone in the evening to Ramsgate; on their return they were overtaken by the thunder-storm. They immediately sought shelter under the porch of a house on Chapel-hill, leaving the asses on the road. The storm still continuing, the donkey-drivers, fearful lest the animals, frightened by the storm, might run home, went out to see if they were still there. They had scarcely reached the spot, when a tremendous flash of lightning struck one of them dead,

threw the other to the ground, and killed three of the donkies. The boy who is alive was carried home, and hopes are entertained of his recovery. There is a large hole in the left arm of his jacket, where the fluid appears to have entered; and his shirt was scorched almost to tinder.

26th.—Moses Gomez Carvalho, a Jew, born in Portugal in 1706, and who emigrated from thence in 1720, on account of his religion, died lately at Amsterdam, aged 107 years. He was twice married, and had many children, of whom the eldest died when 78 years of age, and the youngest is only 22 years. His second wife was delivered in 1798 of a son, who died shortly after. In 1804 he had seen his fifth generation, in the person of a great great-grandson. The deceased enjoyed all his faculties until the moment of his death, never having lost a tooth, and never having worn spectacles. His drink was milk and water, and he took every day a small glass of brandy.

28th.—Died, at about half past six p. m. Dr Randolph, Lord Bishop of London, in the 66th year of his age. The right reverend prelate was at his son's seat, in Hertfordshire. At a quarter before five o'clock the bishop and a friend agreed to take a ride. When he had mounted his poney, it appeared he was without his hat. The servant said, "My Lord, you have not your hat," and immediately went for it. The bishop put it on, and took off his cassock, at the same moment he exclaimed, "I want—I want—I want—" apparently under some inward convulsion. The servant could not make out the want of his master, but supposing he wanted his stick, went for it, and gave it to him; he took the stick, and let the reins of the poney drop. He rode quietly to the church-yard, a short distance from his son's residence, and articulated something that was not distinctly heard, at the same instant he dropped from his horse. Four persons took him home. He appeared recovering, and a professional gentleman wanted to bleed him, but the bishop, by signs, indicated his disapprobation of that proceeding, and died immediately after. The whole of the melancholy event did not occupy more than an hour and a half. Dr Ash, the bishop's physician, was sent for on the first appearance of illness, but on his arrival the bishop was no more. Dr Randolph succeeded Dr Porteus, Bishop of London, in 1809. He was a governor of the Charter-house, an official trustee of the British Museum, dean of the Chapel Royal, visitor of Sion College, and provincial dean of Canterbury.

Grand Chapter of the Knights of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.—Yesterday his Royal Highness the Prince Regent held a chapter of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, for the express purpose of electing his mperial majesty the Emperor of all the Russias a member of the Most Noble Order, at Carlton-House. Soon after three o'clock, his Royal Highness retired from his private apartments, and entered his closet in his full robes of the order, which he highly became, and looked most princely and majestic; Garter King at Arms, in his full robes, was in readiness to receive his Royal Highness, and proceeded to call over the names of the members of the order, when the following answered to their names, and walked in grand procession through the state-rooms, in their full robes, making a sight not to be equalled by any for splendour and magnificence in this country, except in an installation of this order.—It began with the Marquis Wellesley, as the junior knight present, and proceeded with the Marquis of Hertford:—

The Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Winchelsea, the Earl of Westmoreland,

the Earl of Chatham, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, Usher of the Black Rod, Sir Isaac Heard, Garter Principal King of Arms, the Rev. Dr Legg, Dean of Windsor, Registrar of the Order, the Bishop of Salisbury, Chancellor of the Order, the Bishop of Winchester, Prelate of the Order, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, as representing the Sovereign

His Royal Highness's train was held up by General Leigh, the Groom in Waiting. The other attendants upon his Royal Highness were—

The Marquis of Winchester, as Groom of the Stole; Lord Petersham, the Lord in Waiting; Earl Harrington, Gold Stick; the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Charles Bentinck, Treasurer of the Household; Lord George Beresford, Comptroller of the Household; and Major-General W. Bailey, Equerry in Waiting.

The procession having arrived in the throne or council room, and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, as representing the sovereign, having taken his seat in a superb chair opposite the throne, the knights and officers of the Noble Order made their reverences: the former took their seats on each side the prince, according to their seniority; and the latter took their appointed stations.—Garter King of Arms and the Usher of the Black Rod at the foot of the table, with their staves of office, with the Registrar between them.

The Prelate of the Order stood to the right of the prince.—His Royal Highness's state attendants stood behind him. On his left stood Count Leiven, the Russian Ambassador, in his full uniform and order, and the Chancellor of the Order, who addressed the Chapter, and said he had it in command from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to recite the last statute of the order, which directed, that besides the sovereign, it should consist of twenty-five knights, all the descendants of King George II. exclusive of the Prince of Wales, who was considered a constituent part of that order. It was recommended to pass a new statute for the express purpose of electing his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias a member of the order, notwithstanding any former statute or decree to the contrary.

His excellency the Russian ambassador stood close to the chancellor, and appeared to feel extremely the praise and compliments paid to the conduct of his royal master, and bowed most respectfully.

The chancellor proceeded to take the opinions of the knights present, beginning with the juniors, on the propriety of passing the statute, and on receiving their sense in writing, declared his Imperial Majesty Emperor of all the Russias, duly elected a member of the Noble Order of the Garter.

Garter King of Arms then retired from the foot of the table bowing, and retired to an adjoining room, and introduced Francis Townsend, Esq. in consequence of his indisposition preventing him from undertaking the voyage to Russia, and proposed Mr Townsend to go in his room. They bowed most respectfully to the prince. Mr Townsend was afterwards conducted to the head of the table by Garter King of Arms, and the Registrar introduced him to the prince, when he was sworn in Garter King of Arms for this special occasion to go to Russia, to invest the Emperor of Russia with the insignia of the order. The oath was administered in Latin by the Registrar. The chapter then closed, the

knights and the officers bowing to the prince, and the procession returned in the same order.

FIELD-MARSHAL WELLINGTON.—At a meeting of the principal noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland, at the Rotunda, Dublin, on the 20th instant, the Earl of Roden in the chair, it was resolved to erect a statue to the Marquis Wellington.—The following energetic resolution was unanimously adopted :—

"Resolved—That, being convinced that the renowned successes of that illustrious Irishman, Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, in his campaigns against the French invaders of Spain and Portugal, not only reflect honour on the country of his birth, but have eminently contributed to the security, prosperity, and glory of the British empire, the independence of Europe, and the best interests of mankind, we deem it to be a proud duty devolving on his countrymen, to record, by some public national testimonial, to be erected in the metropolis of Ireland, the exploits he has achieved, in order that he who has distinguished himself by great services to his country, may enjoy the gratitude and applause of his contemporaries, and that our posterity may be excited, by emulation of his fame, to the imitation of his example."

29th.—The Prince Regent having been pleased to signify to Sir Everard Home, his wish to visit the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, in Lincoln's-inn-fields, this day was fixed upon for that purpose, and every necessary preparation was made at the college. This edifice has lately been rebuilt in consequence of a parliamentary grant, and forms a fine ornament to the square. The entrance to the college was covered with red baize, and the passages matted for the occasion. His royal highness arrived at half-past two o'clock in his carriage, attended by Colonel Bloomfield and Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, and was received by Sir Everard Home, Bart. the master, and Sir William Blizard and Mr Cline, the governors of the college. The Prince Regent remained in the Museum about an hour and a half, viewing the various articles in the collection, and, upon his departure, expressed the high gratification he had experienced.

This night between eleven and twelve, as Mr Robert Nelson, builder, of Deptford, and his son, were returning from Somerset-place by water, to their residence at Deptford, the boat swamped under London-bridge, by which accident Mr Nelson, his son, and one waterman, were unfortunately drowned; the other waterman escaped with much difficulty, and is not expected to survive.

On Monday morning, about two or three o'clock, a shocking murder was committed on the body of a poor labouring man, in a field, between Lucas-street and the Foundling Hospital.—It is supposed the deceased had been attacked by some villains, and making resistance, they resolved to murder him ; which horrid deed being perpetrated, they threw the body into a gravel-pit near the place where the murder was committed. The body was discovered about four o'clock, by two labourers. The head of the deceased was much lacerated, and marks were found on parts of it, supposed to be done by an iron crow, or some such instrument. The precise spot on which this barbarous act was committed was literally covered with the brains of the unfortunate man. The body when found was still warm, but life was quite extinct. The two who first discovered it, collected together the fragments of the skull, which, with the body, they conveyed to the sign of the Prince Regent public-house, in Sidmouth-street, for the coroner's inquest.—Two half-pence was all the money found in the pockets of the deceased. The body was soon owned.—The friends of the deceased state, that he was an Irishman, and intended shortly to proceed to his own country ; and

in order to defray the expences of his journey, he had been for some time making little savings from his weekly wages.—It was this small booty, it was supposed, which attracted the villains, and occasioned his death.

CORONER'S INQUEST.

At four o'clock yesterday, an inquest was held at the above house, on view of the body, before George Hodson, Esq. coroner.

William Broughton, a brick-maker, residing in Paradise-street, Battle-bridge, stated, that he worked in a brick-field at the top of this street. About a quarter past five o'clock yesterday morning, when he was at work, a little boy came to him, and told him there was somebody drowned in the pool, for there was a shoe and a hat on the brink of it. He went with the boy to the pit, and seeing something in the water, he went in and pulled up the deceased, who had all his clothes on except the shoe and hat; his waistcoat was open, he had dreadful marks on his skull, and was quite dead.

Heyman Barnet, a hatter, residing in Field-lane, stated, the deceased came on Sunday to his shop, and requestd to have a cheap hat. He sold the deceased the hat now produced for 4s. and gave him change for a 1l. note.—The deceased's wife came in at the time, looked over the money, and then gave it her husband, who put it in his pocket, and they both went away.

Charles Cooke, an officer belonging to the Police Office, Hatton-garden, stated, that in consequence of the report of this murder, he, accompanied by other officers, went to the spot yesterday morning, where they met two little children of the deceased; the wife came shortly afterwards. On hearing from her that James Leary, who resides in George-court, or Mew-court, Field-lane, was the last person seen with him, they went to his house, where they found his wife: she told them, on being asked, that she did not know where her husband worked, and then took hold of another woman by the hand, and put it to her breast, saying, "O! feel how my heart beats."—This circumstance induced them to take her into custody.—They carefully examined the room, and found no money, nor any thing that could lead to a discovery, except a shoemaker's hammer, that lay on one side the fire-place. Thinking it was like an instrument to commit the deed, they took it with them, and found that the sharp flat edge matched the cut on the hat, and the other blows on the head; the hammer had some whitening on it, and there was also some white on the part of the hat where the blow was given. After securing the wife, they returned, thinking to find the husband at home, and learned that he worked at Mr Helstone's, in Cock-lane; he was coming down a ladder from a building when they went there, and lest he should be alarmed, they enquired if Mr Helstone was in the way? He answered, "You do not want Mr Helstone, you want me."—They told him he was right, and he went with them very quietly. On the way he said, "This is on account of the murder of Edward Clifford."— On being asked how he could tell that? he said, he heard that morning what had happened. After he was taken to the House of Correction, they examined him closely, and found on the right thigh of his breeches several spots of blood, one of them pretty large, and which, it appeared, had been attempted to be rubbed out with lime.—Those breeches he denied wearing on Sunday, but it was proved he did; his stockings also appeared full of mud.

Mary Clifford, wife of the deceased, and who was in a forward state of pregnancy, said, they had sold some land and a house, in Ireland, and that her husband came to England about three weeks ago, for the purpose of getting some employ as a labourer. On their arrival in town they went and slept four nights at the house of James Leary, in Mew-court, Saffron-hill; after which they took a lodging in Church-street, St Giles's. Witness deposed, that on Sunday last her husband went out early in the morning; he did not return as soon as she expected, and she went in search of him—she found him at the house of Leary—they passed the greater part of the day together, and in the evening went out to a house in the neighbourhood and got some gin. Her husband was in a state of inebriety, and she begged Leary not to give him any more liquor; Leary said in answer, "You seem low—never mind, I will get your husband work to-morrow." De-

ceased had in his pocket when at this shop, a five-pound and six one pound notes, two guineas, and sixteen shillings in silver. Leary accompanied them up Holborn, but upon witness saying " They walked too quick for her," Leary said, " We will go forward and provide a gallon of porter." Witness saw no more of Leary or her husband. She was much disappointed at not finding them at home, and was exceeding restless all night. Said she went to Leary's house in the morning early, and found the door of the apartment locked, the key outside, and no person in the room but Leary's wife, who said that her husband was gone to work.

The coroner then delivered a very impressive charge to the Jury, who unanimously returned a verdict of *Wilful Murder* against James Leary. Executed.

AGRICULTURAL REPORTS.

ENGLAND.—The harvest has commenced on the light lands with a cheering prospect of such general abundance as the oldest husbandman has rarely experienced. Most of the rye is cut, and much of it carted. The wheat is allowed, universally, to bear an ear full and well set, and to be of a colour more free from taint of blight or mildew than almost ever known. The barleys are equally promising, except on the heaviest binding soils, and the beans and pease never promised a fuller produce. Oats are not likely to be a general crop, except in the Fens of Lincoln and Cambridge shires, where they appear heavy on the ground. The potatoes already raised, round London, have also given earnest of an ample crop. The late-sown turnips have planted well in most districts. The hop plantations almost throughout Kent, Farnham, and Sussex, are likely to fail from the increase of the fly; in Worcestershire and Herefordshire, they are less affected; the speculations on the year's duty do not exceed 55,000l. The hay harvest has closed in most counties, more productively than it did on the grass-lands round the capital. Lean stock holds last month's high prices; and pigs, from the promising pulse crop, are considerably dearer. Good horses for the collar are advanced full twenty per cent.; those of an ordinary kind are not saleable. The meat market is lower for all articles. We note no variation in that of wool, in which but little has been done through this month; notwithstanding the new marts opened in different counties. The top prices obtained for clothing wool have been 4s. 10d. for Merino, and 2s. 3d. per lb. for Southdown fleeces.

LOTHIAN.—The weather during this month has been exceedingly fine and nourishing for all the different species of crops, having had continued and unusual warmth, with moderate showers. The good effects are evident on every field, there being at present the most promising appearance of a more full and abundant supply of food, both for man and beast, than has been many seasons bygone. Wheat is comparatively the bulkiest of the other grains to present view. Potatoes and turnips are generally excellent; harvest, however, will not be much earlier than an average, as there will be very little cut these three weeks to come, even with the best weather. The hay, which is a light crop, has been well secured (although a tedious process, from the quiet weather,) and as we have seen a full crop damaged with rains, perhaps there will be as much food in this crop as in a more full one when injured. It is selling from the rick, from 10d. to 1s. per stone.

The grain markets have been fully supplied.—The cattle markets continue to sell at what is generally considered good prices, and the butcher markets continue to be supplied with good meat in a plentiful manner.

Field operations having been occasionally suspended by frequent hea-

vy showers which have fallen since the middle of the month, the summer fallows, in general, are hardly in the condition that a correct system of agriculture requires at this season of the year. From the same cause, the cleaning of the turnips is also rather behind in some instances; nevertheless that crop is very promising. Most of the hay is now in the stack-yard, but the quality of a good part of it has been materially injured by the heavy rains. The weather through the month having been moist and warm, the thermometer being frequently from 62 to 74 degrees, crops of every description have shot out with great luxuriance; and although doubts have been expressed relative to the safety of the wheat, which, probably, in some instances, may be found rather defective in the ear, yet it is expected that dry and sunny weather will have the happy effect of realising an abundant crop, which the great bulk on the ground so fully promises. Pasture grass has continued to afford plenty of food for the grazing stock, and the prices of fat meat have fully remunerated the feeder. The prices of grain have fallen considerably during the month, but what they may be previous to the harvest, will in a great measure depend upon the state of the weather. Butcher markets continue to be well supplied, yet with little alteration in the prices of meat, beef and mutton being from 8d. to 9d. and veal from 7d. to 10d. per lb. Among the late improvements in the various branches of agriculture in this district, there is none more conspicuous than in the mode of feeding calves. A few years ago 4l. or 5l. was thought a good price for a good calf, now 8l. or 10l. is very common; and a few days ago, even 12l. sterling was given by a butcher for a fat calf, only ten weeks old.

Lanarkshire.—The weather has been more propitious to the growth and maturation of the crop, during the whole of the month of July, than it was in the corresponding month of any former year in the course of the present century. There has been abundance of rain to promote vegetation, and none to hurt the crop or retard any species of labour. The warmest showers have been succeeded with clear sunshine; and there has been no storm, or spet, or blast, in the least to interrupt the progress of vegetation, or injure any species of crop.

Of course, the growth has been, and still continues to be, luxuriant, and the crop has made astonishing progress during this month. The bad seed, injured by worming or hoving, and still more by the cold rains, for two weeks about the middle of May, had so seriously injured the crop in many places as not to be altogether remedied during the season; but the continued fine weather has effected changes which none could have expected.

As the weeds do not seem to have made their usual progress in such a wet May, the oats that had too few plants, either from bad seed or from being slam, have sent out many stems from the same root, which the farmers call "stooling," and those who are fond of high-sounding words term, "tillering." This leads to unequal ripenings; but, from the great strength of the stems, and numerous grains on the greatest part of them, the crop promises to be bulky and the grain abundant; and, what is highly interesting, it is in general two weeks farther advanced than last crop was at the beginning of August.

Wheat is, in general, a heavy crop. Oats on dry rich land, and especially where they were early sown, are most luxuriant. Bear seldom ever offered

to be more productive. Pease and beans that had escaped injury in May are an abundant crop. Potatoes never had a better appearance.

The few turnips that are sown here are doing well, and all sorts of pasture have been excellent; and the stock, being neither hurt by rains, droughts, nor storms, promises to turn out well; but the fruit has not failed so much since 1805.

The rye-grass hay, from having been frost-bitten after it had made some progress, and afterwards too much drenched in cold moisture, proves rather below a medium crop, but the growth of the natural grasses has in part made up the deficiency, and hay was seldom better cured. We do not know whether it may have proceeded from the state of the weather, or from what other cause, but the proportion of goose grass (*bromus seculinus*) has been greater this year in this district than usual. It no doubt adds much to the weight of the hay, and being hard and wiry, the stabler may find it as profitable as that which is more palatable and softer to eat, but the poor hackney horse is the great sufferer. If that grass were cut (as all coarse plants ought to be) while in flower, it would make tolerable hay, but when it has nearly ripened its seeds, it is great injustice to offer it to road or work horses.

Some farmers, and others who deal in grass-seeds, have of late made a distinction between what they call annual and perennial rye-grass, which they represent to be of different species; but they will find on enquiry, that these are only the same species, and that the difference in the duration of their growth proceeds from treatment Rye-grass (*solium perenne*) grows naturally in the temperate regions, and when it has to struggle for its existence with many rival plants, and is trodden and eaten by cattle, it grows perennial. So do the oats, barley, and wheat, on the coasts of the Mediterranean. But whenever any of these plants are raised almost exclusively on rich ground, sown thick, and grow luxuriant, till their seeds are well ripened, their roots, at all times weak, become arid, and their growth from the root terminates with the first crop. Rye-grass grew perennial for many years after it was sown as a crop, and nobody can tell from what place that of annual growth originally came, or point out the specific difference between it and that of perennial growth.

Ireland.—The last month has been marked with as great a variety in the state of the weather as generally occurs in so short a space of time; it has vibrated from wet to dry, from extreme heat to cold chilling southerly winds in the course of a day.

These changes, however, have not produced any unfavourable effects on the state of the crops; wheat, oats, and barley, continue to look well in almost every part of the country, and flax, which at one period had a most unpromising appearance, has recovered beyond the expectations of the farmers; it is to be hoped they will this season apply themselves seriously to the practice of saving as much seed as will at least be sufficient for their own use next year.

From the present appearance of the potatoe crop's, there is reason to expect an abundant produce of that valuable root, and as the meadows have seldom been more productive than they are this year, nor better saved, there is a pleasing prospect of abundance of good food for man and beast.

Fashions.—*Half Dress.*—Gown, of pale blue and light sarsnet, shot with white, made a walking length, and more scanty in the skirt than we have observed them for some time past. The back and front of the body are of white lace. The front is the exact shape of the bosom, and is finished, as

well as the top of the back, with small white silk ornaments, similar to those worn at the ends of tassels, but made as light as possible. Waist the same as last month. Long sleeve finished at the wrist by a letting-in lace and silk ornaments, and an epaulet sleeve of white lace, trimmed in a similar manner. A band of blue embroidered ribbon round the waist, fastened in front by a clasp of gold mixed with pearl, gives an elegant finish to this dress. Queen Elizabeth ruff, of very rich and broad lace shades the back of the neck. The dress is cut down as much as possible in front. Hair cropped behind, and dressed in light loose curls in front, very much parted on one side of the forehead. No ornament except a braid of hair. White and pink cornelian necklace and ear-rings, ivory fans, and white kid gloves and slippers.

Full Dress.—White crape frock, ornamented round the bottom with a fancy trimming of pink crape. Over this is a pink crape Spanish body, edged round the bosom, and at the bottom, with a narrow binding of silver ribbon. A very small flower is embroidered in silver on each breast. The sleeves are made with a very little fulness, and composed of three medallions of white lace set on to a band of rose-coloured crape. A scarf to correspond, richly embroidered at the ends. Pink silk slippers and white kid gloves. Hair turned up *a-la-Greque* behind, and a part of the hind hair disposed in loose ringlets, which fall partly in the neck. A wreath of roses is fancifully disposed on the head. Necklace, earings, and bracelets of pearl. White kid gloves and slippers.

Morning Walking Dress.—A cambrick or jaconet muslin round robe, with long sleeves and falling collar, trimmed with a plaiting of net, or edged with lace, finished at the feet with a border of needle-work. A cossack mantle of Pomona green shot sarsnet, lined throughout with white silk, and bordered with a double row of Chinese binding, the ends finished with rich correspondent tassels, and a cape formed of double and deep vandyke lace. A provincial poke bonnet of yellow quilted satin; ribbon to correspond with the mantle, puffed across the crown, and tied under the chin; a small cluster of flowers placed on the left side, similar to those on the small lace cap which is seen beneath. Parasol and shoes the colour of the mantle, and gloves a pale tan colour.

Evening Costume.—A round robe of pale jonquil or canary-coloured crape, worn over a white satin slip; short sleeves, composed of the shell-scolloped lace and satin, decorated with bows on the shoulders, and formed so as to display perhaps rather too much of the bosom, back, and shoulders; a broad scolloped lace finishes the robe at the feet, above which is placed a double row of plaited ribbon, and a diamond clasp confines the waist in front. A Prussian helmet cap of canary-coloured sarsnet, frosted with silver, diadem and tassels to correspond; a full plume of curled ostrich feathers, inclining towards one side of the helmet; the hair divided in front of the forehead, and loose curls on each side, with a single stray ringlet falling on the left shoulder. A cross of diamonds, suspended from a gold chain, ornaments the throat and bosom—ear-rings and bracelets to suit. Slippers of canary-coloured satin, trimmed with silver. Gloves of French kid; fan of carved ivory.

AUGUST.

2d.—Running and Driving.—A gentleman of the name of Benson, undertook on Wednesday morning, for a wager of 50 guineas, to go on foot half an hour, and drive half an hour,

and to perform the distance of 16 miles in the hour. The ground fixed on was the Bath road, and the pedestrian did five miles and nearly a quarter in the half hour. He then mounted into a light chaise, drawn by a blood horse, and galloped eleven miles in the half hour, and won the match easily.

WICK.—The herring fishery, on the south coast of Caithness, has commenced this season with uncommon success, and, as the preparations for it surpass what has been known at any former period, there is every prospect of a most abundant fishing. It is computed that, between Dunbeath and Staxigo, not fewer than 800 boats are employed, and that, in the course of three nights of last week, they caught upwards of 20,000 barrels of herrings. The number of fishermen engaged may be taken at an average of five men to each boat, and the hands of either sex employed on shore, in the operations of gutting, curing, and coopering, cannot be computed at less than three to each boat, so that 6400 persons must be occupied at the different fishing stations in the above district of coast, comprehending a distance of 22 miles only. Wick and Pulteneytown, being the principal stations, present, at this time, a scene of bustle and activity truly interesting, even to such as have no immediate concern in those important pursuits.

4th.—DREADFUL ACCIDENT IN SWITZERLAND.—By the overflowing of the river Birse at Dornach, canton of Solente, upwards of one hundred and fifty persons perished, in July last.—The following relation of this melancholy event is taken from the *Aschaffenberg Gazette* :—

" On the 13th of July, the river Birse, swelled by the rains, overflowed its channel, and undermined the foundation of a house, the proprietor of which called for assistance. The alarm-bell was rung, and a number of persons ran to assist the inhabitants in saving their effects.—While employed in this humane office, the house and adjoining wall fell, and buried twelve persons in the ruins.

" Near the house and the bridge over the river was situated an ancient tower, which served as a prison, and in which were detained three men, who perceiving the waters gushing out from the ground beneath their feet, entreated loudly to be released from their perilous state. The gaoler, who had been long deaf to their prayers, persuaded that this tower, which had stood so many ages, would resist yet the violence of the waters, resolved at last to go to them, and assure them that their fears were groundless; but found it no easy task to pacify them; and he was still engaged in conversation, when the tower, with a tremendous crash, fell upon the bridge, and he was killed along with one of the prisoners.—The calamity did not end here.

" The alarm-bell had attracted to the bridge a great number of persons of both sexes; the ruins of the tower fell upon the bridge, broke it in the centre, and all those upon it were precipitated into the torrent, aud many were drowned. About sixty persons from Basle, fifty from Darnach, and ten from its environs, are still missing.—It is known that they were upon the bridge at the time of the catastrophe, and it is believed that they have perished."

6th.—An accident of a most distressing nature occurred on Friday last, in the neighbourhood of Fort Augustus. Mr John Macdonald of Inverness, accompanied the Glengarry Local Militia, of which he was an officer, to their depot at Invergarry. He travelled in a gig, with another officer of that corps. On their return to Inverness, the horse took fright, and on being curbed, the rein broke, and he set off at full speed. In this perilous situation, Mr Macdonald's companion sprung forward on the horse's back, to recover the bridle, but his efforts to restrain him were unavailing, until he overtook some riders who were going on before at a considerable distance, when Mr Macdonald, who had fallen

or leaped out of the gig, was missed. Conceiving that he had escaped unhurt, his fellow traveller returned in search of him, but to his unspeakable grief found him lifeless on the road.—Mr Macdonald was in the prime of life, and has left a widow and four children to lament his loss.

"Windsor Castle, August 7.

"His majesty's state has varied in the course of the last month; but, upon the whole, has not been uncomfortable; and is at present very composed.

(Signed) "H. Halford.
"M. Baillie.
"W. Heberden.
"R. Willis."

9th.–Mr Pitt's Monument.–This elegant piece of sculpture, allowed to be a master-piece, by Westmacott, in Westminster Abbey, was opened yesterday. It is placed in a most eligible situation, over the west entrance, at the extremity of the aisle. The congregation returning from the choir have a full view of the figure of this great orator. The statue is of white marble, representing him in his robes, as chancellor of the exchequer, his right arm extended as when declaiming in the House of Commons. On the right sits the figure of History, with a book, recording his worth, attentively looking, with expressive countenance, to the subject of her pen. On the left is the figure of Anarchy, chained—the sword of Discord, a part of which (the hilt) is only to be seen; and on the base, in front of the principal figure, is this inscription:—

This Monument
Is erected by Parliament
to
WILLIAM PITT,
Son of William, Earl of Chatham,
In testimony of gratitude, for the eminent public services,
And of regret for the irreparable loss of that
Great and distinguished Minister.

Concluding with these words—

He died on the 23d of January, 1806, in the 47th year of his age.

10th.—Martin Hogan, a private of the York Rangers, was committed for trial at the next admiralty sessions, foe the murder of Lieut. Johnstone, of the 15th regiment. The following are the circumstances attending the perpetration of the deed:—Hogan, with other soldiers belonging to different regiments, were on their passage to the West Indies, in the merchant ship Gunstan, as were also other officers. As is customary, these officers, though belonging to other corps, were commanding the detachments on board. One afternoon, in serving out the grog, Hogan either had, or thought he had, a short allowance given to him; he remonstrated, and for his unruly manner of doing so was put into confinement, by having a handcuff put on him, and a sentry placed over him. A short time afterwards, the sentry wanting a drink of water, left him with his musket and ammunition. Hogan immediately seized the musket, and loaded it, and went below to the officers cabin, hailing them, and desired to have his grog. He also wished them to promise, on their words of honour, as gentlemen, that he should be released, and nothing more be thought of his conduct. For a short time the officers paused, but recollecting the conduct of the man was mutinous, and would have a bad effect on the minds of the other troops on board, Lieutenant Johnstone told him to be orderly and to lay down his weapon. On his refusing to do so, Lieut. J. advancing from the cabin, with his sword drawn, threatening to cut him down; when, as Lieut. Johnstone was ascending the ladder, Hogan fired, and shot him dead. The murderer was immediately secured, and is now sent home for trial. In his confession, he has denied that any per-

son was in the least aware of his intenton. Sentence—*Death.*

11th.—Lincoln Assizes commenced on Monday before Sir Alexander Thomson and Sir Simon Le Blanc, when Azubah Fountain, and George Turner Rowell, were tried, for the wilful murder of Robert Fountain, husband of the said Azubah Fountain.

Mr Weightman, constable at Waltham, deposed, that in consequence of hearing of the sudden death of Fountain, he went to his house to obtain information, taking with him Mr Foreman, a surgeon, and two other gentlemen.—His wife said she did not know where he had been the day before, but he came home so drunk, that he fell repeatedly before he reached the door. When she asked him where he had been, he said he had had a fine *spree ;* but he believed he had done for himself, as he felt a pain in his breast. He called much for ale, which Rowell got for him, and they sat down to drink together, though they had been quarrelling on the day preceding. Mr Dickenson, the coroner, produced a deposition of Rowell, agreeing in many points with Mrs Fountain's assertions to the preceding witness, with this variation, that she, and not he, gave the deceased a great quantity of elderberry wine.—Finding, however, that considerable suspicion attached to him, he, in a second deposition, made some hours afterwards, confessed that he had been sent by Mrs Fountain to Grimsby to purchase ten ounces of laudanum, which, he believed, she administered to her husband in the elderberry wine. He also the next day went to Grimsby for more, and described the manner in which it was agreed upon between himself and the female prisoner to act, to avoid suspicion of any evil intent, of which, however, he professed himself unconscious. Mrs Fountain advised him to say, that he had broken the bottle and spilt the liquid before he got home.—During these examinations of Rowell, Mrs Fountain expressed great anxiety to know, and on being told, that she was in danger of her life from his confession, she went to the place where the jury were, declaring that she would tell the truth. Her deposition was then taken, and in it she said, that Rowell had been their lodger about fourteen weeks, and in the third week he had advised her to give him a dose of laudanum to get him out of the way : he said he could find ways of getting rid of him, but poisoning was the best and surest way. She confessed her guilt, and said she deserved to suffer for it. It was proved that Rowell was present when she thus accused him, in bitter complaints, of being the cause of her ruin, and that he sneered at her assertions. She added, that Rowell laughed when he heard her husband snoring, saying, " He must have another dose," and in the afternoon went to Grimsby for more laudanum.

Mr Bennet, druggist of Grimsby, proved that Rowell bought eight ounces of laudanum of him, and alleged that he had broken the bottle by accident, to account for his wanting the second four. Messrs Bell and Foreman opened the body, and found a quantity of laudanum, part of which was produced in court.—The jury found both the prisoners guilty. - Death.

A singular and melancholy catastrophe occurred on the Point, Portsmouth. A young lad, named Barker, with another about his own age, was employed in hoisting into a loft a bundle of swords ; Barker stood below ; the swords were hauled up, and his companion not being strong enough to take them in at the door, let them fall, and one of the swords (impelled by the weight of the bundle) entered a little in front of the shoulder-bone, penetrated the lungs, and struck into his heart. The blood gushed from

the wound as from a fountain; he spoke but twice, merely calling for his sister, and expired in three minutes.

12.—The Prince Regent's Birth Day.—This being his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's birth-day, the same was observed with every demonstration of joy, similar to that of the king's birth-day, throughout the metropolis, except the holding of a court, which the season of the year will not admit of. The morning was ushered in with a general ringing of bells, the flags and standards were displayed from the church steeples, public buildings, ships, &c. The King's, the Queen's, and the Tilt-Yard Guards belonging to the Coldstream regiment, commanded by the Duke of Cambridge, mounted guard in white gaiters; and at one o'clock the Park and Tower guns were fired.

In the course of the day Monsieur, and a number of nobility and persons of distinction called at Carlton House, and left their names.

This morning at two o'clock a destructive fire happened at the house of Mrs Morgan, fishmonger, near Vauxhall turnpike. It appears that the family had been ironing, and the fire, which was made on the hearth, there being no stove, caught the wood-work, and the premises were soon in flames. Mrs Morgan had only time to make her escape by the roof of the house to the Royal Oak tavern. Another female on the first floor escaped, with a child in her arms, by getting on the leads. The fire extended with great rapidity to the cheesemonger's adjoining, which also is quite cousumed. Vauxhall chapel, which stood at the back of both, was also included in the conflagration.

This morning about three o'clock, the neighbourhood of Grosvenor-square was thrown into the utmost alarm by the large cabinet manufactory of Messrs. Gillows, George-street, Oxford-street, having caught fire; and so sudden and rapid was the progress of the flames, that in less than an hour the whole was laid in ashes. The fire, for some time, threatened the whole of the west side of George-street, but was prevented from spreading by prompt and active exertions. The carman of the Westminster engine was killed in Swallow-street, by the engine driving over him when at full speed. This was one of the greatest fires the metropolis has witnessed since the burning of Drury-lane theatre.

13th.—An inquest was taken yesterday at the Swan-with-two-necks, Finchley, on the body of Joseph Lemon, a youth seventeen years of age, who was shot by Thomas Moon, a private in the 9th light dragoons, whilst harrowing in a field, on Wednesday evening. It appeared in evidence, that a serjeant and four privates were escorting a deserter from the Savoy to Northampton; and on their arrival near the eight-mile stone from London, Moon and one of his comrades had occasion to stop a little, whilst the party went on. Moon, who was fresh with liquor, seemed to be taking a level into a field, and he discharged his carbine, when the ball went through the body of the deceased. The party went on, but Mr Collins, the master of the boy, overtook them at Whetstone, and secured Moon, whose piece was unloaded. He was taken before N. Conant, Esq. at Finchley, and committed. The jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against Moon.—This infernal villain was acquitted on his subsequent trial, because *malice prepense* could not be proved against him!

16th.—At the Wiltshire assizes, an action was brought by a Mr Gooden, against the proprietors of a mail-coach, to recover damages for a serious injury sustained by the plaintiff from its being overturned. It appeared in evidence, that the plaintiff was an outside passenger, that the coach was overturned immediately on quitting the

yard of the Red Lion inn, Salisbury, and that a compound fracture of the plaintiff's leg was the consequence of the accident. It seemed established that there was no gross misconduct, inattention, or want of skill on the part of the coachman, to call for vindictive damages.—Mr Justice Gibbs left it to the jury to determine whether the defendants were liable on account of the apparent heedlessness of the coachman in not leading the horses out of the yard; and it was agreed that if the jury found the defendants liable, the verdict should pass for all such expenses as the plaintiff had reasonably incurred, which were to be ascertained by a reference. The jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, and the referree has since assessed the damages at 600l.

John Britain was tried at the Warwick assizes for the murder of his wife in April last. On the trial of this unhappy man, the principal evidence against him was his own son, who, on the sight of his father, was scarcely able to sustain the shock. His countenance betrayed his horror at the painful part he was called on to act; nor were his feelings confined to himself: judges, counsel, jury, and spectators, were alike affected at the scene. After some time had been allowed the witness to recover himself, the judge (Sir S. Le Blanc) told him that the task was indeed a painful one; but that it was a duty he owed to his God, his country, and the memory of his deceased mother, to relate to the court such circumstances of the murder of his deceased parent as were within the compass of his knowledge, recollecting that his father had broken the chain that binds society together. After repeated encouragement from the counsel, he proceeded in his testimony, with but little interruption, and in the course of it stated the following facts:—

The witness was sleeping, on the morning of the 5th of April, in the same room with his father, mother, and a younger brother; about six o'clock, on being suddenly disturbed by a noise which proceeded from that part of the room where his parents slept, he rose and went to the spot, and there found his father standing in a threatening attitude over the bed in which his mother lay. On examining the bed, he found his mother weltering in her blood, which flowed from a wound she had received from a bar of iron which his father held in his hand. The prisoner was again in the act of raising his hand to strike the deceased, when witness rushed up to him, and wrested the bar from his grasp, exclaiming at the same time, "O, my dear father, have mercy!" and in his endeavours to obtain the murderous weapon, received a violent blow on one of his arms. On his father becoming cooler, witness went again to his mother, and saw that she was much bruised about the head and face, her blood flowing very fast; her speech was gone, and she appeared to be in extreme agony. He wiped the blood from her face with some water, and his father in a short time came to the bed and assisted him. Witness left the room to call for the assistance of some neighbours, and then proceeded in search of medical aid. The witness further stated, that he had often been disturbed in his rest during the last six or seven months previous to the murder, by his father's singular behaviour: as for instance, by his getting out of bed at night, going down stairs, and misplacing the furniture, and by his use of strange expressions. He was convinced that his father laboured, at times, under mental derangement, but nothing had occurred of that description within a month previous to the murder.

Some other evidence, in corroboration of the facts above stated, was gone through, when the prisoner was called

upon for his defence. He accordingly uttered a long and unconnected address, partaking more of a soliloquy than of any thing else. He seemed to rely on his insanity at the time the fatal deed was committed, and on the act being involuntary and unpremeditated.

The judge, in summing up, stated to the jury, that they had to confine themselves to the question, whether the prisoner was sane at the time of committing the deed, the fact of the deceased having met her death at his hands being indisputable.

The jury in ten minutes returned their verdict—Guilty.

On Friday last he was executed in front of the county gaol, Warwick, in presence of a large concourse of spectators. He declared he had no personal animosity against his wife when he went to bed on the evening preceding the murder; but that on a sudden impulse, (the old Nicholson, &c. &c. story) and without any provocation, he jumped out of bed, and perpetrated the horrid deed, with a bar of iron about 21 inches long. After his condemnation he manifested an appearance of calmness and serenity. He has left three children to bewail his shocking end, and the lamentable fate of their mother.

18th.—On Sunday last a party of five young persons, consisting of the son of Mr Hales, pin-maker, in the Borough, the son and two daughters of Mr Bates, saddler, in the Borough, and the nephew of Mr Hales, went down to Gravesend in a small boat. On their return home, when opposite Erith, the sail of the boat being up, a sudden squall upset the vessel, and four of the party perished, namely, the son of Mr Hales, and the son and two daughters of Mr Bates: the fifth was preserved, when almost exhausted, by a barge, which bore down to the spot on seeing the accident.

At the Truro assizes, in an action brought by Mr Williams, a London merchant, against the proprietors of the mail-coach, between Exeter and Falmouth, for having had his leg fractured, and some of his ribs broken, in consequence of the overturning of the coach on Polson-bridge, owing to the negligence of the coachman, a special jury gave a verdict of 251l. damages.

20th.—The following affecting occurrence took place at Rooney's Island, near Donegall, on Sunday:—A young man, named Scott, while bathing, imprudently ventured beyond his depth, although a bad swimmer. His brother, who was a spectator of his danger from shore, went in to his assistance, and the tide advancing rapidly, they were both struggling with the waves, when their sister, a fine girl of 18 years of age, madly imagined she might effect their deliverance, and rushing in, they were all three lost, in sight of their aged and agonized parent on shore.

Wonderful Preservation.—Some days ago several men were supposed to be lost in a mine by the falling in of a large quantity of earth. The following letter announces their almost miraculous preservation:—

"*Wolverhampton, August* 17.

"The miners, &c. continued their exertions to relieve the sufferers with increased activity, and yesterday (Monday) morning at four o'clock, having nearly driven through to the stall in which they were, one of them was heard to call out, "Work more to the left," and, astonishing to relate, by one o'clock at noon, eight of the men and the boy were found alive! John Keeling, whose body has not yet been found, was the only one missing; and it is supposed the sand, &c. fell upon and instantly buried him. When the circumstance became generally known that the men were living, many hundreds of persons assembled from the country in the vicinity of the work, and at half-past four in the afternoon, the first man was brought up by the shaft of the pit, supported in the skip by Mr S. Fereday and another person; and when three of the others were brought up, they were conveyed in a coach, ac-

companied by two medical men, to their respective homes; the others were also afterwards brought out and conveyed home in a similar manner, except Hill, who was carried home in a chair; and thus, after a dreadful confinement of nearly seven days, in contemplation of which the mind shrinks with horror, without light, without the smallest morsel of food—shut up in the bowels of the earth with only the droppings of water which fell from the roofings of the cavity in which they were confined, and which they caught in an iron pot, accidentally left in the pit, were these nine human beings providentially preserved from a premature grave.—Too much praise cannot be given to the neighbouring medical and other gentlemen, who promptly assisted on this occasion.—They are all likely to do well."

Extract of a letter from Bodmin, dated August 17 :—

"An awful visitation, in the case of a sudden death, occurred this day in the church of this town. On the arrival of the judges, Sir V. Gibbs and Mr Baron Graham, to hear divine service, the clergyman, the Rev. Dr Pomeroy, was not in his place. The captain of the javelin-men was therefore dispatched for him, and he arrived after the judges had been about twelve minutes waiting for him. The chaplain of the sheriff helped him on with his gown; he went into the desk, and opened the book, but he had scarcely turned over two or three leaves, when he fell down and suddenly expired.—He was about sixty-four years of age.

NORTHAMPTON ASSIZES.—The trial of Huffey White, Richard Kendall, and Mary Howes, alias Taylor, for the robbery of the Leeds mail, occupied the court upwards of fourteen hours and a half, nearly forty witnesses being examined, whose connected chain of evidence afforded the most indisputable proof of the guilt of the two men. In the first instance the arrival of the mail at Kettering, on Monday the 26th of October last, at the usual hour, with the different bags all safe, which were forwarded from thence with the Kettering and other bye-bags, was satisfactorily proved; as likewise the whole being safe at Burton-Latimer, three miles from Kettering, when the guard, after travelling about three quarters of a mile from Burton, quitted his seat, and went over the roof of the coach and rode on the box with the coachman till they approached near to Higham Ferrers, when he resumed his seat behind the coach. Having arrived at Higham, the guard, on going to unlock the mail-box, discovered that the lock had been broken off, and on opening the lid, that the bags had been taken away. At the different post-towns the rest of the way to London, the guard gave information of the robbery; and on making the circumstance known at the general post-office, the postmasters-general immediately dispatched several Bow-street officers to endeavour to ascertain how and by whom the robbery had been committed. On Lavender's arrival in the country, he learned that Kendall, a known suspicious character, lived at Wellingborough, in quest of whom he immediately went, and caused him to be apprehended, when on enquiry, it appeared that Kendall, with another man, had travelled in a chaise-cart from Keyston toll-gate, Hants, through Thrapston to Wellingborough, in the afternoon previously to the robbery, and that they would arrive at the point where the road from Thrapston to Wellingborough crosses the London road, near the obelisk, in the parish of Finedon, before the mail-coach would pass, and near to which place it was supposed the robbery was committed, from the circumstance of four small bye-bags being found on the road unopened. On further investigation respecting Kendall's companion, there appeared very strong reasons to suspect that White was the party, as it was ascertained that he had occasionally been residing at Keyston-gate;

but was known by the name of Wallis. In consequence of these circumstances, rewards were immediately offered for his apprehension, which was at length effected. From the evidence adduced it was clearly proved, that White was the companion of Kendall, and that they had been seen together several times; notwithstanding Kendall, in his examination before the magistrates, denied having any knowledge of the person who rode with him in his chaise-cart on the day of the robbery, and stated, it was a person he accidentally met with and took up on the road. It further appeared in evidence, that about half an hour after the mail passed the obelisk at Finedon, two men were observed in a cart or gig travelling towards Wellingborough, and that one of them said to the other, "It's a complete job, d—n you, drive on;" and that shortly afterwards one man in a cart or gig went through the turnpike gate between Finedon and Wellingborough, who, before he arrived at the gate, was heard speaking to another person, who passed the gate on foot. The turnpike-gate-keeper stated, that no other cart or gig had gone through the gate that night. It was then proved that White and Kendall were seen together at Wellingborough the next morning (Tuesday the 27th), from whence the former took post-chaise at Rythorne, which is near Keyston-gate, then kept by Mary Howes, who went by the name of Taylor; but at a short distance before he arrived there, he ordered the post-boy to set him down in the road, and he walked towards the gate. It appeared, that after his arrival at the toll-gate, Mary Howes requested a person who was going through the gate to order a chaise and pair from the George inn at Thrapston, to be sent to the gate to go to Huntingdon. The chaise arrived in a short time, and in which White and Howes immediately set off for Huntingdon, which they reached about eight o'clock on Tuesday evening, and then walked together to Godmanchester. There they endeavoured to hire a horse and gig to convey them to Kisby's hut, a public-house about three miles and a quarter from Caxton, in Cambridgeshire. Not being able to procure a gig, they went on the outside of the Edinburgh mail to the hut, where they stopped a short time, and were conveyed from thence to Caxton by the landlord, in his taxed cart. From Caxton they travelled the direct road to London in post-chaises; arrived in Bread-street, Cheapside, about eight o'clock on Wednesday morning, and were set down in the street. It appeared, that in a short time after, White, accompanied by a woman, went to the Bull's-head tavern in Bread-street, where the latter stopped till Thursday evening, and the former till the Saturday following. During White's stay at the tavern, and previously to the woman's departure, one Samuel Richardson, a noted character, and who has been connected with the desperate gang of public depredators lately apprehended, swore that White had shown to him a considerable number of notes and bills, which he told him had been taken from the Leeds mail, and particularly a bill of exchange for 200l. which became due on the following day, (Friday the 9th,) and offered to sell them to Richardson; but the purchase of which he declined, saying that they would not suit him. The above 200l. bill was identified as having been stolen from the mail the night it was robbed. After the production of a variety of other testimony, all agreeing in the most satisfactory manner to substantiate the guilt of White and Kendall, the jury, on receiving from the learned judge (Baron Thompson) a charge distinguished for its impartiality, perspi-

cuity, and humanity, found the prisoners White and Kendall guilty, and acquitted Howes, under direction of the judge upon a point of law. Immediately after, the judge passed the awful sentence of death upon the two culprits, who were left for execution.

Execution.—These unfortunate men were executed at Northampton, pursuant to their sentence. A report had reached town that Huffey attempted to make his escape the night preceding his execution, and that he had so far effected his purpose as to disencumber himself of his irons, and to have made way through two very strong doors, but was detected at the outside gate, and conveyed back to his cell and re-ironed. About half-past nine o'clock the procession approached the place of execution. Kendall appeared deeply impressed with a sense of the awful sentence he was about to undergo, but uniformly persisted in his innocence, and said that he fell a victim in consequence of unfortunately being in company with his fellow sufferer on the night the robbery was committed. He declared at the gallows, that he was a murdered man; he appealed to the populace in a speech of some length, in which he endeavoured to convince them of his perfect innocence. White's general deportment was such as convinced the surrounding multitude that he died without the fear of death; hardihood never forsook him; and he more than once expressed his disapprobation of the chaplain not performing his duty. He declared that Kendall was innocent. They were launched into eternity amidst the greatest crowd of spectators that ever was seen on any occasion in that part. Huffey White was one of the greatest depredators on the town for many years past. He was attached to gangs of robbers, consisting of housebreakers, (among whom he was an expert workman, having first embarked in this system of robbery,) pick-pockets, mail-robbers, &c. He was a man whose face did not by any means betray his profession, and was remarkable for his silence and easy manner. He was considered a very temperate man, and is said never to have injured the person of any one in his depredatory career, but on the contrary refused to be concerned with any accomplices who indulged in assaults. White is said to have disregarded the scaffold, and it seems he listened but little to the exhortations of the clergyman, who, on asking him if he could administer any sort of comfort to him, was answered, "Only by getting some other man to be hanged for me."

Maidstone.—*Trial and Execution of Nicholson, the Assassin of Mr and Mrs Bonar.*—The doors of the court-house were opened at a quarter before eight o'clock this morning, and in a few minutes it was crowded. Exactly at eight o'clock Mr Justice Heath was on the bench, and Nicholson was immediately brought to the bar. His looks were sad and gloomy, but upon the whole his appearance was composed. He was indicted for a petty treason. The indictment differed from a common indictment for murder, by an averment, stating, that Nicholson was servant to Mr Bonar, and that he traitorously as well as feloniously murdered his master. He pleaded *Not guilty*, in consequence, he said, of the persuasions of several persons.

Susannah Curnick, examined by Mr Gurney.—She was a servant of the late Mr Bonar. The prisoner was also a servant, and had been a month or five weeks. He was a footman, and wore his master's livery. Saw her master and mistress at 10 o'clock on Sunday night, the 31st of May. Prisoner slept in servants' hall. No other male servant slept there. At half past six, on Monday morning, went to the anti-room of

her master's chamber. Found the door of the anti-room locked on the outside. Never saw it locked before. Went into the breakfast-room adjoining. Saw foot-marks leading from her master's bed-room, and the rush-light, which usually was burning in the anti-room, was gone; then went down stairs. Saw prisoner, about seven o'clock, in the passage near the housekeeper's-room. He was dressed all but his coat; he was clean, and looked round at her; nothing particular in his manner; at half-past seven, called up Mrs Clark; they went together to the anti-room; knelt down and saw the foot-steps were bloody; went down and saw Penelope Folds, who went into the room; she afterwards herself went in, and saw her master on the floor, covered with a counterpane; there was blood all about the room; did not see the prisoner in the room. This was about half-past seven. Prisoner said he would go for a surgeon; saw the prisoner bring some sheets, very bloody, from her master's room, into the servants' hall, and wrap them up (she believes) in a sheet from his bed; after the discovery he was the first man who went into the room; he came down and said his master was dead, and his mistress still breathing; told them to go up; she found a japan candlestick which belonged to the house, but not to her master's room; it was usually kept in the pantry near the servants' hall.

Mary Clark was the maid of Mrs Bonar; saw her master and mistress at ten o'clock on Sunday; went to bed at two, and rose at half-past seven; the housemaid told her there were foot-marks in the anti-room; went with her and saw the marks; went to the door of the bed-room, but does not know whether she went in; called the laundry-maid; they hesitated which should go in; the laundry-maid opened the shutters, and screamed out; went down and saw the servants in the hall; does not know whether prisoner was one; lost her recollection; on recovery saw the prisoner with bloody sheets in the servants' hall; he told her to go up stairs; she went and saw her master lying on the floor, covered with a blanket; he appeared dead.

T. Foy, a constable of Marlborough-street office, deposed to finding a pair of bloody shoes belonging to the prisoner, which corresponded with the bloody footsteps in Mr Bonar's room.

Lavender, the officer, produced the bloody sheets, and the poker with which the murders were effected. He saw the prisoner on the Tuesday following the murders, about four o'clock, at Chislehurst; between eleven and twelve saw the prisoner with his throat cut; the wound was sewed up by a surgeon, in the house; from the day after, for several days, he had the care of him; on the 8th of June the wound broke out afresh; the prisoner sent for Mr Bonar; no promise or threat was used to induce him to confess; what he said was reduced to writing by Mr A. Cooper; it was then read to the prisoner, who signed it in the presence of Mr Ilott, Mr Bonar, and himself, and was signed by them; Mr Wells then came; the paper was read again; the prisoner went over his name with a dry pen; and Mr Wells the magistrate then signed the paper. The prisoner appeared disturbed, but his intellects not at all deranged.

The confession was here read—

Declaration of Nicholson.

I, Philip Nicholson, to clear the innocence of others, and tell the truth of myself, I committed the murder.

Question by Mr B.—Had you accomplices? No, sir, I would tell you if I had.

I do not mean accomplices in the room, but others? No, sir, I did not know it myself five minutes before.

Explain how it happened.—I was sleeping upon the form, and waked about three o'clock; I put the sheet around me, and took the poker from the hall-grate, and a

lighted candle in my hand from the hall.—I entered the room, I looked about when I entered, and gave my mistress two blows; she never moved. I left her, and went round to master, and gave him two or three blows; and he said, "Come to bed, my love," and then he sprung from the bed and seized hold of me. I hit him in the struggle about the arms and legs; we struggled 15 minutes or better, he was very near getting the better of me; I got him down by force, and left him groaning. I went down to wash my hands in the sink of the butler's pantry, and then opened the house-door and drawing-room windows.

What motive had you? I had no bad intention; I did not know what provoked me to do it, more than you do.

You were heard to complain of going so much behind the carriage? Yes; but I never thought of doing it for that.

Did you ever feel resentment for going so much behind the carriage? No, sir, I never thought much about it.

Had you thought or talked of this murder when you were drinking with the groom the night before in the hall? No; I never thought of it myself, or had any idea of it myself.

How long was it after you waked that you went up stairs? I jumped up; I was half undressed when sleeping upon the form; I undressed, and put the sheet about me.

Why did you put the sheet about you? That they might not know me.

When did you drop the sheet? In the struggle. I had it on when I gave the first blow.

By Mr A. C.—Did Dale, the butler, know any thing about it? No, sir.

Did any of the maid-servants know any thing about it? Not a word.

Why did you go to Dale in London? Nothing particular.

Was it your intention to take away any thing? No, sir.

What was your intention? Nothing particular, but when I went into the room, I saw my master and mistress asleep, and I gave her two blows.

Were you drunk when you went to bed? No, sir, I had drank nothing but beer. I had not had a drop of spirits all day?

Had you at any former time thought of this murder? No, sir, I never thought of such a thing in my life.

What did you do with your bloody things? My shirt, neckcloth, and stockings, I put opposite the hall door, in the shrubbery, under some leaves, near the little gate. The breeches I kept on all day. When I waked from the form, I only took off my waistcoat.

What did you wipe your hands with? With the sponge in the sink, which I left there.

What did you do with your shoes? Did you put them into the wood-closet? I might, but I do not remember.

What did you do with the rush-light? I threw it into the closet.

Why did you take the rush-light? It was dark in the house.

Why did you think it was three o'clock? By the break of day.

Why did you open the shutters of your room? To show me light.

Was it to see your clothes? No; I had seen them by the rush-light in coming down stairs. Did you go to sleep after committing this act? I went to bed, but could not sleep. I was awake when King entered the room.

In the presence of Almighty God, thinking I am on my death-bed, I hereby declare this to be my voluntary confession, to prevent innocent people being accused of this circumstance.

(Signed) Philip Nicholson.

Acknowledged as the signature of Philip Nicholson before me,

(Signed) John Wells.

June 8, 1813.

Lavender, after the confession, searched, and found the clothes nearly in the place described (the shirt was much torn and bloody, and also the stockings;) they were produced.

Thomas Ilott, surgeon, was then called: on the 31st of May he went to Chislehurst. Went into Mr Bonar's room; saw his skull fractured, the teeth loosened and jaw broken; saw a poker, which he had no doubt was the instrument of his death.

The prisoner being called upon for his defence, merely asked, whether Mr Ilott had any doubt of the truth of the confession?

Mr Ilott—Certainly not.

The prisoner then called Mr F. Ty-

rell as a witness to his characte, who said he was the son of the city remembrancer. The prisoner had lived three years with his father, and his conduct during that time was humane and gentle. He appeared to be a man of kind disposition.

Cross-examined by Mr Gurney—Said the prisoner was turned away from his father's service for frequent drunkenness. He had frequently seen him drunk, but not outrageous, it was not considered safe to retain him.

Mr Justice Heath then summed up the evidence; he said he never knew a case more clearly made out; even of circumstances there was so well-connected a series as must carry conviction, independently of the confession.

The jury immediately returned a verdict *Guilty—Death.*

Immediately after the sentence, the prisoner put in a paper, and desired it to be read. The judge said this was irregular, but looked at the paper, and told the jury, that it contained a confession of his crime, which was imputed to excessive drinking.

The prisoner, during his trial and the sentence, appeared more sorry and ashamed than agitated.

The paper which he put in, and desired to be read after his sentence, was as follows:—

"I acknowledge, with the deepest contrition, the justice of the sentence unto death which has been just passed upon me. My crimes are, indeed, most heavy; I feel their weight, but I do not despair—nay, I humbly hope for mercy, through the infinite mercy of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who bled and died for me.

"In order to have a well-grounded hope in him, my all-merciful Redeemer, I know that it is my bounden duty not only to grieve from my heart for my dire offences, but also to do my utmost to make satisfaction for them. Yet, alas! what satisfaction can I make to the afflicted family of my master and mistress, whom, without any provocation, I so barbarously murdered? I can make none beyond the declaration of my guilt, and horror of soul that I could perpetrate deeds so shocking to human nature, and so agonizing to the feelings of that worthy family. I implore their forgiveness for God's sake; and, fully sensible of their great goodness, I do hope, that for his sake they will forgive me.

"I freely give up my life as a just forfeit to my country, whose laws I have most scandalously outraged. Departing from this tribunal, I shall soon appear before another tribunal, where an eternal sentence will be passed upon me. With this dread sentence full in my view, I most solemnly declare, and desire this declaration to be taken as my dying words, that I alone was the base and cruel murderer of my master and mistress; that I had no accomplice; that no one knew or could possibly suspect that I intended to perpetrate those barbarities; that I myself had no intention of committing those horrid deeds, save for a short time, so short as scarcely to be computed, before I actually committed them; that booty was not the motive of my fatal cruelties—I am sure the idea of plunder never presented itself to my mind. I can attribute those unnatural murders to no other cause than, at the time of their commission, a temporary fury from excessive drinking; and, before that time, to the habitual forgetfulness, for many years, of the great God and his judgments, and the habitual yielding to the worst passions of corrupted nature; so that the evil I was tempted to do, that I did: The Lord in his mercy has, nevertheless, spared until now my life—that life which I, in an agony of horror and despair, once most wickedly attempted to destroy; he has most graciously allowed me time for repentance; an humble and contrite heart must be his gift; that gift I hope he has granted to my most ardent supplications. In that hope, and bearing in mind his promise, that an humble and contrite heart he will not despise, I, freely offering up to him my sufferings, and my life itself, look forward, through his most precious blood, to the pardon of all my crimes, my manifold and most enormous crimes, and most humbly trust that the same mercy which he shewed to the penitent thief who was crucified with him, he will shew to me. Thus meekly confiding in thee, O Jesus! into thy hands I commend my spirit. Amen. PHILIP NICHOLSON.

"This 20th August, 1813."

The signature was in Nicholson's hand-writing, the rest appeared written by another hand. *

The prisoner was led from the bar, and conveyed back to the prison amidst crowds of spectators. He walked with steadiness, and seemed to have been relieved by the course which he had pursued from a load of oppression. On entering the gaol, he had a little water given him, which, with some bread, will form his only food for the remainder of his existence. He is to be executed on Pennington Heath, which is about half a mile out of the town of Maidstone.

Nicholson is, it appears, a native of Chester, and the son of a private soldier. In stature he is short, being about five feet six, his complexion rather approaches to dark, his eyes are full and expressive, his countenance round, his hair dark-brown, and, upon the whole, his physiognomy does not possess any of those characteristic traits which would denote the midnight assassin; so far from this, his appearance, in general, was interesting and engaging, and he would certainly be the last man we should consider likely to perpetrate acts so foul as those imputed to him.

Mr Bonar remained in court the whole of the trial, and seemed much affected.

Execution.—Nicholson was removed, on the 17th instant, from the house of correction in Coldbath-fields; and at the instance of Mr Bonar, Governor Adkins sent down to Maidstone his principal assistant (Joseph Becket), who had very particular instructions respecting the care and treatment of the prisoner. After sentence of death was passed, Nicholson was placed in the condemned cell, which in the Maidstone gaol is under ground, and the approach to it is dark and dreary, down many steps. In this cell Mr Bonar had an interview with the prisoner, at half past five on Monday morning. On his approaching the cell, he found Nicholson on his knees at prayer.

At about twelve o'clock the preparations for the removal of Nicholson being nearly completed, Mr Bonar, accompanied by his brother, and Mr Bramston, the catholic clergyman, had another interview with the wretched man; soon after which, the hurdle or sledge, which was in the shape of a shallow box about six feet by three, was drawn up to the gaol door: at each end was a seat just capable of holding two persons. Nicholson, double ironed, was first placed in it, with his back to the horses; he was also pinioned with ropes, and round his shoulders was coiled the fatal cord: by his side sat the executioner; opposite to the prisoner the Rev. Mr Bramston took his seat, and by his side sat one of the Maidstone jailors with a loaded blunderbuss. Every thing being in readiness, the procession advanced at a very slow pace towards Pennenden-Heath, which is distant from Maidstone nearly a mile and a half, on which was erected a temporary new drop, which had a platform raised about seven feet from the ground, and was large enough to contain about a dozen persons. A little before two o'clock the hurdle arrived, and stopped immediately under the gallows, when Mr Bramston and Nicholson knelt down on it, and remained for some time in prayer. Some time previous to this, Mr Bonar arrived on the ground in a post-chaise, and took his stand within twelve yards of the fatal spot, with the front windows full on the gallows, and which he kept open during the whole time; but each of the side windows was closed by

* Certainly composed by another hand also: Nicholson is here made to attribute his crime to drunkenness; he had drank nothing but beer that day, *vide* p. 99: besides, is there any congruity betwixt the language of this composition and the stupidity of Nicholson's replies during his examination?

blinds. So anxious was Mr Bonar to get from the unfortunate wretch his very dying words, as to whether he had either motive or accomplice, that a person was deputed to ascend the platform after the cord was round the prisoner's neck, and to ask him the following questions:

Q. "Now that you have not many moments to live, is all that you have stated, namely, that you had no motive that you can tell of, nor had you any accomplice, true?"—A. "All that I have stated is true."

"Then there is no creature living on earth who had any thing to do with the murder but yourself?"—"No, no one."

"You had no accomplices?"—"None."

"Had you any antipathy to either your master or mistress before you committed the horrid murder?"–Clasping his hands together as well as his heavy irons would permit him, "As God is in heaven it was a momentary thought, as I have repeatedly declared before."

The above were the last words of this unhappy man: in a few minutes after they were uttered, the bottom of the platform was let fall, and Nicholson was launched into eternity.

He died unusually hard, being greatly convulsed. After hanging an hour, the body was put into a post-chaise, which drove off in the direction for Bromley.

Near four years since the house of Mr Smith, of Bridgewater-square, was broken open, and a quantity of precious stones, consisting of rubies, chrysolites, cornelians, and emeralds, worth upwards of 1500*l.* were taken away. The strictest search was made at the time for the depredators, but without success; and none of the property was recovered. A few days since, however, some men having been employed to clear out a ditch in the Kent-road, near where the house of Mr Rolles formerly stood, some children who were looking on, perceiving what they supposed to be pieces of glass amongst the mud thrown out, picked them up. They were found, however, to be pieces of chrysolite; this discovery produced a closer search, when a number of rubies, emeralds, corals, cornelians, and other valuable stones, were found amongst the mud. Goff and Harris, officers belonging to Union-Hall, having heard of the circumstance, repaired to the spot, and on seeing the stones, it occurred to them that they were part of Mr Smith's property; and on some of them being shewn to that gentleman, he was able to swear to their being a part of what he had lost. It is probable the thieves, after they had taken them, being fearful of offering them for sale, lest they should lead to detection, threw them into the ditch, where they have remained ever since. Some of the stones thus fortunately recovered are of considerable value.

21st.—At the West India Docks, this evening, about six o'clock, the whole surface of five connected roofs, of a large rum warehouse, each 35 feet in the span, and 140 in length, covering a space of 175 feet by 140, fell with a tremendous crash. The erection was of wrought iron, supported at the extremity of each span by stanchions of the same metal, and covered with very large slates. Most fortunately the accident occurred two hours after the men had left work, or the consequence might have been dreadful, as nearly 100 men had been employed in the warehouse in the course of the day. Whether this accident may be attributed to the ponderous weight of the slates, the great width of the span without intermediate supports, or to the insecurity of the metal, is uncertain; but it is to be hoped an investigation will determine whether the recently introduced plan of substituting iron for

timber in the construction of roofs affords equal security.

This morning, at about 25 minutes past six o'clock, two of the powder-mills at Hounslow blew up with tremendous explosions. The reports which took place, with only a momentary interval between them, were heard for upwards of 20 miles round. At Kensington and Brompton the shocks resembled those of an earthquake, and the concussion of the air was so extraordinary as to ring small bells hung in gardens in these parts. Three persons, it is said, fell victims to this explosion; the cause of which, as must generally be the case in such events, cannot be ascertained.

22d.—During divine service, at the dissenting chapel, at Cockey Moor, near Manchester, at which a very great number of persons were assembled to hear a funeral sermon, the gallery being overloaded, gave way. Fortunately it was observed in time to give a cautionary alarm; and the persons, who were in imminent danger, had coolnesenough to profit by the advice offered them, viz. to come down quietly and separately, avoiding all hurry and bustle. By these means they all got down without the least accident.

24th.—An inquest has been held on the body of the Rev. Nicholas Westcombe, who was found murdered on Saturday se'ennight, in a path-way, at a short distance from Winchester, leading to the Andover road. It appeared, the deceased had been seen walking upon the road, at nine o'clock in the morning: it was between nine and ten when his body was discovered. A belief prevailed that he had died by apoplexy; but, on a more minute inspection of the body, a violent bruise was discovered under the jaw, which, it was imagined, produced instant death; added to which, a soldier of the 102d regiment, of the name of Robert Glasse, on the death being mentioned in his hearing, immediately said he had seen the deceased lying near the spot described in the morning, but that he did not attempt to disturb him, because he thought he was asleep. The improbability of the story (it being early in the morning) with some other circumstances, led to his being apprehended. Upon his examination, he was called upon to account for how he disposed of his time during the morning named; which account he gave; but it was afterwards falsified in many points, and the suspicions of his being the perpetrator of the crime partook of rather a circumstantial form. The jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against him, and he was committed to the county gaol. He is a man of more knowledge and abilities than are usually found in persons of his station, but of reputed bad character. Mr Westcombe was rector of Barton Stacy, near Winchester, vicar of Collingbourne, and one of the minor canons of Winchester cathedral. A watch and some money, which he was known to have about him, were taken from his person.

YANKEE WIT.—The Chesapeake's guns had all names, and the following is a list of 25 of them, on one side:—

Main Deck.

All eighteeen-pounders.

1. Brother Jonathan
2. True Blue
3. Yankee Protection
4. Putnam
5. Raging Eagle
6. Viper
7. General Warren
8. Mad Anthony
9. America
10. Washington
11. Liberty for ever
12. Dreadnought
13. Defiance
14. Liberty or Death

Forecastle.

1. United Tars, eighteen pounder
2. Jumping Billy, } 32 do.
3. Rattler, }

Quarter Deck.

1. Bull Dog
2. Spitfire
3. Nancy Dawson
4. Revenge
5. Bunker's Hill
6. Pocohantas
7. Towser
8. Wilful Murder.

The names were engraved on small squares of copperplates.

25th.—Egham Races.—Smolensko, the famous racer, drew a company unprecedented in the course. The visitors were so eager to get a sight of him, that crowds waited at the stable door; and after the race, Sir C. Bunbury desired that the company might be gratified with a full view of him. He was placed in a circle opposite the royal stand for the Queen and Princesses to view, and afterwards in other parts of the course.

The first was the Magna Charta stakes of 50 guineas each, h. ft. for three years old colts, to carry 8st. 5lb. The winner of the Derby or Oaks to carry 5lb. extra.

Sir C. Bunbury's bl. c. Smolensko, 1
Duke of York's c. by Giles, out of Venture's dam, - - - - - 2

Smolensko was said to have been short of work, and he was the favourite at seven to four only. Goodison, who rode him, kept up the appearance of a race with Chiffney, who rode the Duke's colt, till opposite the royal stand, within 20 yards of the winning-post, when he slacked his reins, and Smolensko got a length in a moment, and won in a canter.

26th.—Perth.—On Tuesday morning, a number of French prisoners escaped from the depot, through a mine which they had dug to the bottom of the outer wall, where it faces the South Inch. It is supposed that they had begun to issue from the aperture of this passage about two in the morning; but as they preserved a profound silence, and as the night was very dark, they were not observed by the sentries, till one of them, attempting to leap the stream which skirts the north side of the depot, fell into the water with considerable noise. The nearest sentry then fired towards the point from which the sound proceeded, and the adjoining sentries having discharged their muskets in the same direction, an alarm was given, and parties of the guards went in pursuit of the fugitives. Ten of them were soon apprehended, but we understand that thirteen are still missing. They seem to have had no plan for proceeding, after finding themselves at liberty.

Dublin.—Lord Whitworth entered Dublin Castle this morning, at a quarter past five o'clock. His lordship alighted at the Grand Portal, where he was received by several personages of distinction, and by them conducted to the state apartments. At half past five his excellency entered the council-chamber, preceded by the different officers of state, and followed by his suite, the Duchess of Dorset, many noblemen, and numerous friends and visitors. On his lordship's entrance, his investiture to the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland immediately took place, when the Duke of Richmond resigned into the hands of his successor the high and important trust. The oaths were administered by the lord-chief justice of the King's Bench.

27th.—On Wednesday last, as Mrs Goodburn, publican, at the Windy Nook, on Gateshead Fell, and her daughter, were riding towards home, they met the mail-coach from Newcastle, at the north end of Chester-le-street, when the horse in a fright turned suddenly round, and both mother and daughter fell to the ground. The place being very narrow, and the coach going at a quick rate down the hill, could not be stopped, the wheels unfortunately went over the mother's head, and over the daughter's legs.

The former died in a few minutes; the daughter is in a fair way of recovery.

28th.—Last week, a shocking accident happened at Davis's Dykes, parish of Cambusnethan. James Calder's herd, who had been sent out to frighten crows from a field of corn, having in vain endeavoured to fire a gun, with which he had been imprudently intrusted, was mocked by a girl who accompanied him with a child on her back. The boy then presented his piece at the girl; unfortunately in this instance it went off, and killed the child on the spot.—The boy has absconded.

30th.—On Saturday se'nnight, about five o'clock, as Samuel Panton, driver of a post-chaise belonging to the White Hart Inn, Boston, was returning from Wainfleet with his chaise, in which was a passenger, he being intoxicated, and the person in the chaise in a similar state, and, it is supposed, asleep, the vehicle was overturned in a ditch, at some little distance from the high road, and where Panton, being thrown from his seat, lost his life. The passenger at length awakened to a sense of his situation, succeeded in getting out of the chaise, and called the neighbours to his assistance, when they found the driver dead, and with great difficulty preserved the horses from the same fate.

A shocking occurrence took place at Lobb's Pond, about four miles from Egham, on Thursday evening. A Mr Knowley, accompanied by a friend of the name of Smith, was returning home at eleven o'clock at night, after having dined with a friend, from Egham races, when the horse started out of the road and overturned the chaise into a kind of gravel-pit, 16 feet below the surface of the road. The vehicle fell on Mr Knowley, and although he was not killed on the spot, he cannot possibly recover.—The horse was killed, but Mr Smith escaped unhurt.

Gloucester.—*Execution of Luke Heath.*—Soon after 12 o'clock this criminal was executed at the drop, in front of the county gaol, for the murder of Sarah Harris, at Cow Honeyborne, four years ago. An amazing concourse of people attended to witness the execution. After attending divine service in the chapel, and spending a considerable time in prayer, he was brought out upon the scaffold, and seemed so completely overcome with terror, that it was with great difficulty he could support himself. He appeared to shrink with horror from the awful scene before him; and, after remaining a very few minutes in this situation, he uttered a short ejaculation, and was launched into eternity. After hanging the usual time, his body was cut down, and sent to the infirmary for dissection. The apparent indifference and want of feeling manifested by this unhappy criminal, both during the progress of his trial, and at the dreadful moment of sentence being passed, indicated great depravity: on his return to the prison, however, after condemnation, he evinced due contrition, and made an ample confession of his guilt. The manner of his perpetrating the horrible crime he stated as follows:—He had for some time kept company with the deceased, and, under repeated promises of marriage, had robbed her of her virtue; she was six months advanced in pregnancy. On the night of the murder he went about twelve o'clock to her father's house, and called her out of bed. She came down stairs dressed, but without shoes. Some words passing between them, he struck her so violently with a whitethorn stick on the head and temple, that she fell to the ground, crying, "Lord, have mercy upon us!" He then (to use his own words) "with the assistance of the devil!" picked her up, and carried her on his shoulder to the pool of water into which he threw

the body, believing there was then but little life left! He denied making use of the dung-fork spoken of by some of the witnesses, in the perpetration of his diabolical purpose. It would appear, however, that his conscience, notwithstanding his apparent apathy, had been but ill at rest for the first year after the commission of the murder; for, during that period, he had been several times in London, had visited Birmingham, traversed Kent and Northamptonshire, been four months on board a brig belonging to Newcastle, had gone into some parts of Scotland and Ireland, and still was bereft of the power of settling anywhere. After this period, he appears to have acquired a little more tranquillity of mind, having remained about twelve months as a servant in husbandry, at Hawley, in Shropshire; from thence he went to Kidderminster, where he served two years as hostler at the Wharf Inn, and was taken into custody whilst in that situation.

31st.—An inquisition was taken at Woodbridge barracks, on view of the body of Thomas M'Mahon, a private in the 69th regiment of foot, who died on Sunday se'ennight in consequence of a wound he received in his left groin from a bayonet, on the night preceding, inflicted by one Griffin, a fellow soldier, who is not more than 19 years of age, and volunteered into the 69th from the Tipperary militia; the deceased was 21 years of age. It appeared in evidence, that on the Saturday night, about eleven o'clock, Griffin and the deceased were in a hut together, with several other soldiers. They drank beer, appeared friendly, and afterwards shook hands with each other; but Griffin abusing a brother of the deceased, they fought, when the deceased gained the advantage of Griffin. The soldiers, Griffin, and the deceased, soon after left the hut; M'Mahon and Griffin were both quite sober. In the course of half an hour Griffin again saw the deceased near his own room: some words then passed between them, and Griffin ran away, but immediately returned with a drawn bayonet; the deceased directly said, "He will murder me," and ran across the barrack square; Griffin pursued him, and the cry of murder was heard immediately afterwards. Griffin then came up to some soldiers who were standing together, when one of them seeing something glitter in his hand, which (as the night was very dark) he took for a knife, said to Griffin, "Sure you have not killed him;" Griffin replied, "Yes, and will kill you too, if you give me any prate." Griffin left them, and went to bed. He was presently taken by the guard, and upon being accused of the murder, he denied having been out that night; but was asked by the officer for his bayonet, which he (Griffin) pointed out to him, and which was bloody at the point for about two inches upwards, and the blood on it was quite fresh. The deceased was attended by the surgeons till four o'clock on Sunday afternoon, when he died: but on that morning, about eleven o'clock (then having his perfect senses) he signed a deposition in their presence, declaring Griffin to have stabbed him. The jury, after an investigation of eight hours, during which time ten witnesses were examined, returned a verdict of wilful murder against Maurice Griffin, who was committed to Ipswich gaol to take his trial at the ensuing assizes. Executed.

AGRICULTURAL REPORTS.

England.—The weather has been very favourable for the harvest through nearly the whole of last month, particularly so at the commencement of it. The wheat crop is abundant, heavy in hand, and of the finest quality. The greatest part of it, in the southern counties, is well harvested,

and appears to be more than an average crop.

Barley is of fine quality, large in the straw, with a heavy ear, will be a full average crop, except in a few spots towards the furrows, upon those tenacious soils that have not been properly drained. In such situations, in consequence of the wet spring, the barley is short both in straw and corn.

Oats are the largest crop we have grown for many years; they are all of fine quality, and well harvested; their produce will be above an average crop. Beans are forwarder than it was expected they would be, from the very growing season; they are well coared where they have had a proper interval betwixt the rows, and have escaped the ravages of the fly.

Pease are large, of fine quality, with abundance of balm, and the early kinds well harvested. This season is called by the farmer a bean year. The whole of the leguminous tribe are of finer quality, and more abundant than for several years past.

The hay has been well harvested, but on burning soils the lattermath is short.

Turnips, cabbage, cole, and all the brassica species, are a full and strong crop. The fly has been less prevalent this year than for many seasons past.

Hops have much improved in blossom, and the estimated duties are increasing.

Potatoes are a greater breadth of crop than in any former year; their yield is abundant, and the quality fine.

SCOTLAND.—This month has been most propitious to the important operations of the agriculturist. Scarcely a shower has fallen, and the cutting and securing of the crop has proceeded rapidly towards the end of it. As the weather has been favourable, so the crop promises to be uncommonly productive, and, excepting on the late high grounds, the harvest is well advanced.

Wheat and barley will, in general, be an excellent crop, and of very fine quality, and much of these grains is already safe in the stack-yard.

Pease and beans are well filled, and, though not so bulky as usual, will yield more grain than for several years past.

Oats and potatoes only on light soils are complained of as deficient, which might have been looked for from so long a continuation of dry weather.

In the course of three weeks more, under the same favourable circumstances, the whole crop will be secured from damage, by which, and the quantity of old grain on hand, the labouring classes will be amply supplied with food, after suffering severely these two years with much patience.

Prices of grain are reduced, and very little doing in the markets. Fine new wheat has been sold at 40s. per boll.

The excellent weather, which has matured the crop, has not been advantageous to the grazier. The summer pastures are scorched, and aftermath scanty, of consequence cattle markets are dull, and prices rather on the decline for ordinary stock.

The fallows are all prepared for the seed, but, before the wheat sowing is begun, a little rain will be necessary to promote vegetation, which, in the present state of the ground, could not take place. This is yet of far inferior importance to securing the crop.

FASHIONS.—*The Vittoria, or Wellington Costume, for Evening*—Is composed of Venetian crape, placed over a white satin under-dress; a triple row of shell-scalloped lace ornaments the feet, above which is seen a border of variegated laurel. A boddice and Circassian top sleeve of pomona green satin; the bosom interspersed with shell scalloped lace, and correspondently ornamented. Shoulders, back, and bosom, much exposed. Hair in dishe-

velled curls, with variegated laurel band in front, and a transparent Brussels veil thrown across the back of the head, and decsending irregularly over the back and shoulders. A chain and cross of pale amber, ear-rings and bracelets of pearl. Slippers of white satin; gloves of French kid; and fan of carved ivory.

Morning or Domestic Costume.—A petticoat of cambric muslin; with a cossack coat or three-quartered pelisse of lemon-coloured sarsnet, with vandyke Spanish border of a deeper shade. Full sleeves, confined at the wrist with a broad elastic gold bracelet; confined also at the bottom of the waist with a ribbon *en suite*. Foundling cap of lace, with full double border in front, confined under the chin with a ribbon the colour of the pelisse, and tied on one side; a bunch of variegated carnations placed on the left side. Gloves and Roman slippers of lemon-coloured kid.

SEPTEMBER.

1st.—Norwich Assizes.—At these assizes, James Maxey was indicted for poisoning his wife, and her daughter by a former husband, at Hainford, in Norfolk.—The following is a summary of the principal evidence.

Mr Chander, surgeon of St Faith's, deposed, that on the 19th of May he went to the house of James Maxey, and found his wife Dinah Maxey, and Elizabeth Smith, her daughter, labouring under the most excruciating pain, with violent retchings, and in spite of medicine their symptoms increased. On the following morning they were worse, and no doubt remained that poison had been administered. In the afternoon Elizabeth Smith died; and in the course of the evening, Dinah Maxey said to him, " I am certainly poisoned, and dying."—He asked her whether she thought she knew who had poisoned her; she said " I will accuse nobody," and at about twelve o'clock at night she died. The two bodies were opened the next day, and there could not be a doubt that poison had been taken. The judge asked what poison, and he replied, that he could not say more than that it was a mineral poison.

Elizabeth Furnis said, that, she went in that morning when Dinah Maxey and her daughter were going to breakfast; they both observed how white the water looked.

Martha Yemms, sister of Dinah Maxey, deposed, that hearing they were ill, she went to see them; that she asked her sister how she did, and she answered, " Oh! my dear sister, I am poisoned, I am dying; I am poisoned with something that was put into the tea-kettle; it appeared white." —Witness asked her who she thought put it in. She answered, " I think my husband; it cannot be any body else, because nobody has been here but ourselves."—Witness was there when Elizabeth Smith died. J. Maxey, the husband, came up just after, making a sad lamentation to think the girl was dead. The wife said, " James, what do you make that piece of work for, when you know you did it to us both." —He made no reply.

William Hemmington, of Hainford, farrier and blacksmith, deposed, that J. Maxey had worked for him fifteen years as a blacksmith, and during that time had behaved himself very well. He was asked if he used any corrosive sublimate in his business; he said he did, and had some time before purchased an ounce of it, part of which he had used, and the remainder was put into a cupboard in the workshop.—About a week after the death of these persons, he examined the cupboard, as he had heard of a cat and a dog being poison-

ed near the shop, and he missed about a quarter of an ounce. He was asked, did the prisoner know of the properties of this medicine? His answer was, "No, I believe he did not know the properties of it."—Being asked whether the prisoner made use of any improper language while at work? he answered, once, after shoeing a vicious donkey, he heard the prisoner say, "I'll be d—d if I don't do something to be hanged for, before I shoe donkies."

Sarah Steward went on the Wednesday morning to see the deceased, and made some peppermint water for them, taking the water out of the kettle that the tea was made with; she tasted it before she gave it them, and, as she said, her stomach in a few minutes after was fit to fly open, and she could not get about for nearly a month afterwards.

The prisoner being called on for his defence, only said, that he never had poison in his possession in his life, and that he knew nothing at all about how they came to be poisoned

The Lord Chief Baron, in his charge to the jury, began by explaining to them the nature of circumstantial evidence, which, when complete in all its parts, he certainly considered to be a most satisfactory species of testimony: but all the links of the chain must be entire, and its connection with the accused party obvious and necessary, before a verdict of guilt could be justly and conscientiously grounded upon it. He defined satisfactory circumstantial evidence against any criminal to be such a series of circumstances as could not possibly have occurred, or be accounted for, otherwise than by the guilt of the prisoner. How far the evidence which had been adduced conformed with this definition, it was the province of the jury to decide. His lordship then said, that Dinah Maxey unquestionably did receive an impression that it was her husband who had administered the poison: at first, however, she seems to have had no suspicion, although she afterwards said she could not think it was any one else, because there had been no person there.

That from the Wednesday morning until the Monday following, although such a report was afloat that Maxey had poisoned them, yet he never attempted to get away; moreover, he had slept in the house with the dead bodies, which was much in favour of the prisoner; for, if he had been guilty of the crime, his conscience, probably, would not have allowed him to have done so. His lordship proceeded to remark, that the law very properly received the testimony of a dying person, or rather of a person who conceived herself to be on the point of death: but a broad distinction was to be observed between testimony as to a fact, and testimony as to an opinion; the latter was entitled to very little attention, although too much credit could scarcely be paid to the former. On the whole, his lordship considered that there was not evidence sufficient to prove Maxey's guilt. The jury pronounced a verdict of *Acquittal*.

His Majesty's Health.—The king continues as well as described in the last monthly report.

The report circulated, that his majesty is so much recovered as to have had communication made to him of political events, is totally void of foundation. The king has never, at any period of his protracted disorder, been more under its influence than he is at this time; and not a single individual has spoken to his majesty but his physicians and the attendants.

The queen occasionally sees the king, in the presence of the doctors. Either Sir Henry Halford or Dr Baillie are in constant attendance on the king. Dr Heberden has taken a house at Datchett, in consequence of his constant attendance on his majesty,

where his family reside, particularly when he is in waiting.—He retires there every evening after dining with the other medical gentlemen.

The following list of the gradations through which Marquis Wellington has passed in the army, will probably be gratifying to our military readers:—

Ensign, 73d foot, - - -	March	7, 1787
Lieutenant, 76th foot, - -	Dec.	25, 1787
Lieutenant, 41st foot, - -	Jan.	23, 1788
Lieutenant, 12th dragoons,	June	25, 1789
Captain, 58th foot, - -	June	30, 1791
Captain, 18th dragoons, -	Oct.	31, 1792
Major, 33d foot, - - -	April	30, 1793
Lieut.-Col. 33d foot, - -	Sept.	30, 1793
Brevet-Colonel, - - -	May	3, 1796
Major-General, - - -	April	29, 1802
Knight of the Bath, - -	1804	
Colonel, 33d foot, - - -	Jan.	30, 1806
Lieutenant-General, - -	April	25, 1808
Commander of the forces, in Spain and Portugal,	June	14, 1808
Created Viscount, - - -	1809	
Created Conde de Vimiera,	1811	
Local rank of General in Spain and Portugal, - -	July	31, 1811
Created Marquis Wellington, - - - - - - -	1812	
Col. royal horse-guards, -	Jan.	1, 1813
Elected Knight of the Garter, - - - - - - -	1813	
Field-Marshal, - - - -	June	21, 1813

In the nisi prius court at Carlisle, a cause of great interest occupied the court a considerable time, respecting the right of tithing common land. We understand the verdict now settles the law to be, that no common ground is titheable until seven years after being broken up, provided it require any manuring, or more than one ploughing the first year in order to raise a sufficient crop to pay the expences.

HYDROPHOBIA.—There is none among the multitude of our diseases so fearful as that which arises from the bite of a mad dog; none that seems to put the sufferer to such overpowering torture, and none of which there have been so few instances of cure. The following cases, which have both lately reached Europe from the same country, deserve to excite considerable attention among the faculty. The results are unfortunately different; the proper enquiry will therefore be, how far the circumstances of the latter differ from those of the former, and how far its result may justify us in doubting that a specific has been found for at least certain states of this most afflicting malady.

The first case is given by Dr Shoolbred, of Calcutta. On Tuesday, May 5, 1812, Ameir, an Indian of between 25 and 30 years of age, was brought to him under hydrophobia.

The following is an admirable statement of the diagnostics of the disease:—

His body, arms, and throat, were affected with constant and uncontrolable spasmodic startings. The muscles of his face were thrown into quick convulsive action at each inspiration, drawing back the angles of the mouth, and, at the same instant, depressing the lower jaw, so as to communicate the most hideous expression to the countenance. His eyes appeared starting from their sockets, and suffused with blood; sometimes fixed in a wild and terrific stare; at others, rolling about, as if they followed some ideal object of terror from which he apprehended immediate danger. A viscid saliva flowed from his mouth, which was always open, except when the lips were momentarily brought together for the purpose of forcibly expelling the offensive secretion that adhered to them, and which he effected with that peculiar kind of noise which has been often compared to the barking of a dog. His temples and throat were bedewed with clammy moisture. His respiration was exceedingly hurried, and might more properly be called panting than breathing; or it still more nearly resembled that short and interrupted kind of sobbing that takes place when a person gradually descends into the cold bath. He was exceedingly impatient of restraint, and whenever he could get a hand disengaged, he immediately struck the pit of his stomach with it, pointing out that part as the seat of some indescribable uneasiness.

From the constant agitation of his whole frame, and the startings of his arms, it was impossible to count his pulse with exactness; it was, however, very unequal, both in strength and frequency; at times scarcely perceptible, and then rising again under the finger; sometimes moderately slow and regular for a few pulsations, and immediately after so quick as not to be counted; but conveying, upon the whole, an idea of the greatly oppressed and impeded circulation.

His skin was not hot, and though his head was in incessant motion, accompanied with such savage expression and contortion of countenance as might easily have alarmed those unaccustomed to such appearances; he made no attempt to bite, which is far from being a frequent symptom of the disease; and when it does occur, must be considered merely as an act of impatience at being held; and no more than the peculiar noise, above-noticed, as indicating any thing of the canine nature imparted by the bite—an opinion which has been sometimes fancifully, but absurdly, entertained.

When questioned concerning his own feelings, or the cause of his illness, he was incapable of making any reply; being prevented, it is probable, either by the hurried state of his respiration, or by his mind being too deeply absorbed in the contemplation of horrible ideas, to admit of his attending to the queries addressed to him.

Dr Shoolbred, entertaining no doubt of the nature of his disease, which was further proved by his falling into agonies at the sight of water, tried copious bleeding, on the authority of a case given by Mr Tyman, of the 22d dragoons.—After the loss of sixteen or twenty ounces of blood from the right arm, the spasms diminished; after the loss of two pints, he twice drank water with delight, about four ounces each time. During the bleeding he desired to be fanned, though air in motion is generally as much an object of terror as water to those patients. At the end of the bleeding, the pulse was 104. He then slept for an hour; awoke, and drank sherbet; slept again, and about five awoke, with appearances that indicated a partial relapse. Blood was drawn from the left arm until he fainted; the spasms gradually decaying during the bleeding, and the patient drinking four ounces of water. The pulse at the beginning of the second bleeding was 96, and at the end it was 88. No affection remained but headache.

Dr Shoolbred here considers that hydrophobia had been completely overcome; but not thinking himself entitled to leave a man's life at hazard for the sake of an experiment, ordered the patient four grains of calomel and one grain of opium to be given every three hours. The first pill was given at a quarter before six, and immediately rejected; a second at five minutes before six, which remained. The patient then slept till seven; the pills were given regularly during the night; in the course of it he had three alvine evacuations, a circumstance unheard of in hydrophobia. He passed the night calmly. On Wednesday, the second day, his pulse was at 84. No buff coat was on the blood drawn the day before; the whole quantity was 40 ounces. At half past nine he ate 30 ounces of sago. He was then able to converse, and gave the subsequent account of his seizure:—

That nineteen days ago, (including this day) when returning about four in the evening, from his own house at Russapuglah, to his master at Chowringhee, he saw a pariah dog seize a fisherman and bite him. Several people were collected at the spot; he also approached, when the same dog ran at him, and as he was retreating before him, bit him in the back part of the right leg, about six inches above the ancle, where he shows two scars at the distance of an inch and a half from each other, but without any appearance of inflammation or thickening of the integuments. The dog, after biting him, disappeared, and he does not know what became of him or of the fisherman. The wounds

bled a good deal, but not being very deep, they soon healed, without any application. He took no remedy, except on the day he was bitten, a small piece of scarlet cloth (*sooltanee baut*,) wrapt up in a piece of ripe plantain, which was recommended to him as an infallible antidote against infection from the bite of a mad dog. He never saw any one in hydrophobia; and though he had heard that persons bitten by a mad dog were liable to such a disease, the apprehension of it never dwelt on his mind or scarcely ever occurred to him after the day on which he was bitten. He continued in his usual health till the 4th instant, seventeen days after the bite, when he found himself dull, heavy, and listless, with loss of appetite, and frequent apprehension that dogs, cats, and jackalls were about to seize upon him. He also felt a pricking sensation in the part bitten. When his mother-in-law brought him his breakfast, he was afraid to eat it. He continued his business, however, of taking water from the tank to the house, till about noon of that day, after which he could not bear to look on, or to touch the water, being constantly harassed, whenever he attempted to do so, with the horrible appearance of different animals, ready to devour him. He now, for the first time, thought of the disease arising from the bite of a mad dog, was convinced that was the cause of his present distress, and fully believed he would die of it. He ate no supper, nor drank any water, that night, in consequence of the horrible phantoms that incessantly haunted his imagination. In the morning, all his horrors were increased, the spasms came on, accompanied by anxiety, oppression, and pain about the præcordia and stomach; and those about him say, that he continued to get worse in every respect, until he arrived at the hospital in the state already described. He does not himself distinctly remember any thing that happened during the whole day. He has some faint recollection of being at his own house, but how he get there—when he left it—or by what means he was brought to the hospital, he does not at all know. The first thing he can recal to his mind is drinking the sherbet, and he says he has had his senses perfectly since that time, and that all his fears then left him, and have not since returned. This, however, is not entirely correct, as he acknowledges that he does not recollect the second bleeding, which shows that the disease had then so far returned as again to disorder his mental faculties.

During the day, he complained of severe headache, which was relieved by leeches at the temples. On Thursday, the third day, he was distressed by quantities of dark-green bile, which he passed up and downwards; pulse 110.—A pint of camomile infusion brought off much bile. At eleven, he took eight grains of calomel; and at half past twelve, half a dram each of jalap and magnesia; he was much relieved. On Friday morning he was farther relieved by senna, manna, and cream of tartar. On Saturday the excessive secretion of bile had ceased, and he became clamorous for food. For some evenings after, some heat of skin and acceleration of pulse were perceptible, but they went off by cold bathing and opening medicines.

The case, which appears to contradict this fortunate and promising one, is given by Mr Bellingen, assistant-surgeon of the 1st foot, and dated Trichinopoly, February 26th, 1813. On the 23d of that month, he was called on to examine the case of a Serjeant Clarke, aged 39, a tall, robust, and resolute man. The circumstances are thus described:—

In attempting to swallow his usual dram, previously to his going out yesterday morning, he felt a peculiar indescribable reluctance to the liquid, and could not prevail upon himself to take more than one half of it. Again, in attempting to wash his face, preparatory to evening parade, the approach of the water threw him into a violent state of agitation, and he was obliged to have it removed. Although now distressed with the utmost urgent thirst, he cannot be prevailed upon to attempt swallowing any fluid; the approach, and even the mention of it, producing violent spasms of the muscles of the neck and throat, which spasms are preceded by a peculiar uneasy sensation about the *scro-*

biculus cordis, and a kind of sobbing, or inclination to sigh, attended also with severe pain in the head; his eye-balls appear turgid, and a degree of furor is depicted in his countenance; pulse about 110 in the minute, and rather small; heat natural; tongue white and moist; belly regular.

The surgeon, who was acquainted with the cases of Mr Tyman and Dr Shoolbred, immediately opened a large orifice in his arm, and took away about 40 ounces of blood. The patient complained of excessive languor during the operation, but he did not faint. The pulse was, after the bleeding, at 88. The near approach or agitation of any fluid still produced a recurrence of the spasms; but he could now bear to look upon water, if held at a distance; he shewed no reluctance at the light, or at viewing himself in a mirror; the pulse rose to upwards of 100; the turgidity of the eyeballs was diminished. The patient was now visited by some other medical men, and it was determined to try the effects of the bleeding without medicine. The blood was drawn at nine; at eleven he swallowed some water through a tube fixed to an elastic gum bottle; and expressed great delight in the sensations which it gave to his stomach, but was afraid to take any more; his pulse was at 84. During the next two hours, he had several attacks of the spasms, and one particularly violent on seeing a basin of sago which was offered to him. At two o'clock the pulse, which in the intervals of the spasms always sunk, was no more than 74; he had one alvine evacuation, and his skin was covered with a clammy sweat. At four, after seeing a recurrence of the spasms, and the horror with which he rejected liquids, bleeding was tried again; he struggled so much during the operation that the quantity could not be exactly ascertained, but it might be from 16 to 18 ounces. The pulse at one time fell so low as to be scarcely discernible near the wrist, and towards the close he vomited a quantity of ropy phlegm, mixed with frothy saliva. He continued to struggle violently for some time, then fell quiet for a few minutes, and expired about a quarter before five o'clock. The disease had actually commenced the morning before, as he then felt the first horror of liquids; but he had gone through his duties as orderly serjeant of the company during that day, and though he felt the dislike of water painful in the evening, did not think of applying for assistance till the next day. The surgeon, therefore, considers that the blood-letting had not a timely trial.

During the rapid progress of the disease, no source of infection occurred to the recollection of the patient; it was, however, immediately after his death, remembered by several of his comrades, and particularly by two of them, corporals Henry and Moore, of the same company, that a small dog (which was destroyed as mad about three weeks ago, and which had previously bit two other men of the regiment) was in the habit of licking a small sore on his inner ancle, which is hardly yet cicatrised. The animal was encouraged in this practice by the unfortunate man, under the impression of its being useful to the sore.

The appearance on dissection, about four hours after death, did not differ materially from what has been observed in former cases; the posterior part of the fauces exhibited marks of inflammation, and the papillæ at the root of the tongue were uncommonly prominent; the esophagus was laid open through its whole extent, and in several places shewed slight marks of inflammation; these marks became more conspicuous towards its termination in the cardia; the inner surface of the stomach was in several places inflamed, and in two or three small spots its inner coat abraded; nothing was contained in it but a small quantity of phlegm; the trachæa was also laid open, and in the interstices of the cartilaginous rings exhibited a slight inflammatory redness; the

heart was quite sound, as were all the abdominal viscera, with the exception of the stomach. The blood taken from his arm exhibited no signs of the inflammatory crust, and what was last drawn appeared unusually dark coloured.

On these cases the first observation that occurs is, the obvious effect of the blood-letting to diminish the symptoms in both. The admission of air—the endurance of the sight of water—the pleasure felt in swallowing it—the diminished swelling of the eye, and uneasiness of look, are all circumstances equally rare in the history of the disease, and apparently equally attributable to the copious emission of blood. But it was, perhaps, unfortunate that in the latter instance the experiment was made so nakedly. In Dr Shoolbred's statement, the calomel was tried within three hours after the opening of the vein, and its effect seems to have been produced in copious evacuations, for which the system was prepared and lowered by the loss of blood. The bleeding was only used on the first day, and it is obviously a remedy which must have speedy limits; but the returning uneasiness, the starting, the heat of skin, and the burning sensation in the region of the abdomen, all which look too like the former symptoms, not to make it probable that they belong to hydrophobia, appeared to have owed their removal to the calomel, and other evacuating medicines. The case of the serjeant was probably, also, the more unfavourable one; and a man who indulged his morning drams, and had a long standing ulcer, was more likely to suffer by this most violent of spasmodic diseases, than the abstemious and pure-blooded Indian. His disorder was almost too rapid for medicine; it killed him in a day. It would, we may hope, be more accessible in our milder climate, and the process eminently deserves the trial. At all events, the last melancholy comfort remains to us from the account of the Indian, that in those paroxysms which agonise the bye-standers for the agonies of the sufferer, he is probably insensible.

4th.—PARTICULARS OF MOREAU'S DEATH.—General Moreau died yesterday. He was in the act of giving some opinion on military matters, while passing with the Emperor of Russia behind a Prussian battery, to which two French batteries were answering, one in front and the other in flank, and Lord Cathcart and Sir R. Wilson were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh and almost carried his leg off, passed through his horse, and shattered his other leg in pieces. He gave a deep groan at first, but immediately after the first agony of pain was over, he spoke with the utmost tranquillity, and called for a segar. They bore him off the field on a litter made of cossacks pikes, and carried him to a cottage at a short distance, which, however, was so much exposed to the fire, that they were obliged, after binding up his wounds, to move him further off to the Emperor's quarters, where one leg was amputated, he smoking the whole time. When the surgeon informed him that he must deprive him of his other, he observed, without shewing any pain or peevishness, but in the calmest manner, that had he known that before his other was cut off, he should have preferred dying. The litter on which they had hitherto conveyed him was covered with nothing but wet straw and a cloak, drenched through with rain, which continued in torrents the whole day. They now placed more cloaks over him, and laid him more comfortably on a good litter, in which he was carried to Dippolsdeswalde; but long before his arrival there he was soaked through and through. He was brought, however, safely to Laun, where he seemed to be

going on well, till a long conference, which took place between him and three or four of the allied generals, by which he was completely exhausted. Soon after this he became extremely sick, and hourly grew worse. Through the whole of his sufferings he bore his fate with heroism and grandeur of mind not to be surpassed, and appeared to those with whom he conversed to endure but little pain, from his extreme composure and calmness. He died at six o'clock in the morning.

The following bulletin was shown at St James's Palace:—

Windsor Castle, Sept. 4.

"His Majesty has, for some months past, appeared generally tranquil and comfortable, although his disorder remains undiminished."

The venerable oak, generally known by the name of Cybren yr-Ellyl, near Marmion, in Merioneth, fell lately under the weight of age. It appears from Pennant's Tour, that it must have been old even in the days of Owen Glendower, who hid, in this tree, the body of the Lancastrian Howel Sale, near 400 years ago.

The arch of the new bridge erecting over the Dee, near Overton, at the joint expence of the counties of Denbigh and Flint, fell down a short time ago, when about two-thirds turned, and the trussed centre, which had been erected at a cost of 2000l. was literally crushed to atoms. As the fall took place in the night fortunately no lives were lost.

Bonaparte took exactly 12 years to rise to a height, from which 12 months have been sufficient to precipitate him. In 1799 he was installed first consul; in 1802, appointed consul for life; in 1804, emperor of France; and in 1812, with almost all Europe at his feet, he began that declension at Moscow, which, in 1813, was completed at Leipsic.

6th.—REAPING MACHINE.—The great desideratum in agriculture, a reaping-machine for the purpose of abridging manual labour, is now, we apprehend, on the eve of being supplied. On Friday the trial of a machine of this description, invented and constructed by Mr Smith, from Perthshire, the same ingenious gentleman who exhibited a similar machine last year, was made, in presence of the Dalkeith Farming Society, and a number of strangers, on a field of oats belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch "The general effect of the machine," it has been remarked, "as appeared in its performance of cutting down the corn as completely, and laying it as regularly, as it is usually done by a manual operation with the sickle, shewed that the inventor has caught the right principle and has succeeded perfectly in its application.—Even in its present state, the machine approaches to a degree of perfection, which will soon introduce it to use, and make it be considered as one of the most valuable discoveries, and one of the greatest public benefits, of modern times. The machine of last year was drawn by one horse; the machine exhibited on Friday was drawn by two horses, and went with great steadiness. On comparing what was done by the machine, more than half an acre, with another field in the neighbourhood, cut down with the sickle, the stubble left by the former was uniformerly shorter; and it was, I believe, admitted by all present, that the corn was laid more regularly by the operation of the machine than it is usually done with the hand." Whether the ingenious inventor shall be found entitled to a large reward offered by this Farming Society, we know not; but we are persuaded the spirit which proposed so handsome a premium will not be slow in acknowledging Mr Smith's merit and exertions by some mark of its approbation.

7th.—A sheriff's officer, under an

execution against the corporation of the borough of Sudbury, entered the town-hall, and seized and removed their property; consisting of the mayor's gown, with other paraphernalia, scales, weights, stall-stuff, between 200 and 300 buckets, fire-crooks, &c. which, it is supposed, will soon be exposed to public sale. The levy under this execution is for the amount of the taxed costs in a trial, about three years ago, between a Mr Shave and the corporation, when a verdict with costs was given in favour of the former, establishing his claim to the freedom of the borough, which they disputed.

8th.—FALL OF ST SEBASTIAN.—The fortress and city of St Sebastian surrendered to the daring attacks and resistless bravery of the troops under the command of our gallant countryman, General Sir Thomas Graham, on the 31st of last month.

The last accounts from the Marquis Wellington represent the army under his command as more healthy than he had ever known it in the field. Fifteen hundred Portuguese and 800 British soldiers within the last week had rejoined their regiments from hospitals in the rear.——His lordship concludes with these words, "indeed I may say there is no sickness in the army."

On Sunday afternoon, as a Mr Codrington and Mr J. Wyatt were on their journey to London, in a chariot and four, about three miles below Marlborough, they were met by a return chaise. A gentleman riding a young horse at the same time passing between the two carriages, his horse being unmanageable, run against the chariot, and when he fell, the wheel going over him, overturned it; Mr C. received no injury, but Mr Wyatt's head coming with great violence against the side of the carriage or handle of the door, his skull was fractured, which caused his death. An inquest was taken on the body on Monday morning, and a verdict returned by the jury—*Accidental Death.*

On Saturday last, a melancholy accident happened at Hitcham, in Suffolk. As Mr Robert Snelling, farmer, of the above place, and an intimate friend, were shooting, the gun of the latter accidentally went off, and shot Mr Snelling in the leg, which was so much shattered, that amputation was immediately required, but he died within an hour after the operation. By an inquisition taken before the coroner, on Monday last, it appeared that Mr Snelling's friend was walking behind him, having his gun under his arm with the mouth downwards, when Mr S. suddenly turning round, his leg touched the gun, which went off, and the above consequences ensued.—Verdict, *Accidental Death.*

A REMARKABLE CIRCUMSTANCE.—On Tuesday, a coroner's inquest was taken on the body of Daniel Poole, of Pill.—It appeared that the deceased was found dead on Sunday morning last, in a field on the north side of the parish of Wraxall; and that when he died, he was in the act of killing a sheep which he had just stolen. In his right hand was a bloody knife, and his clothes and body were every where soiled with gore and dirt. Near him lay his gun, discharged; and at a short distance a wounded sheep, which had evidently been shot at, and had a slight wound under the ear. Poole was perfectly lifeless, very black in the face, and altogether a horrible spectacle. In a ditch was concealed a sack, which being searched, was found to contain the carcase of another sheep, paunched, skinned, cleaned, and cut up; whilst a patch of newly-turned-up earth marked the spot where the skin and offals were buried. Verdict—*Died by the Visitation of God, in the act of Felony!*

9th.—A very melancholy event took place, at one o'clock on Monday afternoon, on the Clyde, midway between Dunoon and the Clough light-house. —As the ferry-boat between these places was conveying several passengers, and about 30 head of black cattle, across the river from Dunoon, its sails suddenly gave way, and, filling with water, it instantly went down. Of the passengers, two only were saved; and the six described as follows were drowned:—Mr J. Steele, writer, Glasgow; Mrs Duncan Ferguson, near Dunoon; Duncan Black, boatman; a servant girl of Mr Harkness, Leskindrosk; and a young man and woman, lately married, belonging to Dunoon. One of the men saved got hold of a plank, and the other supported himself by means of a cow, until taken up by the boats which went out to their assistance.—There was a heavy sea, accompanied by a squall, at the time the boat sunk.

At Cornehill, on the water of Milk, a hen and a partridge laid their eggs near to one another, in the garden of Mr Little, farmer, there.—The hen was observed to sit on the eggs of the partridge, and the partridge on those of the hen. When the young ones came out, the chickens ran off with the partridge; some two or three days after the herd boy caught two of them, which appeared as wild as partridges are naturally; but the most wonderful part of the fact is, that the young partridges continue to follow the hen with the same constancy and tameness as is natural to young chickens.

The Emperor Alexander.—Riding one day before his attendants, on the bank of the little river Wilna, and not far from the town of that name, in Lithuania, his majesty perceived several persons dragging something out of the water, which proved to be the body of a man, apparently lifeless. Having directed the boors around him to convey the body to a bank, he proceeded, with his own hands, to assist in taking the wet clothes from the apparent corpse, and to rub his temples, wrists, &c. for a considerable time, but without any visible effect. While thus occupied, his majesty was joined by the gentlemen of his suit, among whom was an English surgeon in the emperor's service, who, proposing to bleed the patient, his majesty held and rubbed his arm, rendering also every other assistance in his power. This attempt failing, they continued to employ all other means they could devise, until more than three hours were expired, when the surgeon declared it to be a hopeless case. His majesty, however, not yet satisfied, desired that the attempt to let blood might be repeated, which was accordingly done, the emperor and his noble attendants making a last effort in rubbing, &c. when they had at length the satisfaction to behold the blood make its appearance, accompanied by a slight groan. His majesty's emotions were so ardent, that in the plenitude of his joy, he exclaimed, "This is the brightest day of my life," and the tears, which instantaneously glistened in his eyes, indicated the sincerity of his exclamation.

This favourable appearance occasioned them to redouble their exertions, which were finally crowned with success. When the surgeon was looking about for something to stop the blood and tie up the arm with, the emperor took out his handkerchief, tore it in pieces, bound up the poor fellow's arm with it, and remained till he saw him quite recovered, and proper care taken of him. His majesty concluded this act of benevolence, by ordering the restored peasant a sum of money, and otherwise providing for him and his family.

Method of preserving Eggs.—

In March, put about half a pound of quick lime in a stone or earthen pot, and add a gallon of cold water. Next day, fill the pot with new eggs, tie a paper over it, and put the pot in a cool place The eggs will be as good the following Christmas as at first.

13th.—DUBLIN.—On Saturday evening, about seven o'clock, Mr Patrick Goulding and his wife were walking on the south circular road, towards Camden-street, when they were called on to stop by an armed footpad, who instantly presented a pistol to Mr Goulding's breast, and shot him dead. The footpad ran off directly; the alarm was as instantaneous, and the fellow was pursued and taken by some gentlemen who were enjoying the fineness of the evening in that neighbourhood. The man, it appears, is a deserter from the 23d dragoons, and was armed with a case of pistols belonging to that regiment; his name is Francis Tuite, and he is from Drogheda. On his examination, he said he did not intend to fire the pistol, but that it went off by accident, though his object was to rob.

14th.—The Carmarthen Journal gives the following statement, respecting a most horrible parricide.

"It is our painful task this week to record one of the most atrocious and unnatural murders that ever stained the criminal annals of this or any other country. The following particulars have been stated to us by a friend as accurate:—Richard Glover, a potter, about seventy years of age, his wife, nearly of the same age, and their son, William, aged forty, lived together in a small cottage, at Rydyblue, in Monmouthshire, near the turnpike-road leading from Merthyr-Tydfil to Abergavenny. On the morning of Friday the 3d inst. the latter, horrible to relate, started from his sleep, and, seizing a tram cart axletree, killed his aged father, by repeated blows with the same on his head: which being done, he dispatched his mother also, and afterwards repaired to the house of his sister at the distance of about a mile. On his arrival there, he proposed to liquidate a debt he owed her husband, and produced three guineas in gold, which creating both surprise and anxiety in the husband and wife, they of course questioned him as to the source from whence he had procured the same. This shortly produced a full confession of his guilt, and an acknowledgment at the same time of his having taken the cash from his mother's pocket. He was immediately secured, and on the neighbours entering the house of his murdered parents, a scene too shocking to describe presented itself to them; the old man weltering in his blood on the floor, and his wife nearly expiring on the bed. Medical assistance was immediately called in, but was of no avail. The coroner's jury having sat on the bodies, a verdict of wilful murder was found against the prisoner, who will take his trial at the next assizes for the county of Monmouth. He, like too many of our modern criminals, attributed this most sanguinary and revolting act to a sudden and irresistible impulse, produced by a dream that the devil had appeared to him, and commanded him to perpetrate the same."

Three brothers of the name of Quail, of a respectable family in the neighbourhood of Downpatrick, who had each adjoining town-parks, had great altercations about the damage done by some of their cattle on the corn-field of the eldest brother; when much anger and a violent scuffle took place. The eldest Mr Quail was opposed by the two younger brothers, and fell in the scuffle. He afterwards went homewards; but finding himself unwell, got into a house in the skirts of the town, where he lay down on a bed, and soon after died.

A coroner's inquest brought in a verdict that he died from excess of passion.

This day, Major Hare arrived at the office of Earl Bathurst with dispatches from Lord Wellington, containing an account of the capture of the town of St Sebastian by storm, on the 31st ult. and of the defeat of Soult, in a series of attacks made by him on the allied positions, in front of the Bidassoa, for the purpose of relieving it.

The Park and Tower guns were fired to announce this important intelligence; and the following bulletin sent to the Lord Mayor:—

"Downing Street, 14th Sept. 1813, 4 o'clock.

"Lord Bathurst presents his compliments to the Lord Mayor, and has the honour of acquainting him, that Major Hare has arrived with dispatches from the Marquis of Wellington, dated Lezaca, the 2d of September, announcing that the town of St Sebastian was taken by storm on the 31st ult. On the morning of that day, the enemy's army crossed the Bidassoa river, with a view of relieving the place, but were repulsed in all their attempts to force the positions of the allies, and retreated with very considerable loss, on the evening of that day. The principal attacks of the enemy were directed against the Spanish army, who repeatedly repulsed them, and conducted themselves in a manner to merit the highest encomiums of Lord Wellington.

"The British loss during the siege was about 1600 men killed, wounded, and missing; that of the allies 700.

"The British loss in the operations was about 400 killed, wounded, and missing; that of the allies 2200.

15th.—A whale of an enormous size was towed alongside of a South-Sea whaler, lying at the Mother-bank, Portsmouth, where it was cut up in the usual manner for obtaining the largest quantity of oil. This fish was observed, on the preceding Friday, following a shoal of small fish through the Needles passage, where it soon found itself on a shingle bank, with the tide ebbing; and, consequently, notwithstanding the most violent exertions to get off, remained an easy prize to several fishermen. The supposed value is 500l. A similar occurrence never happened before within the Isle of Wight.

YARMOUTH GENERAL SESSIONS.—J. Boult Hannah, aged 70, was tried for the wilful murder of Elizabeth his wife, by strangling her, on the 14th of April last. Mr W. Taylor and Mr Costerton, surgeons, deposed, that, on the 15th of April, they examined the body of Elizabeth Hannah, and that they believed her death was occasioned by strangulation by the hand, or by the application of a piece of rope round the neck.

Elizabeth Betts deposed, that she rented a room of the prisoner, directly over the one in which the prisoner and the deceased lived; that on the morning of the 15th day of April she was alarmed, about three o'clock, with a dreadful cry of murder; she went down stairs (at the bottom of which is a door that leads into the prisoner's room), and called out, "You old rogue, you are murdering your wife;" she heard Elizabeth Hannah say, "For God's sake come in, for my husband is murdering me;" but witness knowing the violence of the prisoner's temper, was afraid, and said she dare not go in, but went up stairs to dress herself with a view of procuring assistance; she went out and told a neighbour of the name of Thomson, that Hannah and his wife were quarrelling, and was going to the watch-house to procure some assistance; she, however, did not succeed, the watch being off duty; on her return, her children were crying and out of bed, which obliged her to remain with them; she called out frequently for the prisoner to come out of his room, or he would be the death of his wife; she heard

the cries of the deceased about a quarter of an hour after her return from the watch-house; she distinctly heard three heavy groans, after which all was silent, and she went to bed; she got up about six o'clock, and did not leave the door of the prisoner till it was opened by the constable.

James Story, a constable, deposed, that he broke open the door of the house in which the murder was committed, and entered the room with several neighbours, when he saw Elizabeth Hannah lying on the bed, dead, with her arms by her side, as if laid out, and the bed-clothes covered smoothly over her; the bed-clothes were removed, and he saw the deceased had apparently a bruise on the front of her neck; he saw the prisoner sitting near the bed side, smoking a pipe, and looking at the bed. He said to him, "Why, John, surely you have murdered your wife;" to which he replied, "She was always quarrelling with me;" witness said there were other means of getting rid of her than killing her. The prisoner made no reply.

The prisoner made no defence, and the Jury brought in their verdict *Guilty*. The trial lasted five hours, during which the prisoner, who was represented of a most ungovernable temper, remained entirely unmoved. He behaved likewise with the same brutal insensibility at the place of execution on Monday. On ascending the gallows, he confessed, "That he was the murderer of his wife, by strangling her with his hands, and not with a rope, as had been stated: he said they had lived a very uncomfortable life for many years past, owing to his wife giving her company to other men, which was the cause of his committing the murder." The instant before being turned off, he particularly requested to see his daughter, when he was informed it was not possible, as she was confined in Bedlam; he also desired the gaoler to look under the step of the cell, and he would there find four shillings and sixpence. He had, previously to his trial, disposed, by will, of some little property, the joint savings of himself and his wife. A signal was then given, and the unhappy man was immediately launched into eternity. The body, after hanging the usual time, was delivered to the surgeons for dissection. The gaoler, on his return, found the money, as described, in the cell.

18th.—Old Bailey Sessions.—J. Denton was indicted for the murder of C. Denton.—Isaac Puttiford deposed, that he was acquainted with the deceased; and on the 13th of June was in her room at Bow. The prisoner soon after came in. He brought something in a bottle, and set it on the table. Witness and Mrs Denton drank some gin together. While she was in the corner, near the clock, the prisoner looked stedfastly at her. He then rushed against her—she screamed, and the blood spouted out into the corner. He then saw a knife drawn from her in the prisoner's hand. She ran screaming, and witness secured the prisoner.—Deceased lived a month after.

Mary Anne Denton, daughter of the deceased, deposed, that the prisoner and her mother had been very intimate. In the morning of the 13th he was at her mother's. He came again in the evening, and offered a bottle to her mother, but she refused to take it. Her mother then gave last witness some gin, but Denton got none. Prisoner then said something to her mother, who told him to go out of the house, for he was a disgrace to his sex. Her mother went to wind up the clock, and Denton jumped up and said, "Am I a disgrace to my sex?" The deceased said, "Yes, you are, John."—He immediately ran at her

mother, and witness saw him draw the knife out of her arm. She ran out screaming. The deceased and Denton had some difference in the early part of the day, because he had struck a woman, named Wright. The deceased ordered him to leave her house, and he struck her on the arm, and went away.

Cross-examined.—The deceased was a widow, and her husband's name was John Denton also. He died at sea. She did not know that it had been settled between the deceased and the prisoner that they should live together as man and wife, that her mother might still enjoy her pension as a sailor's widow.

J. Doubleday apprehended the prisoner at his sister's, and found the knife there. It was bloody.—Witness asked why he had done the rash act; he answered, "it was love."

Mr Beal, a surgeon, said, the wound had nearly divided the arteries of the arm; it mortified, and she died in consequence. Witness was called in after another surgeon, and found the prisoner with a slight wound in his side, which he had inflicted on himself.

Ellen Starley, his sister, with whom he lived, said, he was frequently so outrageous, that she was obliged to hide the knives from him. On the morning in question, he struck the witness. Mrs Denton came in, and bade him beat her more till she (the witness) gave him money.—The deceased had frequently taken him out of witness's house to go home and sleep with her. He was so fond of the deceased, that he neglected his business after he had got in league with her. On the 26th of December she went to market; she was not twenty minutes gone, and when she returned, she found him suspended to her bed by an old apron of hers.—She cut him down.

After a few minutes consideration, the jury returned a verdict of *Guilty;* and the recorder passed sentence on him, to be hanged on Monday next, and his body to be dissected.

He remained quite unaltered during the whole time.—Executed.

T. Moon was indicted for the wilful murder of J. Larman, by shooting him with a carbine.

C. Grey was working with the deceased in a field near Finchley-common. Witness heard the report of a gun, and Larman fell. Witness saw two soldiers dressed in blue, with a gun each.—He ran to Whetstone, and in going passed the two soldiers; the prisoner was one.—When he stopped at Whetstone, the prisoner's gun appeared to have been fired off, all the rest were loaded.

Hester Scutchins saw some soldiers, with deserters, going over Finchley-common, and two more soldiers following, about a quarter of a mile behind. She saw one of these put his piece to his shoulder, and take two or three steps before he fired. He appeared to her to be taking aim at that part of the field where some boys were. When she got to the field, she found the boy Larman dead, the ball having passed through him.

J. Satchway took him into custody, and his carbine had evidently been recently fired off.

Mr Justice Dampier said, the charge of murder could not be supported, there neither being malice proved nor implied!—Guilty of *Manslaughter.*

Prague, August 16th.—The Emperor of Russia arrived here yesterday evening, at eight o'clock. On the first intimation of this monarch's approach, the Emperor of Austria went to meet him. Both monarchs met under the city gate, got out of their coaches, and embraced each other with the greatest affection, amidst the acclamations of an innumerable

concourse of people. The streets through which their majesties drove to go to the palace in the Hradeschin, were voluntarily illuminated by the inhabitants. The Emperor of Austria accompanied the Emperor Alexander into the apartments prepared for him, where their majesties remained half an hour together. Soon afterwards the Emperor of Russia paid a visit to the Emperor Francis; after which, their majesties and their Royal Highnesses the Grand Princesses supped together in the Emperor of Austria's apartment.

20th.—BANFF.—On Saturday the Right Hon. the Earl of Fife, Lord Lieutenant of this county, arrived at Duff-house, after an absence of eight years, during part of which time he has been in Spain, where he repeatedly bled, in the glorious cause of the liberty and independence of the peninsula. On his lordship's approach from Delgaty Castle, accompanied by his brother, General Duff, he was met by the magistrates, most of the principal inhabitants of Banff, and the incorporated trades in a body, as well as by all the inhabitants of Macduff, and from the surrounding hills. As soon as his lordship's carriage appeared, a salute was fired from the battery, and all the bells of Banff and Macduff rang a merry peal. His lordship was met at Duff-house by General Sir James Duff, and a party of his friends. In the evening there were illuminations, and immense bonfires flamed in every street, and upon the summit of the hill of Macduff there was one of such extraordinary size and brilliancy as completely illuminated the whole road from the bridge of Banff to Macduff. His lordship visited both towns, and was received by all ranks with the most enthusiastic joy, and to all he shewed that condescension and affability for which he is so particularly distinguished; in short, seldom has any event called forth more general joy, than the arrival of this justly popular nobleman.

22d.—A most atrocious murder was committed at Portsmouth, about four o'clock in the afternoon: the particulars are briefly as follow:—A waterman, named George Brothers, was plied by three persons to take them to Ryde, in the Isle of Wight, of which he agreed, and set sail for that purpose; but before they had started more than five minutes, a scuffle was observed in the boat, and the waterman thrown overboard; he was soon after picked up, covered with stabs and cuts, and quite dead. An alarm being given, the wherry was followed by a boat from the Centaur, and several other boats. The Lieutenant of the Centaur's boat, finding that they scarcely gained on the wherry, put two men into each of two other wherries, which were also in chase, conceiving them most likely to succeed in the pursuit, and the result proved he was perfectly correct; for, just at sunset, they ran the wherry alongside, though going at the rate of ten miles an hour, and secured the three men, but not till after a desperate resistance. They were landed amidst the execrations of an almost ungovernable populace, and examined at the Town Hall, when they acknowledged themselves to be prisoners of war, and to have escaped from Forton prison, at two o'clock in the afternoon. It appears that they had been enabled, from selling toys, to purchase entire new clothes, by which they eluded the guards at the gate. Brothers has left a wife and two children, and the shock of his untimely end occasioned her to give a premature birth to a third.

The Hants Courier communicates the following additional particulars:—"Three French prisoners, Francois Relif, Jean Marie Danze, and Daniel Du Verge, having effected their escape

from Forton depot, engaged the wherry of the above-named George Brothers to take them to Ryde: when off the Block-house, (according to their own assertions) they proposed to the boatman to take them to France, promising ample reward, and liberty to return immediately; but he, not to be corrupted by promises or reward, resisted their proposition, and in consequence they stabbed him in sixteen places, (three of which were mortal), and threw him overboard. The Frenchmen immediately directed their course to sea, and were promptly pursued by several wherries, in one of which were Lieut. Sullock and three seamen of the Centaur, at anchor at Spithead. In consequence of a heavy swell, and bad management, the Frenchmen were overtaken after a run of about 15 miles; one of the men belonging to the Centaur leaped into the wherry among the Frenchmen alone, when at the distance of several feet, armed with nothing but the stretcher, with which he knocked one of them down: they then surrendered. They were taken on board the Centaur for the night, and on being searched, a large sum of money was found about them in silver, and three knives; one of them was very bloody; and on Thursday morning they were delivered into the hands of the civil power, and landed at the Sally-port. They were taken to the borough gaol, where they were again examined. They confessed that Brothers was killed by two of them, but that the third was no further concerned than in lending his knife to the other when the waterman resisted them. More money was here taken from them, one having actually concealed in his pantaloons under his boots thirty-three 5s. 6d. pieces. It appears, that by the manufacture of lace, toys, &c. the prisoners accumulated a sufficient sum of money to procure a suit of genteel clothes each, (besides the sums taken from their persons,) dressed in which they mingled with the crowd of visitors that were walking in the depot, eluding, by their metamorphosed appearance, the vigilance of the turnkeys and military sentinels.

25th.—COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.—A successful *debut* was made at this Theatre on Thursday night.—The serious opera of "*Artaxerxes*," compressed into two acts, was performed for the purpose of bringing forward Miss Stevens, a pupil of Mr Thomas Welch, in the character of *Madane*. Her voice possesses the richest and most affecting power, and she sings and acts with graceful simplicity. Miss Stevens has a full, but elegant form, an easy and dignified deportment, and her expression has the diffidence of sensibility. In the commencement, though encouraged by the warmest welcome, she could not sufficiently exert herself fairly to display her talents, but she acquired strength as she proceeded, and in the exquisite airs, "*If o'er the cruel tyrant Love*," and "*Let not rage thy bosom firing*," she shewed the purest and most classical taste; while in "*The Soldier tired*," she displayed the powers of her execution. She was encored with an universal voice, and indeed somewhat cruelly in the last instance, where it required so much exertion; but she went through it with unabated energy, and without being flat in a single note.—We sincerely congratulate the Theatre and the public on this most splendid acquisition to their musical entertainment.

27th.—When the last packet from Gottenburgh sailed, a dreadful fire, which had consumed a part of the town, was still raging there. It broke out on Sunday se'ennight, and a great quantity of merchandize and other valuable property had been consumed.

About 200 houses, principally of wood, had been burnt down before Monday evening, when the packet left the harbour. Some warehouses, with grain, leather, and colonial produce, became a prey to the flames before the property could be saved.

28th.—Another of those dreadful calamities, the blasting of a coal-mine, occurred at the Hall pit, at Fatfield, in the parish of Chester-le-street. Upwards of thirty men and boys were killed.

29th.—Shadwell.—An investigation at the above office into a dangerous riot among the Chinese Lascars, in which three men were killed, and about seventeen wounded, terminated this day with the commitment of some of the ringleaders. The following is an abstract of the most material evidence:—

Abraham Gola, superintendant of natives of India, stated, that in a place called King David's Fort, there are about 500 Chinese in the barracks belonging to the East India company. Of these there are two sects, one called the Chenies, the other the Chin Choo. On visiting their barracks, about eight o'clock on the morning of the 13th inst. he found them in a state of hostility; one sect fighting the other with knives and implements of every description. He immediately directed the gates to be shut to prevent the offenders from escaping. He then sent for and procured the assistance of several of the police officers, on seeing whom approach, the contest in a great measure subsided. The officers immediately proceeded to disarm them of their weapons, which, by this time, they attempted to conceal. On searching their chests and hammocks, all their knives, &c. were taken away. One man was found dead, with his bowels ripped open. Seven were carried to the London Hospital, severely wounded; two of whom are since dead. The Chenies overcame the Chin Choo by superiority of numbers. The witness was informed that a cutler on Tower-hill was employed to make instruments for the Chinese. He found his name was Cramer: he acknowledged that he had recently sold two sets of large knives to them, and had been commissioned to make them a further supply, which his workmen were then executing. These the witness saw: they were large knives, with wooden handles, the blade about the size of a common cutlass. Cramer being apprised of their intended use, promised they should not be delivered. Several of the Lascars were afterwards stopped at the Barrack-gate, in the act of bringing such instruments with them, which they delivered up, not without some struggle, and an attempt to use them against the officers for making the seizure.

The origin of this affair appears to be thus, by the evidence of the parties:—A Chenies being at play with a Chin Choo, they quarrelled about 1s. 6d. which one had lost and refused to pay: they came to blows, and on a subsequent day they renewed the combat with knives. Too Sugar, a Chin Choo, now in the hospital, is alleged to have begun the contest, by calling to his sect to come and fight the Chenies. Hence it appears each sect caught the contagion of quarrel from these two, when the rencounter became general.

Of those in custody, three have been discharged for want of evidence. The following are to take their trial, viz. Appui, Appong, Chong, and Peu

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AGRICULTURAL REPORTS.

England.—The new wheats are found to rise well and fine in quality, and the increased number of thrashing machines have thrown large quantities on the markets, occasion-

ing a considerable reduction of prices, which the foreign imports will, for some time, assist in keeping down. The oat harvest is closed in the Fens, affording the largest general produce that has been known for many years. The barley crops are expected to turn out finer in sample than large in quantity, not exceeding an average crop. The northern counties are late with their beans, which, however, prove abundant. All the accounts from the principal corn districts of Scotland state the produce of all kinds of grain to be large, and to have been early and well harvested. Clover seed is likely to be a pretty general crop, except upon light soils, where the continuance of dry weather has proved injurious to it. The turnip counties have abundance of free-growing food. The hop plantations of Kent, Sussex, and Farnham, have bagged a much larger weight than was looked for; but those of Worcestershire and Herefordshire have not yielded half a crop, and where the cyder produce has also partially failed. The cattle markets in the midland counties have had large shows of lean stock, but the prices are still kept high from the prospect of abundant seed in turnips and coleseed. Smithfield has been well supplied through the month with prime mutton, beef, and veal, on lower terms. In the wool markets there has been little or no variation since our last report.

LOTHIAN.—There is no manner of doubt that this has been the best September month within remembrance, as it has been dry from the beginning until the end, without any untoward circumstance to injure or retard the important work of harvest, which is nearly finished in this district, and in the best possible condition.—The ears are heavy, the quality fine, and of bright colours. There will be more benefit received from fodder this season, than for many bygone, being so early and well preserved. Considerable quantities of wheat are already sown in excellent order, and in many instances appears in full braird above ground. Grain markets, which gradually declined last month, have rallied a little again, particularly barley, in the prospect of early distillation from grain. The old crop being mostly exhausted, causes a greater demand on the new for present consumption; and there being food for cattle in the fields for some time to come, the farmer is the less anxious to thrash much at present, being busy with the wheat seed.—Lean cattle is in demand for winter feeding, while the butcher markets continue to be fully supplied.

Harvest commenced about the middle of August in the lower districts, and, by the beginning of the month, became general throughout the country. As the weather has been particularly favourable, there not having been more than two or three days at most, when the reaping was interrupted by showers, the important operations of the season have been carried on with a degree of regularity and dispatch rarely experienced in this variable climate; of course the shearing may now be said to be about finished, the only exceptions being in some exposed situations in the higher district of the county, and even there the greater part of the white crops is already in the stack-yard; while, along the lower district, the only thing in the fields consists almost entirely of beans and pease, all the wheat, barley, and early oats, having been secured some time since in the finest condition, and without the smallest loss either from wind or rain. Wheat, barley, and oats, are found to yield well in the barn, and the grain of superior quality; the first samples of wheat already weighing about 16 stones, and the barley above 19 stones, per boll, of 16lb. to the stone, and best potatoe oats yield at

the mill 18 and 19 pecks of meal, per boll. There has been no trial of the pease or beans as yet; but, from their excellent appearance on the fields, they are generally expected to be far above an average crop. Indeed, from the great bulk of the stack-yards, taken with the above circumstances, there can be no doubt of the general crop being above an average of ordinary seasons. As the summer fallows are in the highest condition, many individuals are busy with the wheat seed; some farmers have already got all sown, except what they intend after pease or beans; but rain would be desirable, nay almost necessary, before that can be accomplished, which is rather an uncommon circumstance in this country. The grain markets have been well supplied during the harvest, the quantity of old being sufficient for the demand, till the new grain is fit for being carried to market. New wheat in good condition has sold readily at from 40s. to 46s. per boll. Barley likewise sells freely, at from 38s. to 42s. per boll; the brewers having no stock on hand, causes that grain to be eagerly enquired after for the purpose of malting. Oats have hitherto been sold comparatively lower than the former articles, but as it is now certain that the distillers will be allowed to use grain during the ensuing winter, it is expected that that grain may be brought something nearer to the prices of barley. Shearers have been sufficiently plentiful during the harvest; during the first two weeks, the numbers were greater than could be employed, a matter always to be lamented, as it is extremely distressing for poor people, who often travel a great distance, in expectation of being liberally paid for their labour, to find themselves under the necessity of begging for a scanty subsistence.—Wages have been about 1s. 6d. per day with victuals.

Fashions.—Little or no change has been observed in fashion since our report for August. The town has been very empty, and the lounging costume observed at Brighton and the other watering-places, ceases invariably with the return of the leaders of ton to the great emporium of fashion, London.

OCTOBER.

1st.—The commissioners of public records continue their labours to methodize, register, and publish the public records of the realm. In the course of their researches many important documents have been discovered which had been supposed to be no longer in existence, or had been lost in the confused heaps of unarranged materials. Amongst the charters of the liberties of England, the *Curta de Foresta*, 2 Hen. III. concerning which Sir William Blackstone supposed that "the original and all the authentic records were lost," has been found at Durham. In the Tower there has been found a voluminous collection of letters missive from the kings of England, many of them in their own hand-writing, beginning with Henry III. and extending to the reign of Richard III.

The excavations among the ruins of Pompeia continue to be prosecuted with much industry. An extent of about 500 feet of the town wall has been completely cleared. It is from 18 to 20 feet high, 2 thick, and fortified at short distances with square towers. In the main street, passing in front of the temple of Isis, has been discovered the portico of the theatre. Near the same spot, 10 feet below the level of the street, was found a human skeleton, and immediately beneath it a large collection of gold and silver medals, in the finest preservation, chiefly of the reign of Domitian.

2d.—A dreadful fire broke out at half-past eleven o'clock at night in the extensive farm-yard belonging to Mr T. Biggs, at Orpington, in the county of Kent, about four miles from Chislehurst. The flames were first discovered by the night patrole on the road, issuing from several ricks of hay. The watchman immediately gave an alarm, and fortunately succeeded in awakening the family of Mr B. and rescuing them from their perilous situation. The flames soon afterwards caught the barns, where large quantities of hay, straw, &c. were deposited, besides several other adjoining buildings; and at one time, the whole yard, containing 16 ricks of hay, straw, corn, &c. was in one continual blaze. The loss is estimated at upwards of 10,000l. No lives were lost.

Winchester.–On opening a vault, last week, in the middle aisle of the west transept of the cathedral, for the interment of the late Miss Poulter, a stone coffin was discovered immediately under the surface of the pavement, supposed to contain the remains either of a prelate or mitred abbot. A ring of pure gold, with an amethyst, about the size and shape of a turkey's eye, set therein, and part of a crosier, much decayed, were found in the coffin, but few vestiges of the body remained. The ring was in good preservation, and greatly resembles that on the left-hand of the effigy of William of Wykham, as represented on the beautiful altar-tomb in the same cathedral. The crook and ferrule of the crosier were of metal, and the shaft of wood quite plain. This affords internal evidence of its being of a much earlier date than that of Wykham, which was composed of silver, gilt, of exquisite workmanship, and is now preserved in the chapel of New College, Oxford.

Some time ago, a large quantity of water, which had long been stagnant in an iron mine, at Wilsontown, was let off into the Mouse. It must have held in solution an astonishing quantity of subcarbonate of iron, as all the fish in the river were immediately killed; its whole channel became deeply tinged with the iron rust; and the water has continued ever since to be strongly chalybeate. In Clyde the effect has also been partially felt; and the channel of the north bank is discoloured as far down as Stonebyres Lynn.

State of the King's Health.—On Sunday the following bulletin was issued at St James's Palace:—

"Windsor Castle, October 2, 1813.

"His Majesty continues in a tranquil and comfortable state, but without any abatement of his disorder."

(Signed by five Physicians.)

4th.—On Wednesday night last, there was detected in Lord Roseberry's pleasure grounds, by Messrs Bell, Gardner, Grubb, and Russel, revenue officers, Queensferry, a very large distillery: the still was carried off, but they succeeded in destroying upwards of 300 gallons of wash, some low wines, and four working tuns, one wash tun, one stick stand, and a great number of small casks.—It is only three weeks since these active officers detected a similar work, and seized a still of forty gallons content, which was carrying on within a short distance of his lordship's house.

The Queen not having been present at the consecration of a bishop, had expressed her wish to be present at that of Dr Howley. Yesterday morning, at half-past eleven o'clock, her Majesty, and the Princesses Augusta and Mary, arrived at Lambeth Palace, where they were received by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who conducted them into the drawing room, where Dr Howley, the Bishop of London elect, the Bishops of Oxford, Gloucester, and Salisbury, the vicar-general, in their full robes, and a number of other distinguished characters, paid

their respects to them; after which they proceeded to his grace's chapel. The Queen and princesses were conducted into Mrs Sutton's family gallery. No person was admitted into the body of the chapel except those engaged in the ceremony: among them were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Salisbury, Gloucester, and Oxford, in their full robes. Dr Howley, the Bishop of London elect, took his seat the last on the right of the altar. The morning service was read by one of the archbishop's chaplains. The Bishop of Gloucester read the Epistle; the Bishop of Oxford the Gospel; the sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr Goddard, late master of Winchester, who took a general view of the established church, from the period of the Reformation, and dwelt upon the divine institution and expediency of the episcopal order. After the sermon, the Archbishop of Canterbury, attended by his two chaplains, proceeded to the altar, to read the communion service.

Mr Jenner, the registrar of the province, read the mandate from the Prince Regent, in the name of the king, for the consecration. Dr Howley retired to an anti-room, and put on his rochet, having been previously only in doctor's robes; he was then introduced by the Bishops of Oxford and Gloucester to the archbishop at the altar, where several ceremonies were performed, and then retired to the anti-room, where he was invested with his full episcopal robes. He was then introduced again to the altar, and the usual questions were put to him by the archbishop. The imposition of hands by the archbishop and the other bishops present concluded the ceremony.

The sacrament was then administered to him by the archbishop, in which all the others present participated.

Nothing can exceed the rage for gaming that exists among the prisoners at Dartmoor prison. Although 200 of them, principally Italians, were, last week, sent to the prison-ships in Hamoaze to be clothed anew, having lost all their clothes by gaming, there remain many at Dartmoor in the same situation. These unfortunate men play even for their rations, living three or four days on offal, cabbage-stalks, or indeed any thing which chance may throw in their way.—They stake the clothes on their backs, and, what indeed is worse, their bedding. It is the custom at Dartmoor for those who have sported away the latter article, to huddle very close together at night, in order to keep each other warm. One out of the number is elected boatswain for the time being, and, at twelve o'clock at night, he pipes all hands to turn; an operation which, from their proximity to each other, must be simultaneous. At four o'clock in the morning, the pipe is heard again, and the like turn is taken.

At the sale of the effects of the late preacher Huntingdon, an *old arm chair*, intrinsically worth *fifty shillings*, actually sold for *sixty guineas*; and many other articles fetched equally high prices, so anxious were his admirers to obtain some *precious* memorial of the deceased.

At the sale of Sir Henry Vane Tempest's stock, one of the cows sold at 96l. a heifer calf at 56l. and a bull at 210l.

The necessary preparations for a winter campaign in the bleak mountains of the Pyrennees, are in considerable forwardness, and intended for the light troops, on whom that ardent and important duty will devolve. They consist of camp equipage, such as is peculiarly adapted for that kind of service, great coats and warm pantaloons.—A considerable quantity of these articles has already been shipped, and by the middle of this month the remainder will be sent away.

As Francis Seymour Larpent, Esq. Deputy Judge-Advocate with the forces in Spain and Portugal, under the Marquis of Wellington, was lately riding amidst the vast mountains near the frontiers of France, accompanied by some young officers and their several servants, admiring the majestic scenery around them, and conversing together in imaginary full security, they were descried from the neighbouring positions of the enemy, and soon were surprised by a detachment. The young officers nimbly and desperately sprung off their chargers, threw themselves into deep hollows covered with bushes, and escaped, amidst a shower of shot. Mr Larpent struck his spurs into his horse, and wheeled round in the confusion, but was instantly surrounded and taken prisoner.—He and his servants are now at Bayonne.

The Emperor of Russia, as a mark of his respect and regret for the loss of General Moreau, has raised Madame Moreau to the dignity of a Princess of the Russian Empire, with a pension of 100,000 roubles.

7th.—A solemn funeral service was performed at the French chapel, in memory of General Moreau. The room hung in black, and filled with persons dressed in the same mournful costume, presented an affecting spectacle, of which the most interesting and distressing part was the appearance of Madame Moreau, supported by two ladies. The French princes were there to do homage to the memory of a man who has fallen in so good a cause, and a great number of old French officers were also present.

Fire.—About one o'clock on Friday night a fire broke out in the office of Mr Philips, an attorney in East-street, Red-lion-square, which for some time threatened destruction to the surrounding houses. The office, which was situated in a back yard, burned with great fury for nearly an hour, when several engines arrived, which, being well supplied with water, succeeded in saving the dwelling-house, and the surrounding houses. The office, with most of its contents, fell a prey to the flames; but several deeds, and other papers, were preserved through the activity of the firemen. The accident happened, it is said, through the negligence of one of the clerks leaving a lighted candle on the desk, the snuff of which fell amongst some papers.

8th.—Magistrates of Edinburgh.—Tuesday the Magistrates and Council of the city of Edinburgh went in procession to the High Church, when an excellent discourse was preached by the Rev. Dr Campbell, one of the ministers of this city. After divine service, they returned to the Council Chamber to elect the magistrates for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were unanimously elected:—

The Right Hon. Sir John Marjoribanks, M. P. Lord Provost.—William Trotter, Esq. Robert Cockburn, Esq. William Gallaway, Esq. John Mill, Esq. Bailies.—John Walker, Esq. Lord Dean of Guild.—Archibald Mackinlay, Esq. Treasurer.—William Creech, Esq. Old Provost.—Niel Ryrie, Esq. Robert Johnston, Esq. Alex. Henderson, Esq. Andrew Dickson, Esq. Old Bailies.—Kincaid Mackenzie, Esq. Old Dean of Guild.—George White, Esq. Old Treasurer.—Messrs William Ramsay, William Arbuthnot, William Waddel, Merchant Counsellors.—William Fraser, jun. John Murray, Trades Counsellors.—James Law, Convener, William Armstrong, Andrew Wilson, John Aird, Thomas Thomson, James Denholm, Ordinary Council Deacons.—William Marshall, William Kennedy, Alexander Ritchie, John Ballantyne, John Inglis, Alexander Gray, John Stenhouse, Alexander Lawrie, Extraordinary Council Deacons.—Robert Johnston, Esq. Admi-

ral of Leith.—Andrew Dickson Esq. Baron Bailie of Easter and Wester Portsburgh.—Alexander Henderson, Esq. Baron Bailie of Canongate.—William Ramsay, Esq. Captain of Orange Colours.

In the evening the Lord Provost and Magistrates gave an excellent dinner in the Assembly-Rooms George's Street, to which about 300 sat down.

9th.—Highway Robberies.—On the 6th instant, as a woman belonging to Elwick, near Castle Eden, was returning from Stockton market, she was stopped on the road between Wolviston and the Red Lion Inn, about half-past six in the evening, by a man on foot, who took from her a basket containing several trifling articles she had purchased at the market, and a few shillings in silver. The same evening, about half an hour afterwards, as Mr John Thompson, of Castle Eden, was returning from Stockton, and passing near the same place, he found Mr Thomas Prest, a farmer in the neighbourhood, lying on the road side, in a state of total insensibility from violent blows on his head and face, supposed from some villains who had attacked him on the road, and robbed him of his watch and money, to the amount of 14l. or 15l.—Mr P. is a very stout man, and it appears he had made a resolute resistance, as the lane near the place was very much trampled and bloody, as if with struggling. Mr Prest's deplorable state affords little hopes of recovery.

12th.—Stone Coffins.—*East Lothian.*—Last week, on trenching with the plough a field possessed by William Hunter, Esq. at the Knows, and belonging to the Earl of Haddington, a number of stone coffins were uncovered. These are ranged in rows from south to north, with the heads to the west; and as far as discovered, covered an extent of ground measuring in length 54 yards, and in breadth 26. They are computed to exceed 500 in number. Each coffin lies about two or three inches from the side of the other, with the heads in exact lines, and about two or three feet from each row. They are formed of flat stones, neatly joined together on the sides, and in the exact form of our present coffins, and covered on the top with flag stones; some of them laid with stones in the bottom, others not. It appears the stones have been brought from the adjoining sea shore. What were uncovered, were found full of sea sand, which being carefully removed, a human skeleton was discovered, lying entire from head to foot. The bones, excepting the skulls, on being taken out, crumbled to dust, but the teeth were in complete preservation, not one wanting, and appeared to have belonged to persons dying in the prime of life. The coffins appear to have been formed exactly to the length of the different bodies; the longest measured six feet nine inches; the shortest five feet three inches. The thigh bones generally are of great length and thickness, and one jaw-bone was discovered of a prodigious size.

Towards the west end of the burial ground there are evident marks of bodies that have been consumed by fire, but it has not been ascertained what extent of ground these covered.

The farm has been in possession of the same farmer for three generations back, and, it is said, a tradition has been handed down that a battle was fought there, and those that were killed were buried on that spot, which was then a rising ground, and always kept sacred from the touch of the plough, until the present possessor ploughed it over many years ago, at which time a few coffins were discovered.

Tradition also reports, that near the present farm-house there was formerly a bastel or bestial, an ancient place of security for cattle during an invasion

of an enemy. This gives a name to a place on the farm to this day. It is also said there had been either a fort or baron's castle erected there.

When digging a deep trench some years ago, the workmen discovered a round building of hewn stone, about nine feet in diameter; they also found a range of buildings, so strongly cemented that they could not remove it.

It appears probable that this might have been, in former times, a Roman station, and that the circular building was a bath What supports this idea is, the custom the Romans had of placing their burial grounds near to the highways. Now it is well known the great post-road formerly passed close by the side of this burial place, though it has since been removed farther south. The Romans had also a custom of burning their dead; and it is certain that ceremony had taken place as to a part of the bodies now discovered. Those that had been interred in the stone coffins might have belonged to some other nation, either Scots, Picts, or Saxons.—However, this is but conjecture, as it is agreed the Celts also burned their dead

It seems certain, from the regular positions of the coffins, and the skeletons having the appearance of adults, that they have been deposited in the earth at one time, and after having fallen in battle. In this neighbourhood, many single stone coffins have been found, and sometimes two or three together; several long stones have also been erected, as it is thought, to the memory of some fallen chief, which renders it probable that this quarter has been the scene of many sanguinary battles that are of so ancient a date as to be either unrecorded in the page of history, or form the dubious tale of tradition.

16th.—This night, after the Glasgow mail had changed horses at Polmont, the guard and coachman being both intoxicated, the latter having dropt the reins, in endeavouring to recover them fell from his seat, and the coach going over his head, he was killed on the spot. Meanwhile the horses being at full speed, the guard was so perfectly incapacitated that he could make no effort to stop them, and they continued at the gallop along Linlithgow-bridge, till they came to the post-office in that town, where they stopped, without the slightest injury.

A scene of shocking depravity was exhibited before Mr Chambers, at Union-Hall office, on Thursday. Two female children, the eldest only twelve years old, were brought up by a constable, who found them in the Borough market the night before, asleep in a back-yard. The officer stated, that he had observed them for some time past, and had ascertained that they nightly walked the streets. When questioned by him, one of them stated she had no parents, and the other said she had a mother, who treated her so cruelly she could not live with her, and in consequence she followed this abandoned life. It was their constant custom to sleep in the streets, in carts or waggons, and frequently on the open pavement. The mother of one of them attended, and from her statement, it appeared that the tale told by her child was without any foundation in truth, she having frequently run away, and has been as often brought back, and the unhappy parent now earnestly requested the magistrate would order her to be placed in some situation where she would in future be restrained.—The other child, it appeared, had neither father nor mother. The magistrate, under all the circumstances, sent for the parish officers, and directed the wretched little wanderers should be provided for in the work-house.

17th.—This morning, about two o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out at No. 165, High street, Shadwell. The

flames were first discovered from without, and before the alarm was communicated to those within, the lower part of the house was in one entire blaze, and fast communicating with the upper floor. Several respectable females lodged in the first and second floors One of them jumped out at the first floor window without being much hurt, and another from the second floor with a child in her arms, who had her thigh broke, though the child was preserved. The mother was carried to the London Hospital with but little hopes of recovery. The premises in question were completely burnt to the ground, and the houses adjoining on each side materially injured.

18th.—Daniel M'Crory, who had been found guilty at last Cumberland assizes of a burglary at Bird-house, where he headed a gang of desperadoes, was executed at Carlisle, pursuant to his sentence; upon which occasion a most distressing accident occurred. On the drop falling, the rope broke, and the unhappy man was precipitated to the ground, whereby his leg was broken. " told you," said he, "this rope would never hang a man of my weight." It seems that he had actually handled the rope before coming out of the gaol, and remonstrated against its unfitness.—After some delay, he was borne upon the scaffold in a chair; and another rope being procured, he was at length hanged.

The Earl of March, eldest son of the Duke of Richmond, arrived this day at Downing-street, charged with dispatches from Lord Wellington, detailing the particulars of his lordship's advance into France. The post-chaise which brought his lordship was decorated with laurels. The dispatches were immediately taken by the Earl of Liverpool, accompanied by Lord March, to the Prince Regent at Carlton-house; and soon afterwards the following letter was transmitted to the Lord Mayor:—

"Lord Bathurst presents his compliments to the Lord Mayor, and has the honour of acquainting him that the Earl of March has arrived with dispatches from Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, dated Lezaca, the 9th instant, stating that the British, Portuguese, and Spanish troops crossed the Bidassoa, on the 7th inst. and attacked the French position, extending from the sea to the village of Sarre; the whole of which they carried, with the exception of some strong posts to the left, one of which was attacked again, on the morning of the 8th and carried; the remainder were afterwards evacuated.

"Lord Bathurst is happy to add, that the loss sustained in this important affair does not exceed, on the part of the British and Portuguese, 800 men, killed, wounded, and missing.—On the part of the Spanish, 750."

Ireland.—A discovery of a singular, and, as it may prove, of an important nature to individuals, was made at Cork, on Friday, the circumstances of which, and the causes which led to it, are as follow:—About seven years ago, one of the mail bags from Limerick to this city was lost, and from that time until the day we have just mentioned, the most diligent exertions of the gentlemen in the Post Office were unsuccessful in procuring any tidings of it. On Thursday, however, a woman of the name of Walsh enquired at the Post Office for Mr Fortesque or Mr Fitzgerald, and upon being admitted, she informed them, that in consequence of the bad treatment she had constantly received from her husband, she had a discovery to make against him. She said, that about seven years ago, one of the guards of the coach, in conveying the mail from the office where the coach stopped to the Post Office, came into her husband's house, which is a public one, in Caroline-street, quite drunk; that her hus-

band secreted the bag, and when the guard was carried away, opened it, and the letters it contained, out of which he took a quantity of notes and bills: the letters he burned, and such of the notes as were uncut he kept, and the half notes he put into an old kettle, and hid it in a loft at the back of his house. The kettle, however, she contrived to procure, and had kept it ever since in her own possession, as a means of extorting good treatment from her husband. Hitherto she found her threats of discovery were of some effect, but on that day he had used her so badly, having beat and turned her out of doors, that she was resolved to punish him by telling this transaction. She then, as we understand, gave up the kettle, containing the halves of notes to a very considerable amount. The sheriffs were immediately sent for, and Walsh was apprehended in his own house, and conveyed to jail, where he remains. The lady's thirst for revenge, it appears, has not survived the incarceration of her mate, for we learn she now refuses to lodge informations against him.

General Moreau.—This accomplished officer was born in the year 1761 at Morlaix, in Lower Brittany.—His father was a respectable and respected advocate in that town, a profession which it appears had been followed by the family for generations. Young Moreau was also intended for the law, and, after the usual studies, was sent to the University of Rennes to take his degrees. In the year 1788, he was *Prevot de Droit*, or head of the students in the law at Rennes, a body of young men at all times remarkable for their public spirit, and over whom he had a well known and marked influence.—His conduct afterwards in the French army was conspicuous: thrice he saved the French army from destruction, and afterwards, owing to the jealousy of Buonaparte, met with a very ungrateful return, being superseded by the directory, who were the accomplices of his father's murder. It was on this occasion that a French colonel, now prisoner of war in this country, and then attached to Moreau's army, asked him, when the order of the directory superseding him had been received, "General! will you obey so insulting a mandate?"—"Yes," answered Moreau, "as a general, an officer, or a soldier, Moreau is always ready to serve France."—Such was Moreau's leading principle. He used to say, that to effect a change in France, *the people should wait till men and revolutionary springs were worn out*; and he thought that moment had arrived when he met his death-wound under the walls of Dresden.

General Moreau expired on the 2d, and displayed a fortitude and resignation corresponding with the whole tenor of his life. When his surgeon informed him of the hopelessness of his situation, he dictated a letter to the Emperor Alexander, in which he fervently expressed his grateful sense of the kindness he had received from that monarch. But even at this awful moment the promotion of the sacred cause in which he had embarked, was uppermost in his mind; and after communicating the hopes he entertained of its success, and some remarks on its further prosecution, he expired without a groan.

Such was the jealousy of Buonaparte of the abilities and talents of this great and good man, whose benevolence always formed a striking contrast to the disposition of the tyrant, that Buonaparte declared they could not live in the same hemisphere. Moreau prudently took the hint, and embarked for America, to avoid the fate of the Duke D'Enghein, Toussaint L'Overture, Captain Wright, and the other brave men, who had been cruelly massacred by order of Buonaparte.

Comparative statement of the population and land forces of the different states at present engaged in the war:

Names of the States.		*Population.*	*Land Forces.*	*Remarks.* or about
Empire of Great Britain,		16,531,000	306,760	1 in 54
Russia,		42,248,000	560,000	75
Austria,		20,216,000	320,000	63
Kingdom of Prussia,		4,984,877	250,000	20
Sweden,		2,326,000	45,000	44
Spain,		10.396,000	100,000	104
Portugal,		3,559,000	30,000	118
Sicily,		1,656,000	10,000	165
Duchy of Warsaw,		3,774,462	30,000	26
Total		105,691,339	1,651,760	64
Deduct for troops indisposable (*indisponible en François*) from				
Great Britain,	150,000			
Russia,	260,000			
Austria,	100,000			
Prussia,	50,000		560,000	
Remain		105,691,339	1,094,760	
Empire of France (including all the new departments,)		42,346,000	590,000	or about 1 in 72
Kingdom of Italy,		6,719,000	40,000	168
Naples,		4,964,000	16,000	310
Republic of Switzerland,		1,638,000	15,000	109
Confederation of the Rhine,		13,560,120	119,000	110
Kingdom of Denmark,		2,599,600	74,000	34
United States of North America,		6,500,000	20,000	825
Countries not included in the above.				
Part of the county of Katzenelnbogen,		18,000		
Principality of Erfurt,		50,330		
Illyrian Provinces,		110,000		
Total . . .		78,335,050	874,000	89
Deduct for troops indisposable from France,			190,000	
Remain		78,335,050	684,000	
Balance in favour of the Allies,		27,206,289	497,760	

Humanity and Bravery.—The following act of bravery and humanity is recorded of a French officer, who was taken prisoner at the surrender of St Sebastian. During the heat of the first attempt to storm the town, while the contest was raging in its most furious and deadly form, the French officer saw an English one (belonging to the Royals) fall wounded to the ground, exposed to the fiercest fire of the artillery. The French officer's sympathy was excited, and rushing to the spot, through all intervening obstacles, he placed the unfortunate gentleman on his back, and conveyed him safely to the hospital. Lord Wellington, with his accustomed regard for desert, has recommended him to the notice of government. A circumstance, no less interesting, occurred about the same period: A Newfoundland dog was found by the side of his deceased master (another officer of the Royals) three days after the engagement. On the approach of the French party, employed to bury the dead, the faithful animal shewed considerable ferocity; but, being pacified at length, he permitted the corpse to be removed, and followed it to the grave. The impressive fact was communicated to General Rey, who instantly adopted the noble animal, and has brought him to England.

Lion Hunt, near Bombay.—The sporting gentlemen of this station were, on the 22d of December, informed that three lions had been discovered in a small jungle, two miles from Beereije. Immediate preparations were made to assemble a large party, and to proceed to chace them from thence. Intermediately, accounts were received that the size and ferocity of the animals had struck a panic into the adjacent villages; that six of the natives, who had unwarily approached their haunts, had been torn and mangled, and left to expire in the greatest agonies; and that it was no longer safe for the inhabitants to proceed to the usual occupations of husbandry, or to turn out their cattle to pasture, as several of them had been hunted down and killed. These accounts only stimulated the British Nimrods: and a party of sixteen gentlemen having assembled on the 24th, proceeded to the scene of action, accompanied by a body of armed peons from the Adaulet and revenue departments. The guides took them to the precise spot where three of the royal family were reposing in state. The party advanced with due caution to within a few paces of the jungle, without disturbing the residents.—A momentary pause, big with expectation, succeeded. At that instant, three dogs which had joined the hunt, unconscious of danger, approached the very threshold of the presence, and were received with such a sepulchral groan, as, for a moment, "made the bravest hold his breath." One of the dogs was killed; the other two fled, and were seen no more. Presently, a lioness was indistinctly observed at the mouth of the den; a few arrows were discharged with a view to irritate her, and induce her to make an attack on her assailants; but this did not succeed, as she broke cover in an opposite direction, with two cubs about two thirds grown. The party pursued the fugitives on foot as fast as the nature of the ground, newly ploughed, would admit; when, suddenly, one of the men who had been stationed in the trees, called out to the gentlemen to be on their guard. This arrested their progress;—they turned on one side to some heights, when they descried an enormous lion, which was approaching them through an open field at an easy canter, and lashing his tail in a style of indescribable grandeur. The foremost of the party presented their pieces and fired, just as the animal had cleared, at one bound, a chasm which was between

them of twelve feet broad. He was apparently wounded in the shoulder; but nevertheless sprung on Mr M. whose arm he lacerated dreadfully; and, feeling at the same time a peon's lance, he relinquished his first hold, seized the poor man by the throat, and strangled him before the party dared fire, lest they should kill his victim. He was now at bay, but sheltered in such a manner as rendered it difficult to bring him down, when, suddenly, the man on the look out gave another alarm, and the party almost immediately perceived the lioness, which had broken cover, approaching their rear. The same instant, their ears were assailed by the shrieks and yells of men, women, and children, occasioned by the animal crossing the road in the middle of the coolies that were carrying tiffin to the village. A woman and a child were almost immediately sacrificed to her fury. The woman was literally torn to pieces. This proved not the last calamity of this memorable hunt. The gentlemen, with the peons, left their former enemy, to attack the lioness, who threatened the village. The party, from the rapid manner in which the beast was followed, were not able to keep very compact; and, unfortunately, four of the collector's peons advanced upon the place where the lioness had lain down. She immediately sprung upon the nearest, and brought him to the ground, crushed his skull, and tore his face, so that no feature was discernible, and the skin literally hung in the wind. A companion, who advanced to his assistance, she seized by the thigh; the man, in the agony of death, caught the beast by the throat, when she quitted his thigh, and fastened on his arm and breast. At this moment, the gentlemen advanced within fifteen paces, and, as she was still standing over her unfortunate victim, lodged twenty balls in her body. She retreated to the hedge, where some more shot terminated her existence. Both of the peons died in a few hours.—Mr M. is recovering.

21st.—The Waterford Chronicle communicates the following deplorable occurrence:—"Between five and six o'clock on the evening of Saturday last, as three soldiers of the Wicklow militia, in company with a female, were walking on the road to the Wilderness, adjoining Clonmell, they were attacked by some men, apparently country people, who knocked them down. Two of the soldiers made their escape, but the third was murdered upon the spot. His body was conveyed into Clonmell, and three wounds were found on it, one on the head, and two on the neck, the latter of which had the appearance of being inflicted with a slater's dressing knife.—On Sunday evening, about seven o'clock, the greater part of the Wicklow regiment rushed out of the barracks, and dispersed in various directions through the town, menacing with destruction every person they met. A large party of them proceeded to the place where the murder was committed, and set fire to two cabins, which were totally consumed. General Lee, on hearing of the disturbance, immediately ordered the drums to beat to arms, doubled the picquets, and, with the assistance of the officers, who exerted themselves to the utmost to restore order, succeeded in securing tranquillity."

25th.—The neighbourhood of Great Peter-street, Westminster, was thrown into much alarm by an explosion of gas, which shook the surrounding houses. It appeared, that a pipe unexpectedly burst in the premises of the Gas Light and Coke Company, in conquence of which much gas had oozed out and filled the apartment; but not calculating on this, one of the men took a candle and proceeded to the spot, to ascertain what was the mat-

ter. The moment the candle was introduced, the whole of the gas that had escaped from the pipe burst into a flame, with a dreadful explosion, as if fire had been communicated to a heap of gunpowder. By it this man was much injured, as well as two or three more of the workmen: but the speedy arrival of the fire-engines, and the exertions within the manufactory, soon got the fire under controul.

26th.—An alarming fire broke out at Messrs. Dickenson and Co.'s paper manufactory, at Nash Mill, Herts, about six o'clock in the evening, which in a short time entirely consumed some capacious buildings, containing large quantities of paper, rags, &c. Mr Dickenson's machinery for making paper being in detached buildings, was fortunately preserved, as was the dwelling-house, by the exertions of the neighbours, and by the favourable direction of the wind. Though several accidents happened, no lives were lost. The loss is estimated at 7 or 8000l.

27th.—A melancholy accident happened in one of the stone-quarries of Swanage, Dorsetshire. Two men of the names of Samuel Phippard and James Summers, went to the quarry in the morning to work, as usual; and at the hour of dinner, a boy, that was accustomed to inform them of the time, went in, and seeing no light, nor hearing any one answer to his call, returned and procured a light for himself, when, upon his re-entering, the first object that presented itself was Phippard dead, with his head and one hand jammed between one of the pillars of the quarry and a huge block of stone that had fallen from the ceiling. At that time the boy heard Summers, from under a quantity of stone and rubbish, exclaim, "Is that a light from heaven?" The boy was struck almost senseless with fright, and instantly ran out to procure assistance. On some of the neighbours entering, they found Phippard as before described, and Summers confined under two large blocks of stone, that had formed a kind of arch over him. The poor fellow was soon released from his awful situation, with two of his fingers nearly severed from his hand, and one of his legs broke. He recovered his senses in a short time, but died after about 36 hours. He said, that at the time of the quarry falling in, they both tried to escape, though in different directions, but neither was successful; and when he was under the stones, he called several times to Phippard, but not receiving any answer he concluded he was dead. Phippard has left a wife and a very large family, and Summers a wife and three children, to lament their untimely end.

28th.—Mr Sadler ascended in his balloon from Nottingham, for the 2[illegible]th time. The concourse of people was of course extremely great, and the Canal Company's wharf was the place chosen for the exhibition. Every preparation being made, he ascended in a fine style, at forty minutes past two o'clock, amidst the shouts of an incalculable number of spectators. The atmosphere favoured the splendid scene, the sky being remarkably clear, and the wind blowing a gentle breeze from the west. Mr Sadler was seen waving his flag at a very great altitude; and the balloon was visible to the naked eye 37 minutes after its ascent; when it entered a thick body of distant clouds, and became entirely obscured. Next day Mr Sadler returned to Nottingham about twelve o'clock, where his arrival was welcomed with repeated cheers. The aeronaut descended at Petworth, a village about three miles to the left of Stamford. Lord Lonsdale's hunting party was returning from the chase at the time. The huntsman and whipper-in first observed the signals of the aeronaut, and afforded him every assistance when he landed. Thus ter-

minated Mr Sadler's 28th ascent in the aerial regions, making a voyage of 44 miles in 59 minutes, without experiencing the least obstruction at the time, or sustaining any injury or much difficulty in his descent.

Murder.——A Mayo paper contains the following interesting narrative of the discovery of a murder:—

"The declaration of George Smith, William Smith, and James Smith, who were lately executed at Longford for the murder of James Reilly, a pedlar, near Lanesborough, has been published. It gives the following description of the inhuman crime for which they suffered:

"The discovery of this murder, as decreed by the Almighty, was made by Margaret Armstrong, the wife of Serjeant Armstrong, of the 27th regiment of foot, on the recruiting service in Athlone. She was going to her husband, when she was overtaken by this pedlar. He asked her how far she was going? She answered, to Athlone to her husband, and said it was getting late, and being scarce of money, she would make good her way that night. He then replied, "My poor woman, let not that hurry you; I am going to Athlone myself, and there is a lodging at the next cross, at which I mean to stop; be advised and go no farther to-night, and I will pay your expences." When they came to the house, he asked for a bed for himself, and another for the woman, and called for supper; when that was over he paid the bill, and, taking out his pocket-book, he counted 50l. which he gave in charge to George Smith, and retired to bed; the woman likewise went to hers; the family sat up till 12; after which, when the man was fast asleep, and all was silent, we (the three Smiths) went into the room where the man lay; we dragged him out of bed, and cut his throat from ear to ear; we saved his blood in a pewter dish, and put the body into a flax-seed barrel, among feathers, in which we covered it up. "Take care and do the same with the woman," said our mother. We accordingly went to her bedside, and saw her hands extended out of the bed; we held a candle to her eyes, but she did not stir during the whole time, as God was on her side, for had we supposed that she had seen the murder committed by us, she would have shared the same fate with the deceased. Next morning, when she rose, she asked was the man up? We made answer, that he was gone two hours before, left sixpence for her, and took her bundle with him. "No matter (said she) for I shall see him in Athlone." When she went away, I (G. Smith) dressed myself in my sister's clothes, and having crossed the fields, met her. I asked her how far she was going? she said to Athlone. I then asked where she lodged? she told me at one Smith's a very decent house, where she met very good entertainment. "That house bears a bad name," said I. "I have not that to say of them (said she) for they gave me good usage." It was not long until we saw a serjeant and two recruits coming up the road, upon which she cried out, "Here is my husband coming to meet me; he knew I was coming to him." I immediately turned off the road, and went back to the house. When she met her husband she fainted, and on recovering, she told him of the murder, and how she escaped with her life. The husband went immediately and got guards, and had us taken prisoners; the house was searched, and the mangled body found in the barrel."

31st.—A dreadful fire broke out on Sunday morning last, between three and four o'clock, at the extensive premises called Bank Mill, near the Crescent, Salford, Manchester, part of which was used as a cotton manufactory, and the remainder as a logwood

mill. The flames raged with irresistible fury, and the building was entirely consumed. The damage is estimated at 30,000l. a considerable portion of which is uninsured.

AGRICULTURAL REPORTS.

ENGLAND.—The late drought having been succeeded by moderate showers, it is not easy to conceive a more favourable season than the present has been for getting in the wheat seed, and the quantity sown throughout the island, it is affirmed, will be great beyond all former example. Open weather continuing, this business, although commenced late, will soon be finished, excepting upon the heavy lands insufficiently worked or mortared by the rains.

The few early young wheats appear healthy and thickly planted.

The carting beans will finish with the month. The crop is universally large, as is that of clover-seed, and the samples likely to be bright and heavy.

A considerable sprinkling of smut has been found among the wheat in some parts, beyond any thing which lately appeared; whilst others appear entirely free from it, but there has been found a portion of the grain dry and shrivelled, without either smut or mildew.

Turnips and seeds of all kinds much improved by the showers that have fallen and the mildness of the season; the demand and price of lean stock enhanced of consequence. The ruta baga, or Swedish turnip, increasing in general estimation, and the breadth of it supposed to be greater this year than ever before.

A great increase of slugs, grubs, and other insects, generally noticed.

Potatoes prove a large crop, the quality excellent, with the exception of those soils upon which the roots were affected by the drought.

Many corn stacks have been heated, and in great danger from premature carrying, perhaps cutting the crops.

The price of fine hops is expected to be very high.

Long and middle wools are in request.

SCOTLAND.—*Lothian.*—Soon after the commencement of the month, the weather became wet and unfavourable, which protracted the carrying to the stackyard the grain then in the fields, to a much later period than the early beginning of the harvest, and the previous fine weather had given reason to expect. Fortunately, however, the whole business may now be said to be brought to a happy conclusion, although it was not till within these few days that the last of the bean crop was secured, even on farms where reaping was general shortly after the middle of August. As the stack-yards in general are larger than usual, and as every kind of grain yields well in the barn even to the bulk, no doubt is entertained of the crop being above an average of ordinary seasons. The potatoe crop is also about all secured, the produce being abundant, and of the finest quality. Turnips have thriven well during the autumn, the crop being good almost every where, and in several situations they are already applied to the feeding of both sheep and black cattle. Much wheat has been sown under favourable circumstances, and many fields already shew a regular and healthy braird, but it will require several days of dry weather to allow that important business to be concluded in many situations.

In the grain markets, which have been well supplied, wheat has been pretty steady during the month, but barley has fluctuated considerably, which grain, as well as oats, is now looking downwards.

Fat cattle have sold well, with little alteration in price for some months past; the grazier's profits of course,

have been pretty fair for the season.

Clydesdale.—The weather, during the month, has been favourable. The rains that have fallen, being accompanied with moderate gales, were neither much felt nor any way injurious, and the various crops in the higher districts are now got in, all in a fine state of preservation, without any sort of loss, either from shaking winds or rotting rains. The harvest has indeed been long, owing to the gradual and lingering ripening of the fields, but the work throughout has been carried on with deliberation and ease.

With respect to the crop in general, it is certainly very abundant. Of this the gradual fall of the markets affords undoubted evidence, and as a proof of its quality we need only appeal to the quantity and excellence of the meal it produces. To make this better understood, we may notice that the potatoe oats are now advantageously cultivated here. They are early, and ripen before the autumnal frosts set in; and, as they do no good but upon rich land, they prove a stimulus to the farmer to cultivate his soil. They yield more meal than any other sort, generally from 16 to 18 pecks a boll. The meal, however, is reckoned inferior to that produced from the Tweedale or Blainslie oats, which have been long and successfully sown in this district. They make a shift to grow where the cultivation is imperfect, and when the ground is very rich they are apt to fall down or lodge with rain. They yield from 14 to 16 pecks a boll. The meal, however, is reckoned preferable to any other. There is still another kind very common here, known by the name of early seed, or Barbauchlay oats. This sort will struggle with weeds much better than the other sorts, and they ripen sooner than the Tweedale oats, yielding from 12 to 14 pecks a boll of excellent meal. All these produced this season fully more than we have stated, but last year in many instances they fell far short. The Linlithgowshire measure is always understood.

As to barley, it consists of two kinds, one of which has only two rows upon the ear. This is reckoned the best, and will yield from 28 to 30 pecks of meal a boll. The other sort has four rows upon the ear; this is a hardy grain, ripens sooner, and generally yields as much as the other, but the former is always preferred for pot barley. The permission given to distillation is alleged as the reason why the barley has not declined in price so much as other grain. This measure is therefore very much disapproved of by the people at large.

As to wheat, the high prices it bears, when compared with other grain, has occasioned more of it to be sown this season than ever we recollect. It has got a fine tid. The quartern loaf now sells at 1s. 3d. and meal at the reduced price of 2l. 15s. a load, and other articles the same as last month.

Fashions.—*Morning Dress.*—A plain cambric under-dress; a three-quartered muslin or Chinese silk robe worn over it, trimmed round the bottom and up the front with Indian border of needle work, and finished with a deep flounce of lace. A convent hood and pelerine of white net lace, confined under the chin with a silk cord and tassel. Hair in irregular curls, ornamented with a fancy flower in front. A short rosary and cross of the coquilla bead; bracelets of the same. Slippers of buff or lemon coloured kid. Gloves a pale tan colour.

Evening Dress.—A pea-green crape frock, worn over a white gossamer satin slip, with short sleeves of white lace, and waist biassed with lace beading; a deep flounce of lace round the feet, headed with silver netting, the bottom

of the sleeves and back finished to correspond. Hair in curls and ringlets, confined on the crown of the head, and intermixed with autumnal flowers. Ear-rings and other ornaments of pearl. —Gloves of white French kid; and slippers of pea-green satin, trimmed with silver.

Vauxhall Victoria Fete Dress.— Plain white lace frock, over a white sarsnet petticoat; the sleeve, which is half way down the arm, is also composed of lace, and the form of it is extremely novel: the top is very full, and drawn in by strings of pearls, the bottom part is composed of three rows of narrow letting-in, each row edged with pearls; the sleeve comes nearly half way down the arm. Hair curled in loose luxuriant ringlets in front, turned up behind *a la Grecque*, as tightly as possible. Head dress diamonds and the prince's plume of ostrich feathers. Diamond necklace, bracelets, and ear-rings. A light gold chain of elegant workmanship, to which an eye-glass is suspended, is put round the neck, and brought to one side. White kid gloves, and white satin sandals; small ivory fan. A white lace veil is occasionally thrown carelessly over the head, and forms a drapery which is at once simple, elegant, and becoming.

NOVEMBER.

3d.—Dispatches were this morning received by Viscount Castlereagh from Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Stewart, dated Leipsic, October 19th, giving the details of a complete and signal victory gained by the whole of the combined armies of Bohemia, Silesia, and the north of Germany, over Bounaparte, in the neighbourhood of Leipsic, on the 18th and 19th.

One hundred pieces of cannon; sixty thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners; the whole of the Saxon army, and the Bavarian and Wurtemberg troops, consisting of cavalry, artillery, and infantry; many generals, among whom are Regnier, Valary, Brune, Bertrand, and Lauriston, are the fruits of this glorious day.

5th.—Dublin.—*Robbery extraordinary.*—Mr Roger O'Connor, of Dangan, in the county of Meath, for which place he pays an annual rent of 1500l. to Colonel Burrowes, who resides in London, has been in the habit of refusing to pay his rent at any place but on the premises. A Mr Francis Gregory, agent to Colonel Burrowes, after some preliminary discussion with Mr O'Connor, employed Mr Doyle, post-master of Trim, to receive the latter half-year's rent. On the 28th ult. Mr Doyle went to Dangan for this purpose; at the gate he was accosted by a person, who said he was stationed there to give Mr O'Connor immediate notice of his approach, and Mr Doyle followed him to the house, where he found Mr O'Connor and his son Roderick; when Mr Doyle entered, O'Connor desired his son to withdraw. He then proceeded to pay Mr Doyle the rent, amounting to 750l. and which was chiefly in one pound notes.—Mr Doyle observed upon the inconvenience of that mode of payment, and requested the use of pen and ink to mark the notes. This was refused. Mr Doyle after counting the notes, left the house, and within 30 yards of it, and before he had got to the stable, he was attacked from behind by two persons in disguise, whose faces were masked; they knocked him down, tied a handkerchief over his face, robbed him of the money he had just received, and some silver of his own; and having bound his legs with a cord, and forced

a sack over his head, they left him. During the whole transaction, the robbers never uttered a word. No person whatever having come to his assistance, Mr Doyle remained for some time before he was able to extricate himself. On his return to the house, he saw a lady, to whom he mentioned how he had been treated. Shortly after Mr O'Connor arrived, who expressed great surprise at the robbery. Mr Doyle then took his departure. The robbery having been committed at 11 o'clock in the day, the necessary steps are in progress to levy the money upon the county of Meath. We have every reliance that the gentlemen of that vicinity will use their best exertions to discover the persons engaged in this most iniquitous transaction.

An inquisition was taken at Solihull, Warwickshire, on the body of Mary Bate, who was found murdered on the Wednesday preceding. The circumstances of the case are shortly these:—The deceased, her husband, and the two brothers of the deceased, the one aged about 18 and the other 19 years, resided in a cottage, near Solihull Lodge. The two brothers on the morning of the day the murder was committed, rose about a quarter before six o'clock, and went to work; the husband, John Bate, went to work in half an hour afterwards. About six o'clock in the evening, the brothers returned, and not finding the deceased, as they thought, in the house, they waited near it for the return of the husband, who came in a short time, and having struck a light, went up stairs, and immediately exclaimed his wife was murdered. The alarm was given, but nothing was discovered to lead to a supposition of any person having entered the house. Strong suspicion arose, that the husband had committed the murder, in consequence of the contradictory accounts he gave to different persons of some money he pretended to have left in the house; which not proving true, and some blood having been found on his waistcoat and shirt, together with other suspicious circumstances, induced the jury to find a verdict of wilful murder against him; and he was committed to Warwick gaol, to take his trial at the next assizes. The head of the deceased was literally dashed to pieces, and it appeared to have been done with an axe, as she lay asleep in bed; but no instrument of that description could be found with blood on it.

6th.—Waterford.—The following particulars of the murder of Francis Smyth, Esq. who was killed in his own parlour, at Balinaclash, in this county, have been furnished by a gentleman who was present at the inquest. On Sunday evening, between five and six o'clock, a servant-man, who was outside nailing a board over a broken pane in the parlour window, observed three men in close consultation in a field at some distance towards Ballylaneen. The servant conceived suspicions, and, as they came towards the house, he cautioned the foremost that his master was armed; the fellow opened his breast, shewed his pistol, and bid the man take care of himself: they then pushed him into the parlour, and knocked him down. Mr Smyth asked what they were about, and was it whiskey they wanted; they replied, no: sat down, and ordered the servant out. The man went to the kitchen, where the servant-woman said she always dreaded some such mischief would one day or other happen: in about four minutes they heard a shot in the parlour, which he supposed was fired at his master; determining to return to the parlour at all hazards, he left the kitchen, heard his master groan, and met him in the passage. Mr S. said, "I am a dead man;" and al-

most instantly fell and verified his words. On investigation, neither money nor watch were found upon him, although he was seldom without money, and had on that day, and on the preceding, received large sums. The ruffians, immediately after firing, left the house, went off through Ballylaneen; and were not afterwards heard of. On going they met some villagers at the door laughing, and practising the usual mummeries of All-hallow-eve (31st Oct.) They joined in the laugh, and appeared anxious to outdo them in noisy merriment.

The following bulletin was exhibited at St. James's palace:

Windsor Castle, Nov. 6.

"His majesty has continued unremittingly under the full influence of his disorder for many months past: he has, since the last report, had a transient increase of it; but this has again subsided into its former state. His Majesty's bodily health shews no appearance of decay, and his spirits are generally in a comfortable state."

9th.—Between three and four o'clock in the morning, Brighton was visited by a storm of wind and rain, accompanied by very loud thunder and vivid flashes of lightning. The latter did considerable damage in the town and neighbourhood; but providentially no lives were lost. A house situate in Oxford-place, the property of Mr Marshall, was literally torn to pieces by the electric fluid; and although Mr Marshall and his servant were in the premises, they escaped unhurt. A great part of the roof was forced in, the whole of the ceiling demolished, the timbers of the partitions nearly bent double, the headposts of the bedstead in which the servant lay, destroyed, and the curtains of the bed burnt to a cinder; the casement of the window cast upwards of thirty yards from the premises, the door removed to a considerable distance, and the pavement of the washhouse thrown up. The same flash also destroyed a great part of Copperas Gap Mill, about three miles to the westward of the town, and a young man of the name of Haggett was severely burnt.

12th.—The miserable wretch, William Glover, who was lately committed to Monmouth gaol, for the shocking murder of his father and mother, destroyed himself in that prison. He was confined during the day in a room with two other prisoners, to whom the turnkey, as usual, delivered their portion of bread and cheese for breakfast, and gave to one of them, as usual, a knife to divide it, which was to be returned after breakfast. This man cut and gave Glover his portion, and then sat down on a bench before the fire to toast his cheese, placing the knife under him, which he sat upon. Glover, seeing the knife, pushed the man forward upon the fire, snatched it up, and with a violent stroke cut his own throat. The other prisoner immediately seized the hand which held the knife, when he raised the other to his neck, and tearing the wound with great violence, became most dreadfully agitated, and shortly after sunk from the loss of blood, and expired.

14th.—Lord Thurlow's marriage with Miss Bolton the actress took place on Saturday last at St Martin's church. —Immediately after the ceremony, the happy pair drove off to his lordship's seat in Sussex, to spend the honeymoon.

18th.—The Turf.—The October meetings have been but thinly attended, and there has been less racing than for many preceding; the chief cause is to be ascribed to the war, the pressure of the times, and the absence of many gentlemen connected with the turf, on the more important duty of serving their country.—It is certain that the poisoning of the race horses in 1811 caused a general alarm; it also

afforded a good excuse to those who wished to retire, and was a strong argument to deter others whose inclination led them to engage on the turf; the subsequent conviction and execution of the wretched Dawson for that offence, with the confession that he made, disclosing those persons who were concerned or privy to this nefarious transaction, which confession, &c. was laid before the Jockey Club, who in consequence passed several resolutions against certain people, as also decreeing that no stakes should be play or pay except the Derby, Oaks, and St Leger, tended in a great measure to restore things to their former footing; but although the Dawsonian system is at present exploded, there is another now in full force, which though not injurious to the horses, is equally detrimental to the interests of the owners; the system to which we allude is the secret information a certain set of people at, and who frequent Newmarket, by means of their agents, obtain from nearly all the training stables, the moment a horse falls amiss, has been tried, &c. So well planned is this system in all its departments, that it is a known fact, in many instances they obtain information before the owners can be apprised by their grooms, however diligent they may be in sending to their employers. To defeat the object of this system it behoves all noblemen and gentlemen connected with the turf, to be very cautious in betting large sums *play or pay* on matches or sweepstakes before hand, as their not betting play or pay, will in a great degree check the success of this extensive confederacy.

Walking Match.—Mr Robinson, an architect, and a gentleman residing in Berkeley-square, decided a bet for a sum of money, on Friday last. The parties engaged to walk to the twenty mile-stone on the Windsor road, and back. Mr R. started at seven o'clock in the morning, and his antagonist at the hour of eight. The latter won the wager in nine hours, being then two miles a head.

Steeple Race.—A singular kind of sweepstakes, of 50 guineas each, was decided on Monday, between Messrs Fosgard, Carter, and Hall, in the county of Bucks. The match was for hunters, to start about two miles from Bushey, and go to Dishland parish, in Buckinghamshire, a distance of twenty-eight miles, in a straight direction. The country over which the race took place is close and woody, notwithstanding which the sportsmen all took the field. The race was strongly contested between Messrs Carter and Hall, making no refusal at any thing, break or fence, opposed to them, and it was won by Carter, in one hour and fifty minutes.—The horse of Mr Hall got into a bog, and Mr Fosgard's horse fell, and was injured early in the race.

A few nights since, an ass, the property of Mr Polman, butcher, of Hearne, was stolen from a field about a mile from that village; but returned home on the following morning, loaded with some sail-cloth, nearly new, a brewing copper beat together, and a sack; by whom stolen, or how it escaped with the plunder, is totally unknown.

19th.—In the forenoon, John Gibson, a nailer, in Hawick, was brought to Jedburgh, in custody of a sheriff's officer, accused of murdering his wife. Early in the morning of the above day, a person who lodges in the same house where Gibson and his family lived, was awakened by an unusual noise; upon which he jumped out of bed, and went into Gibson's room, the door of which was open, to learn the cause. He found Gibson standing on the floor, in his shirt, and observed, by the light of a lamp which was burning on the table, the shocking spectacle of his wife, lying apparently lifeless, in front

of the bed, with her throat cut, and the floor covered with her blood. It was found, on examination, that the arteries and veins on one side of her neck were completely cut through, by which she had quickly bled to death. The unhappy woman had several children by her husband, and it is not known that they ever lived together on ill terms. He did not deny his guilt to those who secured him, nor did he attempt to resist; and it seems he was led to commit the atrocious act by the effects of jealously, which he had of late harboured against the deceased.

22d.—GLASGOW.—Last week, four rein-deers, viz. two full-grown females, with their fawns, passed through the neighbourhood of this city, on their way to a gentleman's seat in Renfrewshire, having been landed lately in the frith of Forth, from Lapland. We are informed by a correspondent, who examined them, that, in point of size and general appearance, they resembled the wild red-deer of the Highlands of Perthshire. The colour of the body, an ash-coloured brown, becoming very light upon the belly. Their limbs very slender, but the hoofs considerably larger than those of the red-deer, and they did not appear upon the whole to possess more strength than that animal. The rein-deer differs from every other species, in the circumstance of the females having horns as well as the males; but as this is the season of the year when the horns are shed, those now referred to had each lost one horn, which considerably hurt their appearance. The eye was large, full, and lively. It has been asserted by some authors, that the rein-deer lives but a short time out of its own country, not only the climate, but the lichen or moss of Lapland being necessary to its existence. These described, however, appeared to be in perfect health, and completely tame, being conducted by a single man, with great ease, by a bit of cord round the necks of the two old ones.

25th. His serene highness the Prince of Orange embarked from Deal for Holland, on board his majesty's ship Warrior, of 74 guns, commanded by captain Lord Viscount Torrington. His serene highness was accompanied by the Earl of Clancarty, and followed by the respective suites of his serene highness and that nobleman.

On his arrival at Deal, his serene highness was received by a guard of honour, and waited upon by Vice-Admiral Foley, commander in chief, and the captains of his majesty's navy, then at Deal. The vice-admiral's barge, and the flag-ship of the commander in chief, fired a salute of twenty-one guns. On his serene highness's going on board the Warrior, the Orange flag was hoisted at the main-top-mast head, and immediately saluted with twenty-one guns by each of his majesty's ships, and by those of his majesty the emperor of Russia then lying in the Downs.

This day intelligence arrived of the Revolution in Holland, the total expulsion of the French, and the restoration of the house of Orange. The counter-revolution in Holland was effected with all the steadiness of the Dutch character, and with less bloodshed than could have been expected, considering the oppressions under which the Dutch have groaned for so many years.—On Monday, the 14th, when the rising was determined upon, one of the leading patriots proceeded to the residence of Le Brun, the Duke of Placentia, the Governor of Holland. He had the Orange cockade in his hat and on his breast, and he addressed Le Brun as follows:—

"You may easily guess by these colours for what purpose I am come, and what events are about to take place. You, who are now the weakest, know that we are now the strongest. We, who are now the

strongest, know that you are the weakest. You will do wisely and prudently to take your departure with all possible speed, and the sooner you do it the less you will expose yourself to insult, and, possibly, to danger."

To this address Le Brun replied, "I have, sir, for some time expected such a message, and I very willingly accede to your proposition, to take my departure immediately."—"In that case," said the patriot, "I will see you into your coach without loss of time."—This was accordingly done. But by this time the people had assembled and surrounded the coach, with loud cries of *Orange Boven—Up, Orange—down Buonaparte*. The patriot accompanied him in the coach out of the town, and no violence was offered him, except that he was obliged by the people to cry out, *Long live the Prince of Orange*, and to wear the Orange cockade—too happy, no doubt, to get off so well. Having thus sent him off, the people laid hold of all the French douaniers, and threw them into the river. All the watch-houses of the douaniers, and three of their vessels, were burnt. It was on Friday last, at four in the afternoon, that the Orange flag was hoisted with great solemnity at Rotterdam. There was a vast concourse of people of all ranks, who greeted the Ensign of Liberty with unanimous and heartfelt acclamations.

26th.—The port of London was opened yesterday for imports from Holland, when several freights of plaice and conger eels arrived at Billingsgate, to the great delight of those epicures who delight in *Dutch dainties*.

The prosperous effects of the renewal of our commerce with Holland were manifested yesterday in a degree the most gratifying, by the almost impassable state of Thames-street, and other streets on the banks of the river, from the incessant cartage of bales of goods to ships for Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other Dutch ports.

27th.—On Monday came on the election of office-bearers of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, when the following gentlemen were chosen, viz.

Sir James Hall, Bart. president.—Lord Meadowbank, Lord Webb Seymour, vice-presidents.—Professor Playfair, secretary.—James Bonar, Esq. treasurer.—Thomas Allan, Esq. keeper of the museum and library.

PHYSICAL CLASS.—Sir Geo. Mackenzie, Bart. president.—Dr Thomas C. Hope, secretary.—Professor Dugald Stewart, Alexander Keith, Esq. James Russell, Esq. Dr Rutherford, James Bryce, Esq. Dr Brewster, counsellors.

LITERARY CLASS.—Henry Mackenzie, Esq. president.—Thomas Thomson, Esq. secretary.—Lord Robertson, Lord President, Sir Henry Moncrieff, Bart. Rev. Archibald Alison, Rev. Dr Jamieson, Walter Scott, Esq. counsellors.

ADDRESS OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH TO THE PRINCE REGENT.—The following address was presented to the Prince Regent, at the levee on Friday last, by the Right Hon. John Majoribanks, the Lord Provost, and was most graciously received.

May it please your Royal Highness,

It has been the frequent duty, during the last twenty years, of those who represent for the time the ancient metropolis of Scotland, to approach the throne with a humble and loyal expression of their sentiments upon the state of public affairs. This duty they repeatedly discharged while Britain stood unaided and alone in a conflict, during which her foe proclaimed his hope of terminating her very existence as an independent nation. And when, by the blessing of Divine Providence, the battle was transferred from our gates, we hasten to express our sentiments of that generous line of policy, which held out the strong arm of succour to those nations who first sought refuge from tyranny and

oppression, in manly and patriotic resistance. During each awful vicissitude of an uncertain, unequal, and most perilous struggle, we have deemed it our duty to express our devotion to the principles upon which it was conducted, and our submission to our portion of the sacrifices which its extent and continuance necessarily imposed.

It is with far other thoughts, and far happier prospects, that we now again lay our duty at the feet of your royal highness, with feelings which can be likened to none, but those of the survivors of the primeval world, when, looking forth from the vessel to which they had been miraculously preserved, they perceived that God had closed in his mercy the fountains of the deep which he had opened in his wrath; that the wind had passed over the waters, and assuaged their force; while the re-appearance of ancient and well-known mountains and land-marks, hidden so long under the billows of the inundation, warranted a just and pious confidence, that the hour of its fury had passed away. With the same humble, yet cheerful and well-grounded confidence, we now look abroad on the state of regenerated Europe; behold the revival of free nations, which the hand of the armed oppressor had subjected to his tyrannical sway, and hear from the voice of liberated millions, those acclamations (so long suppressed) which were, in former days, the watch-words of loyalty and national independence.—Such are the prospects which a few months have opened upon a war sacred and honourable, because waged by the allied monarchs from no selfish motives, nor ambitious views, but for the avowed, noble, and generous purposes of relieving the oppressed, vindicating the injured, and controlling, by their united concentrated force, the gigantic power, under whose wild, vast, and unbounded projects of ambition, such seas of human blood have been spilt, such a mass of human misery has been created. It is a cause which Heaven has blessed, not only with the most splendid success in the field of battle, but with consequences that never before attended even victory itself. Amid the crowds of events, each affording high and separate subject for future hope and instant rejoicing, we cannot but distinguish the restoration of the hereditary provinces of our beloved monarch to their rightful lord, and the regeneration of Holland, so long the faithful ally of Great Britain.—When we remember, that from Hanover proceeded the line of Brunswick, and that Holland once restored to us the heir of the British monarchy, and, at a period of the like importance sent forth in our behalf the vindicator of British liberties, we cannot suppress our earnest and exulting congratulation. Let Europe mark the falsehood of that charge, which accuses Britain of a desire to convert her naval superiority into the means of exercising tyranny upon the commercial rights of other nations; since at no moment has the voice of the British nation uttered more genuine sounds of joy than to hail the revival of a state, which alone, at any period of our history, could be considered as rivalling her in commercial wealth or maritime power.

Let us conclude our hurried and joyful expressions of the most dutiful and sincere sympathy in these memorable events, with acknowledging the debt we owe to the wisdom and steadiness which has guided, in circumstances of incalculable difficulty, the councils of your royal highness and our beloved monarch. To their firmness and decision we owe, under God, the fortunate consummation which seems now to be full in our view. It was on the shores of Portugal, and the fields of Spain, that the bright example was first shewn of honourable and successful resistance to the armies of France; and justly may we sympathise in the splendid military successes of those great continental powers, who have added such a train of continued victories to these glorious precedents.

That it may please God to bless your royal highness, in your person and government, with the continuance of his safeguard and protection; finally, to establish the cause of social order, by a just, equal, and lasting peace, is the sincere hope and prayer of your royal highness's most dutiful subjects, the Lord Provost, the Magistrates, and Council of the city of Edinburgh, in council assembled.

Signed in our name, by our appointment, and in our presence, and the seal of our said city is hereto affixed, at Edin-

burgh, the 29th day November, 1813 years.

(Signed) WM. TROTTER,
Acting Chief Magistrate.

THE LATE COLONEL BOSVILLE.—This gentleman's will was made in 1807; it is very long, filling no less than six sheets of paper, and written entirely by himself.

One of his nephews, Colonel the honourable Godfrey Macdonald, heir presumptive to the title and estates of the present peer of that name, he leaves sole executor, and, with the exception of one estate which he could not will, and four or five legacies, bequeathes to him the whole of his fortune and estates, provided he takes the name of Bosville.

The Blacket estate, as it is called, situated in Northumberland, worth about 5000l. a-year, he had but for life. It now goes to Colonel Beaumont, M. P. who married Miss Blacket, a cousin of Mr Bosville's.

Colonel Bosville was particularly attached to the honourable James Macdonald, a younger brother of Lord M. and who is a major, in the Coldstream guards, now in Holland; to him, all who knew the colonel, thought the bulk of this immense fortune would be left. However, he mentions him only in making this curious provision: That in case Mr Godfrey Macdonald dies, and his sons (he has three or four) die without issue, then James Macdonald, taking the name of Bosville, shall inherit the estates. The legacies are bequeathed to—

Mr George Sinclair, son of Sir John,	L10,000
Major C. James,	2000
Sir Robert Wilson,	5000
Reverend Mr Este,	2000

And to each domestic two years wages.

Sir Francis Burdett is left trustee.

Mr Bosville died worth a large sum of ready money, and the estate near Bridlington, in Yorkshire, called Thropehall is alone worth 6000l. a-year. He never raised the rents of his tenants, and used to say, "As I found them so I'll leave them."

29th.—Returns of all the Dutch prisoners of war in this country have been ordered to be made out, preparatory to their being sent home to assist their countrymen in maintaining their newly-acquired independence. Their number, it is said, exceeds 10,000.

30th.—PRINCE PONIATOWSKI.—Colonels Kieki, Adjutant of the late Prince Poniatowski, and Herakowski, Adjutant of the General of Division Krasinki, who arrived at Warsaw on the 8th of November, have given the following particulars respecting the death of the prince:—On the 19th of October, when the French army was retreating, the Emperor assigned part of the suburbs of Leipsic, next to the Borna road, to Prince Poniatowski. This post he was to defend with a body of not more than 2000 Polish infantry. Perceiving that the French columns on his left flank were hastily retreating before a superior force, and that there was no possiblity of getting across the bridge, incessantly crowded as it was with artillery and carriages, he drew his sabre, and turning to the officers immediately about him—"Gentlemen," said he, "'tis better to fall with honour," and at the head of a few Polish cuirassiers, and the officers attending him, he fell furiously upon the advancing columns. He had been wounded both on the 14th and 16th; on this occasion he received a musket ball in his left arm. With the words above mentioned, he sprung forward, but found the suburbs already filled with allied troops, who hastened up to make him prisoner. He cut his way through them, however, was again wounded through his cross, threw himself into the Pleisse, and with the assistance of the surrounding officers reached the opposite shore in safety. The horse which he rode was left be-

hind in this river, and the Prince, greatly exhausted, mounted another which was brought him. He then proceeded to the river Elster, but it was already lined with Prussian and Saxon riflemen; and seeing them advancing upon him on all sides, he plunged into the river and sunk, together with his horse. Several officers, who precipitated themselves in the water after the Prince, were likewise drowned, and others taken prisoners on the bank or in the river. The Prince was nephew to Stanislaus Augustus, the last King of Poland.

His funeral obsequies were performed on the 19th of November, in the church of the Holy Cross at Warsaw, in the presence of the most distinguished Russian and Polish families in that city.

A fatal occurrence took place about one o'clock, in the counting-house of Messrs. Haigh and Son, Manchester warehousemen, Aldermanbury. It appears that about twelve months ago, a nephew, who was also his clerk, shewed symptoms of mental derangement, and gradually becoming worse, his uncle at length was obliged to send him to St Luke's, from whence he on Monday night contrived to make his escape, and at eight yesterday morning made his appearance at the counting-house, in Aldermanbury. He was then informed that Mr Haigh was from home, upon which he went away, and called again about eleven, when Mr Haigh instantly dispatched a messenger to St Luke's. Two persons from thence soon after attended, but the young man having by this time become very outrageous, they declined taking hold of him without further assistance. Mr Presto, the constable of the night for the ward of Cripplegate Within, was sent for, and on his arrival the unhappy maniac mounted upon a small desk or upper counting-house which stands on the floor of the warehouse, and swore he would not be taken. Mr Presto, more daring, or less prudent, than the keepers of St Luke's, rushed up the two steps that led to the place where the lunatic had placed himself, and received the contents of a pistol in his head The ball entered by the temple, and the unfortunate man died in less than two minutes. On the lunatic being seized, another loaded pistol was found in his pocket, besides a quantity of powder, nine bullets, and a bullet mould. He was instantly taken back to St Luke's. On this circumstance being mentioned to the alderman of the ward (Wood), he considered it improper to suffer a man who had committed murder in the city of London, whether sane or insane, to be sent out of it until the affair was investigated; but the alderman having no power to demand his person from the keeper of the hospital, he wrote a note requesting that the lunatic might be brought back to the city; with this the keeper of St Luke's complied, and last night he was committed to the Compter by Mr Alderman Wood, for further examination.

This unfortunate person was afterwards tried at the Old Bailey, and acquitted on the ground of insanity.

The Thais, Captain Schobell, lately arrived at Portsmouth, sailed from Sierra Leone on the 4th of August, and from Acra, on the Leeward coast, on the 3d of September. Prior to her quitting the coast, the Favourite and Albicore had arrived. The Thais was eighteen months on the coast. Though, unfortunately for the cause of humanity, and the improvement of Africa, the slave trade is still carried on extensively under the Portuguese and Spanish flags, (the continuance of which will materially depend upon causes of appeal, which are forthcoming for decision in the High Court of Admiralty), yet we have the satisfaction to learn, that in June last the Thais destroyed

the last remaining factory for this traffic (at Masuredo), supported by British subjects. The proprietors of this establishment, John Bostock and Thomas M'Quin, were brought home in the Thais, sentenced, under the late slave-trade Felony Act, to be transported for fourteen years. The Thais landed forty of her crew, commanded by Lieut. Wilkins, to accomplish this act of humanity. The factors resisted, killed one man, and another was drowned when advancing to the assault. There were about 230 slaves in the factory, who were released. The Thais captured several vessels on the coast with slaves on board; they were under Portuguese and Spanish flags. One of the vessels presented another instance of the horrors of this trade; she was a smack of 188 tons burthen, bound to the Brazils, with 375 slaves on board; and, it appeared, when the Thais took possession, that three of them had died from actual suffocation.

AGRICULTURAL REPORT.

ENGLAND.—Wheat sowing is generally finished, the seed well got in, and from the suitable weather of late, and the good working of the land, the desired breadth is every where sown. The early-sown wheats continue to improve, and in some parts, should open weather continue, will be very forward and rank. The autumnal bearded or cone wheat, commonly called rivets, formerly much sown in Norfolk and Suffolk, is reported to have been some time past getting into disuse. Young clovers, and other seeds, and all the winter crops, have the most promising appearance, and no complaints at present of the slug. Turnips, particularly Swedish, good in places, will not be a heavy crop generally. Great plenty of fodder, but butcher cattle abroad at present. Cattle markets high, and not unlikely to be at a most extravagant price in the spring, yet it is written from various quarters that the cutting butchers charge high prices for meat, although they do not buy high of the grazier; and that a regulation of the retail price of meat is as essential to the community as that of bread.

The latter carryings of corn and beans, in backward and low grounds, have not been successful. Both have been put together in a damp and discoloured state, the beans very soft. From the droughty weather of July and August, potatoes are an inferior crop in places. Present employment of the farmer, as usual at this season, fallowing for the spring crops, hedging, ditching, draining, &c.

Immense draughts have been made upon the stack-yards by the threshing machines.—Passage boats worked by steam have been lately adopted on several rivers and canals an improvement of national consequence.

FASHIONS.—*Morning Dress.*—A round cambric gown, a walking length, with short full sleeve, and puckered cuff, buttoned or laced down the back, and made high round the neck, with a full frill of lace. A military stock edged round the chin with the same. A figured Chinese scarf, the colour American green, twisted round the figure in the style of antique drapery. Melon bonnet the same colour, striped, and trimmed to correspond with the scarf. Hair irregular curls on the forehead. Ear-rings of gold or topaz. Long York tan, or Limerick gloves, above the elbow. Slippers of yellow Morocco. This dress, divested of the bonnet, is considered genteel *neglige* for any period of the day.

Morning Walking, or Carriage Habiliment.—A simple breakfast robe of Indian muslin, or cambric; with plain high collar, and long sleeve. Plain chemisette front, buttoned down the bosom. A Calypso wrap of marone velvet, or kerseymere, trimmed entire-

ly round with white ermine, or swans-down. Spanish hanging-sleeve, suspended from the back, and falling over the left shoulder, terminating in a round point below the elbow. This ornament is lined throughout with skin the same as the trimming. A mountain hat of white imperial beaver, or fur, tied under the chin with a ribband the colour of the coat. Gloves and shoes of American green, or buff. Cropt hair, confined with a band, and curled over the left eye.

Ball Dress in the Parisian Style.—A Neapolitan robe and petticoat, of white or coloured satin, made quite plain. Armorial vest of white satin, beaded in gold stripes. A cestus *a-la-Cleopatra*, composed of wrought gold and amethysts. Hanging sleeve, gathered in front of the arm, with brooches of the same. The hair confined from the roots, the ends flowing in irregular curls, leaving the forehead and temples exposed. An Indian *casque* of tissue, with amethyst ornaments. A long veil of gossamer gause, rounded at the end, and embroidered in a delicate border of silver, or silk, flowing from the centre of the crown, over the right shoulder, and forming a drapery in front of the figure by the attitude of the left hand. Pear ear-rings of amethyst or pearl. Necklace of of pearl, with amethyst star in the centre. White satin slippers, edged with silver beading, and white kid gloves above the elbow.

DECEMBER.

3d.—AMSTERDAM.—Yesterday, about three o'clock, his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange made his solemn entry into this capital, through the gates of Haerlem, under the roar of artillery, and with the ringing of all the bells.

The joy was general among all classes of the inhabitants; the numbers of the populace that were assembled, and flew to every part where his highness passed, was past description. The joyful acclamations of huzzas! Orange boven! and long live Prince William, the first Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands! was uninterrupted.

INVERNESS.—At the Martinmas market, which was held here last week, horses and cattle brought excellent prices. For grain there is little or no demand, beyond what is occasioned by the necessities of the moment, which the abundant supply of potatoes renders less pressing than usual. What is sold, however, brings higher prices here than in any other part of the kingdom, and it will excite surprise when we state, that, in the midst of plenty, and a dull market, wheat is sold at 42s. barley at 45s. to 50s. and oats at 30s. per boll; oatmeal at 2s. per peck, and the quartern loaf at 1s. 3d.

4th.—ADMIRALTY OFFICE.—His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange and his Excellency the Earl of Clancarty and their respective suites, landed from his majesty's ship the Warrior, at Scheveling, about four o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday the 30th ult.

His serene highness immediately proceeded to the Hague.

When his majesty's ship, bearing the orange flag, approached the coast, she was surrounded by a number of Dutch vessels, all decorated with orange colours, and filled with persons anxious to testify their joy at the arrival of his serene highness; and his serene highnessa was received on his landing by an immense concourse of people with acclamations of the greatest joy and every possible mark of affection and respect.

Immediately after his serene highness landed he issued the following proclamation:

William Frederick, by the grace of God, Prince of Orange and Nassau, &c.&c.

To all those who these presents shall see or hear read, greeting. Be it made known:

Dear Countrymen!

After nineteen years of absence and suffering, I have received with heartfelt joy your unanimous invitation to come amongst you. I am now arrived, and, I trust, under Divine Providence, that I shall be the means of restoring you to your ancient independence and prosperity. This is my sole object, and I have the satisfaction to assure you, that it is equally the object of the allied powers. It is in particular the wish of the Prince Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of his government. Of this you will be convinced, by the unanimous assistance which that powerful country is immediately going to give you, and which, I trust, will lay the foundation of those old and intimate ties of friendship and alliance which have so long made the happiness of both States. I am come, disposed and determined to forgive and forget every thing that has passed. We have all but one common object, which is to heal the wounds of our native country, and to restore it to its rank and splendour among nations. The revival of trade and commerce will, I trust, be the immediate consequence of my return. All party spirit must be for ever banished from among us. No effort shall be wanting on my part, and on that of my family, to assert and secure your independence, and to promote your happiness and welfare. My eldest son, who, under the immortal Lord Wellington, has proved himself not unworthy of the fame of his ancestors, is on his way to join me; unite, therefore, dear countrymen, with heart and soul with me, and our common country will flourish again, as in the days of old, and we shall transmit unimpaired to our posterity the blessings we have received from our ancestors.

Given under my seal and signature, December 1, 1813.

(Signed) W. F. Pr. of Orange.

By command of his highness,

(Signed) H. Eagle.

6th.—John Drew May, late a bill broker in the city, was tried at the Old Bailey on Friday, on a charge of altering a navy bill, from 723l. 13s. 8d. to 1723l. 13s. 8d. with the intent to defraud the commissioners of the navy. He was found guilty, and sentenced to suffer death.

Prince Regent's Entertainment.—On Friday a grand entertainment was given by the Prince Regent to the Russian deputation sent to this country to invest his royal highness with the three principal Russian orders; his royal highness made it a state business, being surrounded by their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, and Cambridge, the Prime Minister, the Lord President of the Council, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Lord Chamberlain, Goldstick, Lord and Groom in Waiting, &c.

They were received at the great hall by the yeomen of the guard, the livery servants in the state liveries, the pages in the state uniforms, &c. They were conducted the same way to the state rooms as the royal family, and those who have the privilege of the entré on court days. At seven o'clock dinner was announced, when the guests were conducted to the crimson room. His royal highness was surrounded by, besides his royal brothers, the following distinguished Russians:—

Count Leiven, the Russian ambassador, and his countess, General Balashett, Count Orloff, Lady Porter, Monsieur and Madame Laval, Prince Sapicha, Baron and Baroness Nicholay, Count Potocki, Marquis de la Maisonfort, Mr Sass, Mr Pagenpold, Mr Strandman, Mr Kahashkine, Mr Krukawskay, Mr Ponshkine, the Rev. Mr Smirnott, Mr Danhatchewsky, Mr Peletica, Mr Severine, Mr Swimie, General and Madame Sublukoff.

There were also present—

Count Woronzow, Monsieur de Tatescheff and lady, Mr Angerstein, the Earl and Countess of Liverpool, Viscount and Viscountess Castlereagh, the Marquis of Hertford, Lord G.

Beresford, Earl Harrington, Count Munster, Lord St Helens, Viscount Melbourne, and Sir W. Keppel.

The dinner consisted of three courses, served up in the most highly finished style; the table was oval, 16 feet by 37. The gold and two silver services of plate were displayed on the occasion. In the centre was a very grand temple, in the middle of a new circular plateau, suitable to the form of the table, which was decorated with basso relievo, surrounded by genii, supporting laurel leaves, emblematical of victory; and in the border were portraits of the king, the queen, and the prince regent, patronising the arts and sciences. It was considered the largest and the finest piece of workmanship that ever was produced in this country. In addition to the Liverpool service of glass, a new service was served up, in which is revived nearly a very old fashion, with a worm in a very small stem. It is engraved with the royal arms, the lion and crown, full ripe grapes as on the vine, and the star of the order of the garter; the whole set is considered the finest that ever has been produced, the workmanship of the engraving being so exquisitely fine. The table was lighted by six branches of wax-lights, with two centre pieces at each end, the tops of which were filled with the most odoriferous exotics, from the royal gardens at Kew. The room was lighted by the matchless chandelier in the centre, four beautiful and elegant small ones at each corner, and several pyramids of candles. The whole surpassed in elegance any thing yet seen.

7th.—Murder at Vauxhall.—A murder was committed in the house of the Misses Gompertz, under the following circumstances:—It appears that three ladies of the name reside nearly opposite to the principal entrance to Vauxhall gardens; that their household consisted of three female servants and a footman, and a gentleman, their cousin, also resided in the house. The man servant's usual practice was, every night, to fire off a musquet at 11 o'clock, and to reload it. He slept in the kitchen, where this musquet was always kept. At about four o'clock on Tuesday morning, one of the Misses Gompertz heard the report of a gun, and instantly rung the bell which communicated to the kitchen, but received no answer. On this she awoke her cousin and sisters, and the female servants, and they went down stairs, and found the kitchen door fast; they knocked, but receiving no answer, they at length broke it open, and found the man-servant lying dead by the window. On further inspection, it appeared that the house had been attempted by robbers, who had, by great force, with an iron crow, pulled down the window shutters, and afterwards taken out a pane of glass, which lay on the ground unbroken. It is supposed that they were at this time heard by the footman, who, in opposing their entrance, was fired upon, and killed on the spot; the musket was taken away by the robbers, but found the next morning in a field adjoining the house. It was in a foul state, as if recently fired; but we understand one of the female servants says, that the deceased was not able to load it the preceding night for want of powder, which he did not discover until after he had discharged it as usual. The man servant's livery coat was also found outside the house next morning.

9th.—State of the King's Health.—On Sunday the following bulletin was exhibited at St James's Palace:—

"*Windsor Castle December* 4, 1813.

"The King's disorder continues undiminished, but his majesty's bodily health is good, and he has passed the last month in tranquillity and comfort.

(Signed as usual.)

Canine Madness.—The following melancholy case of this most dreadful malady occurred in Newcastle lately. James Sharp, glassman, son of Alexander Sharp, of Queen-street, complained of being unwell, on Wednesday se'ennight, in the morning, after returning from his work at the Northumberland Glass-house: he said he had been vomiting throughout the whole previous night while at work. On Thursday he was much worse, when an emetic was procured for him, but he could not bear the sight of it when made into a liquid. On Friday, a medical man was brought to see him, who, after examining him, and trying the effect the sight of water produced on him, gave it as his opinion that it was a case of hydrophobia. Enquiry was then made whether he had ever been bitten by a dog, but his parents were ignorant of such a circumstance; the young man was then asked, when he said that a pup of his had bit his thumb three weeks ago, and that the dog died soon after. A powder was now given him, which he swallowed with closed eyes, and the greatest agitation, not being able to bear the sight of the water in which it was mixed. The case arrested the attention of several of the faculty. In the afternoon of Friday he was bled in both arms, and in the temple, not to hasten his death, as the ignorant are currently reporting, but as the only means likely to lead to a recovery. It had not, however, the desired effect, for from that time he continued excessively ill till about half past three o'clock on Saturday morning, having only about ten minutes respite between each paroxym. A few minutes before expiring, he expressed a wish for a drink of *warm* water: about two tea-cupfuls were given him, when he appeared something easier. Shortly after he had a desire to make water; he was taken up for that purpose, but no sooner did his feet touch the ground, than he threw himself back in his father's and uncle's arms, and expired without a groan.—The deceased was 18 years of age.

Petersburgh, October 19.

General Moreau.—The body of General Moreau, which was carried to Russia by order of his Majesty the Emperor, arrived in this capital on the night of the 30th of Sept.—It was received in the Catholic church, and was laid in state during one day, on a magnificent bier; a monument destined to recal the sad image of the hero whom France and Europe have for ever lost. The solemn service, to which the sound of mournful music added yet a more majestic and affecting character, was performed by his Eminence the Metropolitan Archbishop of Mohilef, and followed by a funeral oration, in which the orator, after having sketched a slight portrait of the military exploits which have assured to General Moreau a distinguished rank among captains, and the recollection of which will be perpetuated in history, spoke of the moral qualities of his hero, of his disinterestedness, his beneficence, of his moderation and his greatness of soul. His mortal remains were deposited in a vault previously prepared in the body of the church. All the principal nobility in the empire were present at the ceremony, and the troops, ranged in lines, performed, by several discharges of musquetry, the last honours due to the rank of the departed general.

Gibraltar, October 28.

A malignant fever has, for the last fortnight, raged with great violence; the streets are deserted, and scarcely a family in the garrison but have had their part of the misery. All mercantile business is at a stand, and the remainder of the military who have not experienced the fever, also the women and children belonging to the military, are encamped. Amongst the deaths greatly regretted are those of Colonel

Rudyerd, engineers, leaving a widow and seven children; the young and amiable Mrs Grant Symth, and her brother, Lieutenant Holloway, of the artillery, both children of Sir C. Holloway; Dr and Mrs Waters, buried in one grave; Mr Sheppard, Assistant Commissary; Captain Douse, artillery, lately married; Mr Bowyer, a merchant, and others.

23d.—Roxburgh Cause.—This important and long-depending cause is at length decided.—The Lord Chancellor, on Friday, entered into a discussion on it and the Queensberry Cause together. The grounds and principles of the two cases, he argued, were the same; and the result of the most deliberate consideration he could give, was in favour of the decision of the Court of Session, viz. that the feus were bad. His Lordship concluded by moving that the judgment of the decision of the Court of Session, in the case of the Duke of Queesnberry, or the Earl of Wemyes, be affirmed.—Ordered accordingly.

His Lordship then delivered his opinion at considerable length upon the Roxburgh case; and upon all the circumstances, he conceived that the feus were bad.—He was extremely sorry for the party. This power of feuing was a power given to be exercised for the benefit of the heir of tailzie without any doubt; but in the way it was now attempted to be exercised, it would have just the contrary effect. It was evident, from all the deeds and transactions attending these feus also, that the Duke himself knew that these feus were not legally granted. He had examined, he said, the cases both in Scots and English law, in order to be more able to decide this most important case, and he had regarded it with an anxiety which he never felt before in the whole course of his judicial business. With regard to the feus of Fleurs and Broxmouth, no doubt had been entertained that they were bad, because by the law of Scotland no mansion-house was allowed to be feud. Upon the rest of the feus he considered they were equally bad; some of the judges had indeed said that half were bad only, and some a fourth, but he could perceive no feu better than another. Why, therefore, he was to take the 11th feu rather than the 10th he could not see; the whole were made on the same day, and he considered that they must either stand or fall together. For these reasons he considered that they were all bad. He should, therefore, (he continued) on the following day, give final judgment for affirming the interlocutor of the Court of Session. On Saturday, accordingly, his Lordship moved finally to affirm the interlocutors of the Court of Session, finding that, first, the feus were not consistent with the deed of 1643—2dly, That they must all stand or fall together—and, 3dly, That they were an alteration of the order of succession—Ordered.

On Friday night last, a melancholy accident happened alongside the St George prison-ship, at Plymouth. A launch belonging to one of the transports lately arrived in Hamoaze from Spain, with French soldiers, was sent to the above ship with the prisoners, when, in consequence of a heavy swell, the boat swamped alongside, and nine of the unfortunate captives were drowned. The remainder were saved.—This loss, added to that of the unfortunate passengers on board the hoy lost in Plymouth Sound on the preceding Wednesday night, makes an aggregate of 45 persons drowned in that port in four days.

24th.—Melancholy Accident at Bath.—Wednesday last proved one of the most suddenly severe frosts ever remembered at Bath; the mercury, in Fahrenheit's thermometer, ha-

ving sunk so low as 16. The Kennet and Avon Canal, near the city, soon became frozen over, and on that day several skaiters ventured on the surface of the basin; and, we are sorry to state, that three lives were unhappily sacrificed to this temerity. A son of General Sir W. Cunningham, a young gentleman who had just finished his education, and was on the point of accepting a desirable situation in the East India service; a son of Dr Briggs, of Worcester, who was on a visit at Sir William's; and Felix Mogg (an apprentice of Mr Harrison, of Union-passage), son of —— Mogg, Esq. of Wincanton. The youngest of the three, Master Briggs, fell in first, and his companion, in endeavouring to rescue him, shared the same fate. Anxious to render assistance to the unfortunate young gentlemen, the third youth hastened to the fatal spot—the fragile substance again gave way, and he also sunk, never again to rise alive!—Thus have three families been plunged into the deepest affliction by this deplorable accident.

Surrey Assize Court, Jamaica, Thursday, Sept. 16, 1813.—Trial of J. M. Landgraff for Murder.—The prisoner, John Landgraff, was arraigned on an indictment for shooting, on the morning of the 26th of June, Serjeant Patrick Coady, of the 6th battalion 60th foot, in the barracks of Port Antonio. By the direction of the learned judge, the prisoner pleaded Not Guilty. Lieutenant Goldsmith, Corporal Paterson, and a female negro, were the principal witnesses. They deposed, that the prisoner and Serjeant Coady were in a room together: that the latter was cleaning his accoutrements, and talking at the same time to the girl, when the prisoner walked deliberately towards him, put the muzzle of the musket to his back, and shot him dead. So far as they had noticed, there had been no quarrel nor any angry words passed between the parties. The prisoner did not deny having committed the deed, but calmly said, when taken into custody, "I am the man who shot him.—I had no other means to preserve my life."—They examined the musket, and found it wet and warm, as if recently discharged.

Dr Walker, surgeon to the 60th, deposed, that he had examined the wound, and had no doubt that it was the cause of Coady's death.

The prisoner, when called on for his defence, requested permission to read a paper which he held in his hand.—In substance it was to the following effect:—

"That he was by birth a Dane; but that he had been many years in his Britannic Majesty's service. That he had a sincere regard for the deceased, with whom he had for nearly a twelvemonth lived in habits of unreserved intimacy and friendship. They had never quarrelled, never disputed, and their mutual attachment, instead of experiencing any diminution, seemed every day to increase, and to resolve itself into a most brotherly affection. Unfortunately, about three weeks ago, his nocturnal slumbers began to be disturbed by visions and dreams. The former represented that a great danger impended over him, and in the latter it was clearly shewn that it would spring from one that was dearest to him. He regarded neither, but he was still troubled by them. He took the resolution to unbosom himself to Coady, who, after hearing all he had to say, treated the subject very lightly. A few nights after, he was warned by the same vision, that the danger approximated; that it threatened his existence, not only in this world, but his salvation in the world to come; and that it could be averted only by great resolution. His fears became roused. He supplicated to be informed in what manner he should act. He was given to understand, that that would be revealed hereafter in dreams. Accordingly he did not cease to be favoured with them, and learned that his dangers sprung from Coady. His mind became in consequence steeled against his friend. He brooded over the necessity of putting him to death, that he might not lose his

hopes of eternal salvation, which his sense of religion rendered peculiarly dreadful and afflicting to his mind. He at length determined on sacrificing his friend. On the morning of the 26th of June, he rose with that dreadful purpose labouring in his breast. He loaded his musket, and came unawares behind Coady and shot him. The jury found him guilty. As there were no other proofs of insanity, he was executed.

AGRICULTURAL REPORTS.

England.—The weather during this month has been highly favourable for the young wheats: the early-sown have put forth a strong plant, forming a verdant mat to protect the tender fibres from the winter's frost. The lattersown breadths have scarcely made their appearance above the surface of the soil; and, from the dirty way in which the seed was put into the earth, in consequence of the extreme wet weather, but little can be said of that crop which does not appear. The wheat of last harvest yields most abundantly to the acre, and the quality is fine.

Barleys have come freely to the market since the cattle have returned to the straw-yard. Threshing-machines, in some districts, are getting into disrepute, on account of their not threshing barley with the same facility they do sheaf-corn, and from the large quantity of corn they throw out with the straw.

Oats and peas are very productive, and of fine quality.

All the soiling crops look well; and the whole of the brassica tribe, from the late growing weather, are of large size and fine quality.

Ditching and draining have been the principal out-door work of the last month, in consequence of the short duration of the frost. The fall in the price of corn has not much impeded the efforts of the farmer in this important branch of agriculture, in those counties where it is properly appreciated. There has been a greater number of draining tiles sold this winter than in any preceding year. This is a most valuable acquisition in those tenacious districts where stone cannot be procured.

Scotland.—The ploughing in sundry instances commenced about the beginning of the month, and some progress was made upon wettish ground, for a crop of oats, and also upon land intended for turnips and potatoes next season. The rain, however, the snow, and the frost, that followed each other in quick sucsession, soon suspended these operations, and the husbandmen had leisure to attend to the disposal of their cattle. There are a very full stock of cattle in the country, many of which, on account of the high price of butcher meat, are stalled, to be fattened; and, as the turnip crops are abundant, this will be easily effected. Cheese and butter are also still in request, and the prices high. But now, that grain has fallen so much, the dearth of any thing that borders upon luxury ought not to occasion either murmuring or discontent.

By the serene mild weather in summer and autumn, the sheep in the hill part of the district are said to be in excellent condition. They are generally smeared with a compound of tar, and the oil of butter, in the month of November, which occasions much hurry and bustle among the store-masters and their herdsmen.—Much emulation and professional dexterity are displayed in the business. It consists in making an opening, or shed in the wool from the head to the heel, without too much rufling or hurting the beast, and then in spreading the ointment or tar equally in alternate sheds all around. The rise in the value of the store-masters stock, which has taken place without any exertion of their own enables them

to vie in opulence and stile with th most active corn-farmer.

Fashions.——*Promenade or Carriage Costume.*—This dress, when divested of the spencer, or jacket, exhibits the evening or opera costume, which consists of a round robe of marone or crimson-coloured Merino kerseymere, or queen's cloth, ornamented round the bottom and up the front with a fancy gold embroidered border. The bodice is composed of satin, or velvet, of the same colour, trimmed round the bottom and sleeves with gold braid and narrow swans-down; the front of the bodice richly ornamented with gold and pearl buttons. A gold band and pearl or diamond clasp confine the bottom of the waist, with a gold frog pending on each side, inclining towards the back of the figure. The robe is laced behind with gold cord. Hair disposed in dishevelled curls, falling on the left side, and decorated with clusters of variegated autumnal flowers. Necklace composed of a treble row of pearl, white cornelian, or the satin bead, confined in front with a diamond clasp. Ear-rings and bracelets to correspond. Slippers of crimson velvet, ornamented with gold fringe and rosettes. White kid gloves, below the elbow. Fan of richly frosted silver crape.

The great convenience and novel attraction of this dress consist in its admitting of a spencer of the same material as the robe, which is richly ornamented, *a la militaire*, with gold braid and netting buttons, forming a sort of epaulette on the shoulders. The spencer is embroidered up the seams of the back, on the shoulders and cuffs, to correspond with the bottom of the robe. This spencer, when worn over the evening dress, affords at once both comfort and utility; and, with the addition of a straw or velvet hat, ornamented with feathers, and half boots or Roman shoes, constitute a most attractive and appropriate carriage or promenade costume.

The Walking Costume.—High dresses of cloth, with a cloak to correspond, are at present in high estimation. A small turned-up cloth hat, simply ornamented with a satin ribband to correspond in colour with the cloth, and put on over a lace cap, which is ornamented with a full puffing in front, is worn with a mantle.

The Kutusoff mantle is the decided favourite of our most elegant belles; it is made in general of pink, scarlet, or ruby cloth.—Princess Mary's hat is most generally worn with this mantilla, and is either pink or white satin.

Morning dresses are now more general in cloth than in any thing else.

For dinner dresses, velvet cloth, and twilled sarsnet frocks, are universal; waists are, as in half dress, very short, and the sleeves of dinner dresses are also worn much shorter than they were.

In full dress, white satin or velvet is universal.—The most elegant that we have seen was one composed of purple velvet; it was a frock; the body and sleeves were slashed with white satin, and the edge of each slash ornamented with a very light, narrow, and beautiful silver fringe. White satin frocks, richly embroidered, either in silver or coloured silks, are much in favour; as are also draperies composed of either white lace or crape embroidered to correspond.

APPENDIX I.—GAZETTES.

APPENDIX I.—GAZETTES.

Admiralty Office, April 20, 1813.

Letters have been received at this office from Rear Admiral Dixon, addressed to John Wilson Croker, Esq. by Lieut. Chads, late first lieutenant of his Majesty's ship Java :—

United States Frigate Constitution, off St Salvador, Dec. 31, 1812.

Sir,

It is with deep regret that I write you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's ship Java is no more, after sustaining an action on the 29th instant, for several hours, with the American frigate Constitution, which resulted in the capture and ultimate destruction of his Majesty's ship. Captain Lambert being dangerously wounded in the height of the action, the melancholy task of writing the detail devolves on me.

On the morning of the 29th inst. at eight a. m. off St. Salvador (coast of Brazil) the wind at N. E. we perceived a strange sail; made all sail in chase, and soon made her out to be a large frigate; at noon prepared for action, the chase not answering our private signals, and tacking towards us under easy sail; when about four miles distant she made a signal, and immediately tacked and made all sai away upon the wind. We soon found we had the advantage of her in sailing, and came up with her fast, when she hoisted American colours; she then bore about three points on our lee-bow. At fifty minutes past one, p. m. the enemy shortened sail, upon which we boredown upon her; at ten minutes past two, when about half a mile distant, she opened her fire, giving us a larboard broadside, which was not returned till we were close on her weather-bow. Both ships now manœuvred to obtain advantageous positions, our opponent evidently avoiding close action, and firing high to disable our masts, in which he succeeded too well, having shot away the head of our bowsprit with the jib-boom, and our running rigging so much cut as to prevent our preserving the weather-gage.

At five minutes past three, finding the enemy's raking fire extremely heavy, Captain Lambert ordered the ship to be laid on board, in which we should have succeeded, had not our fore-mast been shot away at this moment, the remains of our bowsprit passing over his taffrail; shortly after this the maintopmast went, leaving the ship totally unmanageable, with

most of our starboard guns rendered useless from the wreck lying over them.

At half past three our gallant captain received a dangerous wound in the breast, and was carried below; from this time we could not fire more than two or three guns until a quarter past four, when our mizen mast was shot away; the ship then fell off a little, and brought many of our starboard guns to bear: the enemy's rigging was so much cut that he could not now avoid shooting a-head, which brought us fairly broadside and broadside. Our main-yard now went in the slings, both ships continued engaged in this manner till 35 minutes past four, we frequently on fire in consequence of the wreck lying on the side engaged. Our opponent now made sail a-head out of gun shot, where he remained an hour repairing his damages, leaving us an unmanageable wreck, with only the main-mast left, and that tottering. Every exertion was made by us during this interval to place the ship in a state to renew the action. We succeeded in clearing the wreck of our masts from our guns, a sail was set on the stumps of the fore-mast and bowsprit, the weather half of the main-yard remaining aloft, the main tack was got forward in the hope of getting the ship before the wind, our helm being still perfect; the effort unfortunately proved ineffectual, from the main-mast falling over the side, from the heavy rolling of the ship, which nearly covered the whole of our starboard guns. We still waited the attack of the enemy, he now standing towards us for that purpose; on his coming nearly within hail of us, and from his manœuvre perceiving he intended a position a-head, where he could rake us without a possibility of our returning a shot, I then consulted the officers, who agreed with myself that our having a great part of our crew killed and wounded, our bowsprit and three masts gone, several guns useless, we should not be justified in wasting the lives of more of those remaining, who I hope their lordships and the country will think have bravely defended his Majesty's ship. Under these circumstances, however reluctantly, at 50 minutes past five, our colours were lowered from the stump of the mizen-mast, and we were taken possession of, a little after six, by the American frigate Constitution, commanded by Commodore Bainbridge, who, immediately after ascertaining the state of the ship, resolved on burning her, which we had the satisfaction of seeing done as soon as the wounded were removed. Annexed I send you a return of the killed and wounded, and it is with pain I perceive it so numerous; also a statement of the comparative force of the two ships, when I hope their lordships will not think the British flag tarnished, although success has not attended us. It would be presumptuous in me to speak of Captain Lambert's merits, who, though still in danger from his wound, we entertain the greatest hopes of his being restored to the service and his country.

It is most gratifying to my feelings to notice the gallantry of every officer, seaman, and marine on board: in justice to the officers, I beg leave to mention them individually. I can never speak too highly of the able exertions of Lieutenants Hevringham and Buchanan, and also of Mr Robinson, master, who was severely wounded, and Lieutenants Mercer and Davis, of the royal marines, the latter of whom also was severely wounded. To Captain John Marshall, R. N. who was a passenger, I am particularly obliged for his exertions and advice throughout the action. To Lieutenant Aplin, who was on the main deck, and Lieutenant Saunders, who commanded on the forecastle, I also return my thanks.

I cannot but notice the good conduct of the mates and midshipmen, many of whom are killed, and the greater part wounded. To Mr T. C. Jones, surgeon, and his assistants, every praise is due, for their unwearied assiduity in the care of the wounded. Lieutenant Gen. Hislop, Major Walker, and Captain Wood, of his staff, the latter of whom was severely wounded, were solicitous to assist and remain on the quarter deck. I cannot conclude this letter, without expressing my grateful acknowledgments, thus publicly, for the generous treatment Captain Lambert and his officers have experienced from our gallant enemy Commodore Bainbridge, and his officers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. D. CHADS, First Lieutenant of his Majesty's late ship Java.

P. S. The Constitution has also suffered severely both in her rigging and men, having her fore and mizen-masts, main-top-mast, both main top sail-yards, spanker-boom, gaff, and try-sail mast badly shot, and the greatest part of the standing rigging very much damaged, with ten men killed, the commodore, fifth lieutenant, and 46 men, wounded, four of whom are since dead.

Force of the two Ships.

JAVA.

28 long 18-pounders.
16 carronades, 32-pounders.
2 long 9-pounders.
—
46 guns.

Weight of metal, 1034lb.

Ship's company and supernumeraries, 377.

CONSTITUTION.

32 long 24-pounders.
22 carronades, 32-pounders.
1 carronade, 18-pounder.
—
55 guns.

Weight of metal, 1490.

Crew, 480.

Downing Street, March 3, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were this day received by Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of State, from Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost, Bart. Governor-general and Commander-in-chief of the forces in North-America:

Head-quarters, Chambly, Nov. 21, 1812.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that the efforts of the enemy at Sackett's harbour, on Lake Ontario, enabled them to send out, on the 10th instant, seven sail of armed vessels, manned by the crew of one of the American frigates, and commanded by some of their naval officers, having on board a considerable detachment of troops, for the purpose of carrying the port of Kingston by surprise, and of destroying his Majesty's ship Royal George, then lying there. I have much satisfaction in reporting to your lordship, that the vigilance and military skill of Colonel Vincent, who is in command at Kingston, frustrated their designs; and after many hours of ineffectual cannonade, the American flotilla hauled off, and on the following day returned into port. I have also the honour to report to your lordship, that, having received information of the advance of the enemy with their whole force of regulars and militia encamped at Plattsburgh, from that place to the village at Champlain, about six miles from the province line, with the avowed purpose of penetrating into this frontier, I directed the brigade of troops at Montreal, consisting of two companies of the Royals, 7 companies of the 8th or King's, 4 companies of

the Montreal volunteer militia, and the 5th battalion of the embodied Canadian militia, with one troop of volunteer cavalry, and a brigade of light artillery, the whole under the command of Colonel Baynes, to cross the St Lawrence, and advance to the support of Major-general De Rottenburgh, whose front was threatened by this movement of the enemy: the troops crossed with uncommon expedition on the evening of Thursday last, the 19th inst. and reached La Prairie that night.

I am happy to inform your lordship, that immediately upon the alarm being given that the enemy were advancing, the sedentary militia flocked in from all quarters with a zeal and alacrity which I cannot too much praise, and which assures me that I shall derive essential assistance from them when the occasion shall require it. The enemy, since the advance to Champlain, have made several reconnoissances beyond the lines into the province; one in particular, on the night of the 19th with a detachment of cavalry, and a body of about 1000 of their regular infantry, the whole under the command of Lieut-Col. Pike, who is esteemed in the United States an able officer; but falling in unexpectedly with a small party of Voyageurs and Indians, one of our advanced pickets, by whom they were fired upon, they were thrown into the greatest confusion, and commenced a fire upon each other, which was attended with a loss of about 50 of their men in killed and wounded, when they dispersed. Our picket made good their retreat unmolested, and without a man being hurt; by several deserters, who have since come in to us, and some of whom were of the reconnoitering party, we have ascertained their loss, and that but a small proportion of the militia accompanied them that night to the lines; the others having wavered respecting advancing beyond them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE PREVOST.

Earl Bathurst, &c.

Head-quarters La Prairie, Nov. 28.

My Lord,—Since my last report to your lordship from Chambly, the vigour of the enemy's operations against Lower Canada has gradually declined, and terminated on the 22d, at noon, in a complete retreat, which was effected in two divisions on that and the following days upon Plattsburgh, Burlington, and Albany; at which places, I am informed, they propose to take up their winter-quarters. I beg leave to transmit to your lordship copies of the general orders I have issued to the militia of Lower Canada upon this occasion, as I cannot more properly bring their active loyalty and their desire to maintain the rights of their Sovereign before your lordship, for the consideration of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEORGE PREVOST.

Earl Bathurst, &c.

Downing-street, April 22.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received by the Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant-general Sir George Prevost, Bart. governor-general and commander-in-chief of the forces in North America:—

Quebec, Feb. 8, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to congratulate your lordship upon the signal success which has again attended his majesty's arms in Upper Canada. Brigadier-general Winchester, with a division of the forces of the United States, consisting of upwards

of 1100 men, being the right wing of Major-General Harrison's army, thrown in advance, marching to the attack of Detroit, was completely defeated on the 22d of January last, by Colonel Proctor, commanding in the Michigan territory, with a force which he had hastily collected upon the approach of the enemy, consisting of a small detachment of the 10th royal veteran battalion, three companies of the 41st regiment, a party of the royal Newfoundland fencibles, the sailors belonging to the Queen Charlotte, and 150 of the Essex militia, not exceeding 500 regulars and militia, and about 600 Indians; the result of the action has been the surrender of Brigadier-General Winchester, with 500 officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the American army, and with a loss on their part of nearly the like number in killed and wounded. For the details of this affair, which reflects the highest credit upon Col. Proctor for the promptitude, gallantry, and decision, which he has manifested upon this occasion, I beg leave to refer your lordship to his letter to Major-Gen. Sheaffe, herewith transmitted. I have also the honour of transmitting to your lordship, returns of the killed and wounded on our part, and of the prisoners taken from the enemy, the latter of which, your lordship will not fail to observe, more than exceeded the whole of the regular and militia force which Colonel Proctor had to oppose to them. Major-Gen. Harrison, with the main body of his army, consisting of about 2000 men, was reported to be four or five days' march distant from Brigadier-General Winchester's division, advancing in the direction of Detroit. I think it not improbable, that, upon hearing of the disaster of this division, and the loss of his supplies, he may commence his retreat: but should he persevere in his endeavours to penetrate farther into the Michigan territory, I feel the fullest confidence in the skill and bravery of Colonel Proctor, and the troops under his command, for an effectual resistance to every attempt of the enemy in that quarter. A small detachment from the royal artillery at Fort George, with the light infantry company of the 41st regiment, have marched to reinforce Detroit; they are to be re-placed on the Niagara frontier, by troops now in motion from Montreal.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE PREVOST.

To the Right Hon. Earl Bathurst, &c.

Sandwich, Jan. 25th.

Sir,—In my last dispatch I acquainted you, that the enemy was in the Michigan territory, marching upon Detroit, and that I therefore deemed it necessary that he should be attacked without delay, with all and every description of force within my reach. Early in the morning of the 19th I was informed of his being in possession of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, 26 miles from Detroit, after experiencing every resistance that Major Reynolds of the Essex militia had it in his power to make, with a 3-pounder well served and directed by Bombardier Kitson, of the royal artillery, and the militia, three of whom he had well trained to the use of it. The retreat of the gun was covered by a brave band of Indians, who made the enemy pay dear for what he had obtained. This party, composed of militia and Indians, with the gun, fell back eighteen miles to Brown's town, the settlement of the brave Wyandots, where I directed my force to assemble. On the 21st inst. I advanced twelve miles to Swan Creek, from whence we marched to the enemy, and attacked him at break of day on the 22d inst.; and after suffering, for our numbers, a considerable loss, the enemy's force

posted in houses and enclosures, and which, from dread of falling into the hands of the Indians, they most obstinately defended, at length surrendered at discretion; the other part of their force, in attempting to retreat by the way they came, were, I believe, all, or with very few exceptions, killed by the Indians. Brigadier-General Winchester was taken in the pursuit by the Wyandot chief, Roundhead, who afterwards surrendered him to me. You will perceive that I have lost no time; indeed it was necessary to be prompt in my movements, as the enemy would have been joined by Major-General Harrison in a few days. The troops, the marine, and the militia, displayed great bravery, and behaved uncommonly well. Where so much zeal and spirit were manifested, it would be unjust to attempt to particularize any; I cannot, however, refrain from mentioning Lieutenant-Col. St George, who received four wounds in a gallant attempt to occupy a building which was favourably situated for annoying the enemy; together with Ensign Kerr, of the Newfoundland regiment, who, I fear, is very dangerously wounded. The zeal and courage of the Indian department were never more conspicuous than on this occasion, and the Indian warriors fought with their usual bravery. I am much indebted to the different departments, the troops having been well and timely supplied with every requisite the district could afford. I have fortunately not been deprived of the services of Lieutenant Troughton of the royal artillery, and acting in the quarter-master general's department, although he was wounded, to whose zealous and unwearied exertions I am greatly indebted, as well as to the whole of the royal artillery, for their conduct in this affair. I enclose a list of the killed and wounded, and cannot but lament that there are so many of both; but of the latter I am happy to say a large proportion will return to their duty, and most of them in a short time. I also enclose a return of the arms and ammunition which have been taken, as well as of the prisoners, whom you will perceive to be equal to my utmost force, exclusive of the Indians. It is reported that a party, consisting of 100 men, bringing 500 hogs for General Winchester's force, has been completely cut off by the Indians, and the convoy taken. Lieutenant M'Lean, my acting brigade-major, whose gallantry and exertions were conspicuous on the 22d instant, is the bearer of this dispatch, and will be able to afford you every information respecting our situation.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) Henry Proctor,
Colonel commanding.
To Major-General Sheaffe, &c.
&c. Fort George.

Return of Prisoners taken after the action at Riviere au Raisin, on the 22d of January, 1813.

One brigadier-general, 1 colonel, 1 major, 9 captains, 6 lieutenants, 10 ensigns, 1 brigade-major, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 2 surgeons, 27 serjeants, 435 rank and file.—Total, 495.

N. B. The Indians have brought in and delivered up several prisoners since the above return was taken; they continue to do so this morning, so that this return is not perfectly correct, nor can a correct one be procured until they arrive at Sandwich.

(Signed) Felix Troughton, R. A.
Act. Deputy-Assistant-Quarter-Master General.

Return of killed and wounded in the action at Riviere au Raisin, Jan. 22, 1813.

Total—1 serjeant, 1 gunner, 21 privates, 1 seaman, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 6 lieutenants, 2 en-

signs, 1 midshipman, 6 serjeants, 5 corporals, 1 bombardier, 6 gunners, 116 privates, 12 seamen, wounded.—General Total—24 killed, 158 wounded.

Downing-street, May 18.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this morning received by Earl Bathurst, from Lieutenant-General Sir John Murray, Bart :—

Head-quarters, Castalla,
April 14, 1813.

My Lord,— I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that the allied army under my command defeated the enemy on the 13th instant, commanded by Marshal Suchet in person.

It appears that the French general had, for the purpose of attacking this army, for some time been employed in collecting his whole disposable force.

His arrangements were completed on the 10th, and in the morning of the 11th, he attacked and dislodged, with some loss, a Spanish corps, posted by General Elio, at Yecla, which threatened his right, whilst it supported our left flank.

In the evening he advanced in considerable force to Villena, and I am sorry to say, that he captured, on the morning of the 12th, a Spanish garrison, which had been thrown into the castle by the Spanish general, for its defence.

On the 12th, about noon, Marshal Suchet began his attack on the advance of this army, posted at Biar, under the command of Colonel Adam.

Colonel Adam's orders were to fall back upon Castalla, but to dispute the passage with the enemy, which he did with the utmost gallantry and skill for five hours, though attacked by a force infinitely superior to that which he commanded.

The enemy's advance occupied the pass that evening, and Colonel Adam took up the ground in our position which had been allotted to him.

On the 13th, at noon, the enemy's columns of attack were formed, composed of three divisions of infantry, a corps of cavalry of about 1600 men, and a formidable train of artillery.

The position of the allied army was extensive. The left was posted on a strong range of hills, occupied by Major-General Whittingham's division of Spanish troops, and the advance of the allied army under Colonel Adam.

This range of hills terminates at Castalla, which, and the ground to the right, was occupied by Major-General Mackenzie's division, and the 58th regiment, from that of Lieutenant-Gen. Clinton.

The remainder of the position was covered by a strong ravine, behind which Lieutenant-General Clinton was stationed, supported by three battalions of General Roche's division, as a column of reserve.

A few batteries had been constructed in this part of the line, and in front of the castle of Castalla. The enemy necessarily advanced on the left of the position. The first movement he made was to pass a strong body of cavalry along the line, threatening our right, which was refused. Of this movement no notice was taken ; the ground to which he was pointing is unfavourable to cavalry, and as this movement was foreseen, the necessary precautions had been taken : when this body of cavalry had passed nearly the half of our line of infantry, Marshal Suchet advanced his columns to the foot of the hills, and certainly his troops, with a degree of gallantry that entitles them to the highest praise, stormed the whole line, which is not less than two miles and a half in extent. But gallantly as the attack was made, the defence of the heights was no less bril-

liant: at every point the enemy was repulsed, at many with the bayonet.

He suffered a very severe loss; our gallant troops pursued him for some distance, and drove him, after a severe struggle, with precipitation on his battalions of reserve upon the plain. The cavalry, which had slowly advanced along our right, gradually fell back to the infantry. At present his superiority in that arm enabled him to venture this movement, which otherwise he should have severely repented.

Having united his shattered battalions with those which he kept in reserve, Marshal Suchet took up position in the valley; but which it would not have been creditable to allow him to retain. I therefore decided on quitting mine, still, however, retaining the heights, and formed the allied army in his front, covering my right flank with the cavalry, whilst the left rested on the hills. The army advanced in two lines to attack him a considerable distance, but unfortunately Marshal Suchet did not choose to risk a second action, with the defile in his rear.

The lines of the allies were scarcely formed when he began his retreat, and we could effect nothing more than driving the French into the pass with defeat, which they had exultingly passed in the morning. The action terminated at dusk, with a distant but heavy cannonade.

I am sorry to say that I have no trophies to boast of. The enemy took no guns to the heights, and he retired too expeditiously to enable me to reach him. Those which he used in the latter part of the day, were posted in the gorge of the defile, and it would have cost us the lives of many brave men to take them.

In the dusk, the allied army returned to its position at Castalla, after the enemy had retired to Biar. From thence he continued his retreat at midnight to Villena, which he quitted again this morning in great haste, directing his march upon Fuente de la Higuera and Onteniente.

But although I have taken no cannon from the enemy, in point of numbers his army is very considerably crippled; and the defeat of a French army, which boasted it never had a check, cannot fail, I should hope, in producing a most favourable effect in this part of the peninsula.

As I before mentioned to your lordship, Marshal Suchet commanded in person.

The Generals Harispe, Habert, and Robert, commanded their respective divisions. I hear from all quarters that General Harispe is killed; and I believe, from every account that I can collect, that the loss of the enemy amounts fully to 3000 men; and he admits 2,500. Upwards of 800 have already been buried in front of only one part of our line; and we know that he has carried off with him an immense number of wounded.

We had no opportunity of making prisoners, except such as were wounded; the numbers of which have not reached me.

I am sure your lordship will hear with much satisfaction, that this action has not cost us the lives of many of our comrades.

Deeply must be felt the loss, however trifling, of such brave and gallant soldiers; but we know it is inevitable, and I can with truth affirm, that there was not an officer or soldier engaged who did not court the glorious termination of an honourable life, in the discharge of his duty to his king and to his country.

The gallant and judicious conduct of those that were engaged, deprived much more than half the army of sharing in the perils and glory of the day: but the steady countenance with which the divisions of Generals Clinton and Mackenzie remained for some hours

under a cannonade, and the eagerness and alacrity with which the lines of attack were formed, sufficiently proved to me what I had to depend on from them, had Marshal Suchet awaited the attack.

I trust your lordship will now permit me to perform the most pleasing part of my duty, that of humbly submitting, for his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's approbation, the names of those officers and corps which have had the fortunate opportunity of distinguishing themselves, in as far at least as has yet come to my knowledge.

[Here follow the names.]

Kingston, May 5, 1813.

Sir,—I did myself the honour of writing to your excellency, on my route from York, to communicate the mortifying intelligence that the enemy had obtained possession of that place on the 27th of April. I shall now give your excellency a farther detail of that event.

In the evening of the 26th, information was received that many vessels had been seen to the eastward. Very early the next morning they were discovered lying-to, not far from the harbour; after some time had elapsed they made sail, and to the number of sixteen, of various descriptions, anchored off the shore, some distance to the westward. Boats full of troops were immediately seen assembling near the commodore's ship, under cover of whose fire, and that of other vessels, and aided by the wind, they soon effected a landing, in spite of a spirited opposition from Major Givens and about forty Indians. A company of Glengary light infantry, which had been ordered to support them, was, by some mistake, (not in the smallest degree imputable to its commander) led in another direction, and came late into action. The other troops, consisting of two companies of the 8th, or king's regiment, and about a company of the royal Newfoundland regiment with some militia, encountered the enemy in a thick wood. Captain M'Neal, of the king's regiment, was killed while gallantly leading his company, which suffered severely. The troops at length fell back; they rallied several times, but could not maintain the contest against the greatly superior and increasing numbers of the enemy. They retired under cover of our batteries, which were engaged with some of the enemy's vessels that had moved nigher to the harbour. By some unfortunate accident the magazine at the western battery blew up, and killed and wounded a considerable number of men, and crippled the battery.

It became too evident that our numbers and means of defence were inadequate to the task of maintaining possession of York against the vast superiority of force brought against it. The troops were withdrawn towards the town, and were finally ordered to retreat on the road to Kingston: the powder magazine was blown up, and the new ship and the naval stores destroyed. Lieut.-Colonel Chervett and Major Allan of the militia, residents in the town, were instructed to treat with the American commanders for terms: a statement of those agreed on with Major-General Dearborn and Commodore Chauncey, is transmitted to your excellency, with returns of the killed and wounded, &c. The accounts of the number of the enemy vary from 1890 to 3000. We had about 600, including militia and dockyard men. The quality of these troops was of so superior a description, and their general disposition so good, that, under less unfavourable circumstances, I should have felt confident of success, in spite of the disparity of numbers.

As it was, the contest, which commenced between six and seven o'clock, was maintained nearly eight hours.

When we had proceeded some miles from York, we met the light company of the king's regiment, on its route for Fort George: it retired with us, and covered the retreat, which was effected without molestation from the enemy.

I have the honour to be, &c.
R. H. SHEAFFE,
Major-General.

His Excellency Sir George Prevost, &c.

Return of killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing of the troops engaged at York, under the command of Sir Roger Hall Sheaffe, on the 27th of April.

Total.—1 captain, 1 serjeant-major, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 52 rank and file, 3 gunners, killed; 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 30 rank and file, wounded; 1 lieutenant, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 36 rank and file, 1 driver, wounded and prisoners; 6 rank and file, 1 bombardier, 3 gunners, prisoners; 6 rank and file, 1 gunner, missing.

Terms of the capitulation entered into the 27th of April, 1813, for the surrender of the town of York, in Upper Canada, to the army and navy of the United States, under the command of Major-General Dearborn, and Commodore Chauncey.

That the troops, regular and militia, at this post, and the naval officers and seamen, shall be surrendered prisoners of war: the troops, regular and militia, to ground their arms immediately on the parade, and the naval officers and seamen be immediately surrendered on the parade.

That all the public stores, naval and military, shall be immediately given up to the commanding officers of the army and navy of the United States.

That all private property shall be guaranteed to the citizens of the town of York.

That the papers belonging to the civil officers shall be retained by them.

That such surgeons as may be procured to attend the wounded of the British regulars and Canadian militia shall not be considered as prisoners of war.

That one lieutenant-colonel, one major, thirteen captains, nine lieutenants, eleven ensigns, one quarter-master, and one deputy-adjutant-general, of the militia; nineteen serjeants, four corporals, 204 rank and file; of the field train department, William Dunbar; of the provincial army, one captain, one lieutenant, two midshipmen, one clerk; one boatswain, fifteen naval artificers; of his majesty's regular troops, one lieutenant, one serjeant-major; and of the royal artillery, one bombardier, and three gunners, shall be surrendered prisoners of war, and accounted for in the exchange of prisoners between the United States and Great Britain.

Extract of a letter from Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, dated head quarters, Kingston, June 1st, 1813.

Although, as your lordship will perceive by the report of Colonel Baynes, which I have the honour herewith to transmit, the expedition has not been attended with the complete success which was expected from it, I have great satisfaction in informing your lordship, that the courage and patience of the small band of troops employed on this occasion, under circumstances of peculiar hardship and privation, have been exceeded only by their intrepid conduct in the field, forcing a passage at the point of the bayo-

net, through a thickly wooded country, affording constant shelter and strong positions to the enemy; but not a single spot of cleared ground favourable to the operations of disciplined soldiers.

Kingston, May 30, 1813.

Sir,—I have the honour to report to your excellency, that in conformity to an arranged plan of operations with Commodore Sir James Yeo, the fleet of boats assembled astern of his ship at ten o'clock on the night of the 28th instant with the troops placed under my command, and led by a gun-boat, under the direction of Captain Mulcaster, royal navy, proceeded towards Sackett's harbour, in the order prescribed to the troops, in case the detachment was obliged to march in column, viz. the grenadier company, 100th, with one section of the royal Scots, two companies of the 8th, or king's, four of the 104th, two of the Canadian voltigeurs, two six-pounders, with their gunners, and a company of Glengary light-infantry, were embarked on board a light schooner, which was proposed to be towed, under the direction of officers of the navy, so as to ensure the guns being landed in time, to support the advance of the troops. Although the night was dark, with rain, the boats assembled in the vicinity of Sackett's harbour, by one o'clock, in compact and regular order, and in this position it was intended to remain until the day broke, in the hope of effecting a landing before the enemy could be prepared to line the woods with troops, which surround the coast; but unfortunately a strong current drifted the boats considerably, while the darkness of the night, and ignorance of the coast, prevented them from recovering the proper station, until the day dawned, when the whole pulled for the point of debarkation.

It was my intention to have landed in the cove formed by the Horse Island, but on approaching it, we discovered that the enemy were fully prepared by a very heavy fire of musketry from the surrounding woods, which were filled with infantry, supported with a field-piece. I directed the boats to pull round to the other side of the islands, where a landing was effected in good order and with little loss, although executed in the face of a corps formed with a field-piece in the wood, and under the enfilade of a heavy gun of the enemy's principal battery. The advance was led by the grenadiers of the 100th regiment with undaunted gallantry, which no obstacle could arrest; a narrow causeway, in many places under water, not more than four feet wide, and about four hundred paces in length, which connected the island with the main land, was occupied by the enemy in great force with a six-pounder. It was forced and carried in the most spirited manner, and the gun taken before a second discharge could be made from it: a tumbril, with a few rounds of ammunition, was found; but unfortunately the artillerymen were still behind, the schooner not having been able to get up in time; and the troops were exposed to so heavy and galling a fire from a numerous but almost invisible foe, as to render it impossible to halt for the artillery to come up. At this spot two paths led in opposite directions round the hill. I directed Colonel Young of the king's regiment, with half of the detachment, to penetrate by the left, and Major Drummond of the 104th, to force the path by the right, which proved to be more open and was less occupied by the enemy. On the left the wood was very thick, and was most obstinately maintained by the enemy.

The gun-boats which had covered our landing, afforded material aid, by firing into the woods; but the Ameri-

can soldier, secure behind a tree, was only to be dislodged by the bayonet. The spirited advance of a section produced the flight of hundreds—from this observation all firing was directed to cease, and the detachment being formed in as regular order as the nature of the ground would admit, pushed forward through the wood upon the enemy, who, although greatly superior in numbers, and supported by field-pieces, and a heavy fire from their fort, fled with precipitation to their block-house and fort, abandoning one of their guns. The division under Colonel Young was joined in the charge by that under Major Drummond, which was executed with such spirit and promptness, that many of the enemy fell in their enclosed barracks, which were set on fire by our troops; at this point the further energies of the troops became unavailing. Their block-house and stockaded battery could not be carried by assault, nor reduced by field-pieces, had we been provided with them: the fire of the gun-boats proved inefficient to attain that end—light and adverse winds continued, and our larger vessels were still far off. The enemy turned the heavy ordnance of the battery to the interior defence of his post. He had set fire to the store-houses in the vicinity of the fort.

Seeing no object within our reach to attain that could compensate for the loss we were momentarily sustaining from the heavy fire of the enemy's cannon, I directed the troops to take up the position on the crest of the hill we had charged from. From this position we were ordered to re-embark, which was performed at our leisure, and in perfect order, the enemy not presuming to shew a single soldier without the limits of his fortress. Your excellency having been a witness of the zeal and ardent courage of every soldier in the field, it is unnecessary in me to assure your excellency that but one sentiment animated every breast, that of discharging to the utmost of their power their duty to their king and country: but one sentiment of regret and mortification prevailed, on being obliged to quit a beaten enemy, whom a small band of British soldiers had driven before them for three hours, through a country abounding in strong positions of defence, but not offering a single spot of cleared ground favourable for the operations of disciplined troops, without having fully accomplished the duty we were ordered to perform.

The two divisions of the detachment were ably commanded by Colonel Young of the king's, and Major Drummond of the 104th. The detachment of the king's, under Major Evans, nobly sustained the high and established character of that distinguished corps; and Captain Burke availed himself of the ample field afforded him in leading the advance, to display the intrepidity of British grenadiers. The detachment of the 104th regiment, under Major Moodie, Captain M'Pherson's company of Glengary light infantry, and two companies of Canadian voltigeurs, commanded by Major Hamot, all of them levies of the British provinces of North America, evinced most striking proofs of their loyalty, steadiness, and courage. The detachment of the royal Newfoundland regiment behaved with great gallantry.

Your excellency will lament the loss of that active and intelligent officer, Captain Gray, acting deputy quarter-master-general, who fell close to the enemy's work, while reconnoitering it, in the hope to discover some opening to favour an assault.

Commodore Sir James Yeo conducted the fleet of boats in the attack, and, accompanying the advance of the troops, directed the operation of the gun-boats.

I feel most grateful for your excellency's kind consideration, in allowing your aides-de-camp, Majors Coore and Fulton, to accompany me in the field; and to these officers for the able assistance they afforded me.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD BAYNES,
Colonel Glengarry light infantry, commanding.

To his Excellency Lieut.-General Sir George Prevost, Bart. &c.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, in an attack on Sackett's harbour, on the 29th of May.

Total—1 general staff, 3 serjeants, 44 rank and file, killed; 3 majors, 3 captains, 5 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 7 serjeants, 2 drummers, 172 rank and file, 2 gunners, wounded; 2 captains, 1 ensign, 13 rank and file, wounded and missing.

Kingston, Upper Canada, June 7th, 1813.

My Lord,—I have great satisfaction in reporting to your lordship the result of a gallant affair which took place between the armed vessels of the enemy and our gun-boats, supported by detachments from the garrison of Isle Au Noix, on the 3d instant, in the neighbourhood of that post, which terminated in the capture of the vessels Eagle and Growler, each mounting eleven guns, with four officers and 45 men. This feat was performed under the direction of Major Taylor, of the 100th regiment, who held the temporary command at Isle au Noix, during the absence, on duty, of Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, and the detachments were composed of the royal artillery, and 100th regiment.

The following officers are reported to me as having distinguished themselves, viz:—Captain Gordon, of the artillery; Lieutenant Williams, Ensigns Dawson, Gibbon, and Humphreys, of the 100th regiment; and Lieutenant Lowe, of the marine.

In the contest, which was maintained for three hours and a half, we had three men wounded; the enemy lost one man killed and eight wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE PREVOST.

Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, &c. &c. &c.

Isle au Noix, June 3, 1813.

Sir,—In the absence of Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, I have the honour to acquaint you, that one of the enemy's armed vessels was discerned from the garrison at half past four o'clock this morning, when I judged it expedient to order the three gun-boats under weigh, and before they reached the point above the garrison, another vessel appeared in sight, when the gun-boats commenced firing. Observing the vessels to be near enough the shore for musketry, I ordered the crew of two batteaux and two row-boats, (which I took with me from the garrison to act according to circumstances) to land on each side of the river, and take a position to take the vessels; the firing was briskly kept up on both sides, (the enemy with small arms and grape-shot occasionally): near the close of the action an express came off to me in a canoe, with intelligence that more armed vessels were approaching, and about 3000 men from the enemy's lines, by land. On this information, I returned to put the garrison in the best order for their reception, lea ing directions with the gun-boats and parties, not to suffer their retreat to be cut off from it; and before I reached the garrison, the enemy's vessels struck their colours, after a well-contested action of three hours and a half. They proved to be the United States armed vessels Growler and Eagle, burthen from ninety to one hundred tons, and carrying eleven

guns each, between them, twelve, eighteen, and sixteen-pounder carronades; completely equipped, under the orders of the senior officer of the Growler, Captain Sidney Smith, with a complement of fifty men each. They had one man killed and eight wounded; we had only three men wounded, one of them severely, from the enemy's grape-shot on the parties on shore. The alacrity of the garrison, on this occasion, calls forth my warmest approbation; Ensigns Dawson, Gibbons, and Humphreys, and acting Quartermaster Pilkington, and crews, of the 100th (Prince Regent's) regiment, and Lieutenant Low of the marine department, with three gunners of the artillery to each boat, behaved with the greatest gallantry; and I am particularly indebted to Captain Gordon, of the royal artillery, and Lieutenant Williams, with the parties of the 100th regiment on shore, who materially contributed to the surrender of the enemy. The Growler is arrived at the garrison in good order, and apparently a fine vessel, and the boats are employed in getting off the Eagle, which was run aground to prevent her sinking. I have hopes she will be saved, but in the mean time have had her dismantled, her guns and stores brought to the garrison. Ensign Dawson, of the 100th regiment, a most intelligent officer, will have the honour of delivering you this.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE TAYLOR,

Major of the 100th regiment.

Major General Stoven, commanding at Chambly.

Number of men killed, wounded, and prisoners, on board the United States armed vessels the Growler and Eagle, June 3, 1813.

One killed; 8 severely wounded; 91 prisoners.—Total 100.

Admiralty Office, June 15.

Copy of an enclosure to Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, Bart.

His Majesty's ship Thames, Ponza Harbour, Feb. 27, 1813.

Sir,—Agreeable to your directions, I embarked Lieutenant-Colonel Coffin, and the 2d battalion of the 10th regiment, on the 16th instant, and arrived off Ponza on the 23d, the harbour of which is about a quarter of a mile wide, with a mole at the extreme end of it, defended by four batteries, mounting ten 24 and 18-pounders, and two nine-inch mortars.

Colonel Coffin and myself agreed, that the shortest and surest road to success, was by running both ships into the mole, and carrying the place by assault; but the weather was unfavourable for such an attack, until the morning of the 26th, when the ships bore up, in close order, with a fine breeze.

The enemy were prepared for our reception, and opened their fire nearly half an hour before our guns could bear: the batteries were, however, passed with little injury, the ships engaging on both sides, and the Thames was anchored across the mole head, the Furieuse bringing up a little astern of her.

Colonel Coffin and the troops landed the same instant, and pushed for the height of a strong tower, into which the enemy had retreated, and their appearance, together with the severe fire from the ships, induced the governor to hoist a flag of truce, and agree to the enclosed capitulation. [By this capitulation, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war.]

I have much pleasure in informing you, that this service has been performed without the loss of a man in either profession: our being hulled three times, and Furieuse twice, sails and

rigging a good deal cut, is the only damage suffered.

The most perfect cordiality has subsisted between the two services, and I am much indebted to Capt. Mounsey for the excellent support he gave, and his quickness in following our motions; and if the resistance had been much greater, and another battery, (which was expected), I have little doubt but we should have succeeded, particularly with such a storming party as Colonel Cashell's regiment, and such a leader as Colonel Coffin.

I have much reason to be satisfied with my first lieutenant, Davies, officers, and ship's company; their steady conduct and excellent firing, accounts for the smallness of our damage. Captain Mounsey likewise speaks highly of Lieutenant Croker, his officers and crew; Mr James Wilkinson, mate of this ship, I attached to Colonel Coffin; and Mr Black, of the Furieuse, I entrusted with the charge of the landing.

Enclosed is a return of prisoners, guns, &c., and I shall send a survey of the island by the earliest opportunity. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES NAPIER, Captain.

Sir Robert Laurie, Bart. Captain of his Majesty's ship Ajax.

Supplement to the London Gazette, June 5.

WAR-DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, June 5, 1813.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received by the Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant-General Right Hon. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, K. B. his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Sicily, and Commander of his Majesty's military forces in the Mediterranean.

Palermo, April 9, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit to your lordship a report from Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson, commanding at the island of Lissa, stating to me the reduction of the neighbouring islands of Agosta and Curzola, by a detachment of the garrison under his command.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) W. C. BENTINCK, Lieut.-Gen.

The Earl Bathurst, &c.

Lissa, Feb. 23, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to inform your lordship, that in consequence of information having been received here, that several merchant vessels bound to this island, had been captured by a French privateer, and carried into the island of Lagosta, Admiral Freemantle and myself judged it expedient to lose no time in putting an end to a system which was likely to become very detrimental to the prosperity of this island, and to our commercial interests in general. For this purpose I embarked on board his majesty's frigate Apollo, commanded by Capt. Taylor, on the 19th ultimo, with detachments from this garrison amounting to about 300 men, including artillery, with two 6-pounders, two howitzers, and two mountain guns. The troops, together with a detachment of seamen and marines, landed on the island of Lagosta on the 21st, and marched towards the principal work, constructed by the enemy for the defence of the island, from whence the enemy opened a well-directed fire of shot and shells. As the work in question is situated on the summit of a high conical hill, commanding the town, I found it neces-

sary to take up a favourable position, from whence I was enabled to forward the preparations necessary for the reduction of the fort. During this interval, Captains May, 35th, and Ronea, Calabrese Free corps, together with Mr G. Bowen, first lieutenant of his majesty's ship Apollo, with a party of forty men, succeeded in spiking the guns of one of the enemy's lower batteries, and in destroying a magazine of provisions, both of which were within musket-shot of the fort. On this occasion a French serjeant of artillery and two soldiers were taken prisoners. Mr Ullark, purser of his majesty's ship Apollo, volunteered his services on both these occasions. Having received certain intelligence that a detachment of three hundred men, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel, had marched from Ragusa to reinforce the garrison of Lagosta, and being aware of the great difficulty which would have attended the attempt to get battering artillery on the only hill which commanded the fort, Captain Taylor and myself were induced to offer favourable conditions to the French commandant, who, after some hesitation, agreed to surrender (together with the garrison, consisting of 129 men), on the terms, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose your lordship. I have also the honour to enclose your lordship a return of the enemy's ordnance, ammunition and stores, which fell into our hands. It is particularly gratifying to me to be able to inform your lordship, that during the whole of our operation, the inhabitants gave us the most unequivocal proofs of their attachment, and rendered us the most efficacious assistance.

Finding that the French privateer, together with the prizes, had taken refuge in the island of Curzola, Captain Taylor and myself immediately proceeded thither. We landed (without delay) the troops under my command, with 120 seamen and marines, together with a howitzer and field-piece. Major Slessor, 35th, advanced at day-break with the flankers, and got possession of a fortified building on the height, which commands the town within musket-shot. In this operation he was supported by a second party, under the command of my military secretary, Captain Ball, 81st regiment. The enemy opened a sharp fire of musketry from their lines, as also from the windows and doors of the houses, and endeavoured to bring an 18-pounder into one of the towers of the town-wall, to bear on our position, which we prevented, by a well-directed fire from the howitzer, 6-pounder, and musketry.

Captain Taylor, in order to accelerate the surrender of the town, undertook to silence the sea-batteries, which he accomplished in the most brilliant and effectual manner, after a continued firing of three hours, during which the Apollo was always within range of grape-shot from the batteries. This point being effected, Captain Taylor and myself judged it expedient to send Major Slessor with a flag of truce into the town, proposing that the women and children should be allowed to quit it before we erected our mortar batteries; the enemy availed himself of this opportunity to offer to capitulate on terms, which, with certain modifications, we agreed to; in consequence of which the garrison, consisting of a lieutenant-colonel, and about 100 men, marched out of the town, which we immediately occupied.

We found, on taking possession of the town, that the French had packed up the church plate and bells of Lagosta and Curzola, for the purpose of sending them to the continent, and Captain Taylor and myself experienced

the most heartfelt satisfaction in restoring them to the oppressed inhabitants.

I have the honour to transmit your lordship returns of the ordnance, stores, and ammunition which we got possession of at Curzola. I have also the honour to enclose your lordship a copy of the terms of capitulation, which were signed at the moment that the expected French corps intended to reinforce the menaced islands appeared on the peninsula of Sabioncello, only a mile distant from the town of Curzola.

To express my approbation of the conduct of Capt. Taylor throughout the whole of the expedition, I fulfil a duty which is peculiarly grateful to my feelings. He unremittingly aided me with his advice, and promoted very considerably the success of the expedition by his personal exertions on shore with the troops. I have the fullest reason to be satisfied with the support which I experienced from Major Slessor, of the 35th, and the whole of the officers. Lieutenant Rains, who had the direction of the artillery, performed the service allotted him with the greatest zeal. The services of Lieut. M'Donald, of the 35th, who had the direction of the gun-boats which accompanied the expedition, were found of great utility.

I feel great satisfaction in communicating to your lordship, that during the whole of this service, which was rather severe, owing to the unusual coldness of the weather, the conduct of the troops was highly praiseworthy, and they were ably supported by the seamen and marines who acted with us on shore. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. D. Robertson,
Lieut.-Col.

To his Excellency Lieut.-Gen.
Lord Wm. Bentinck, &c.

Downing-Street, July 4, 1813.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies and extracts, have been received at Earl Bathurst's office, in the course of this day and yesterday, addressed to his lordship by Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington:

Ainpudia, June 6, 1813.

My Lord,—The troops have continued to advance since I wrote to your lordship on the 31st of last month, and were on the 1st at Zamora, and on the 2d at Toro. The English hussars, being in the advanced guard, fell in, between Toro and Morales, with a considerable body of the enemy's cavalry, which were immediately attacked by the 10th, supported by the 18th and 15th. The enemy were overthrown, and pursued for many miles, and 210 prisoners, with many horses, and two officers, fell into our hands. I enclose Colonel Grant's report of this gallant affair, which reflects great credit upon Major Robarts and the 10th hussars, and upon Colonel Grant, under whose direction they acted.

On the same evening Don Julian Sanchez surprised the enemy's post at Castronuno, and took two officers and thirty cavalry prisoners, and he drove their posts from the ford at Pollos.

The enemy had destroyed the bridges of Zamora and Toro, and the difficulties in the passage of the Esla had retarded the movement of our rear, while the enemy had concentrated their force to a considerable amount betwen Torrelobaton and Tordesillas. I therefore halted on the 3d at Toro, in order to bring the light division and the troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill across the Douro, by the bridge of the town, and to close up the rear, and bring the Gallician army to join our left. We moved again on the 4th.

The enemy had commenced collect-

ing their troops towards the Douro, when they found that we passed Ciudad Rodrigo; and they crossed the Douro at Tordesillas on the 1st and 2d. The troops at Madrid and the detachments on the Tagus broke up on the 27th, and crossed the Douro at the Ponte de Douro on the 3d, and Valladolid was entirely evacuated on the 4th.

The enemy left considerable magazines of grain at Arevale, and some ammunition at Valladolid and Zamora.

The enemy have passed the Carrion, and are apparently on their retreat towards Burgos.

I have received no accounts from Alicant since I addressed your lordship last.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) WELLINGTON.

[Enclosure in the preceding Dispatch.]

Morales, June 2, 1813.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that on approaching Morales this morning, with the hussar brigade, the French cavalry appeared in considerable force near that place.

The 10th royal hussars were immediately brought forward, under the orders of Major Robarts, who attacked the advanced squadrons of the enemy in the most gallant manner: their front line made a determined resistance, but was instantly overpowered by the irresistible impetuosity of the 10th hussars, which being now supported by the 18th, (the 15th being in reserve) reached their second line, and drove it, with loss, to the heights, two miles in front of Morales; a position which the enemy occupied with a large force of cavalry and infantry, and where the remains of their shattered squadrons took shelter under cover of their guns. It is with much satisfaction I acquaint your lordship, that nothing could exceed the steadiness and bravery of the troops in this affair.

I have, however, to regret the loss of a very promising young officer, Lieut. Cotton, of the 10th hussars, who was killed in the midst of the enemy's ranks. I am sorry to add, that Captain Lloyd, of the same regiment, is missing.

I have the honour to enclose the return of the killed and wounded, also a return of the loss sustained by the enemy, as far as it can be ascertained.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) G. GRANT.

The Marquis of Wellington.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have learnt that Captain Lloyd was wounded and taken prisoner, but has been left at Pedrosa del Rey, having given his parole to the enemy. His wound is severe, but not dangerous.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in Action with the Enemy's Rear Guard, near Morales, on the 2d of June, 1813.

Total.—1 lieutenant, 1 rank and file, 4 horses, killed; 1 colonel, 1 serjeant, 13 rank and file, 12 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, 11 horses, missing.

Villadiego, June 13, 1813.

My Lord,—The army passed the Carrion on the 7th, the enemy having retired across the Pisuerga; and on the 8th, 9th, and 10th, we brought forward our left, and passed that river. The celerity of our march up to this period, induced me to make short movements on the 11th, and to halt the left on the 12th; but on the latter day I moved forward the right, under Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, consisting of the 2d British, Brigadier-General Murillo's Spanish, and the Conde d'Amarante's Portuguese

divisions of infantry, and the light division, under Major-General Charles Baron Alten, and Major-General Victor Baron Alten's, Maj.-Gen. Fane's, Major-General Long's, the Hon. Brigadier-General Ponsonby's, and Colonel Grant's (hussars) brigades of cavalry, towards Burgos, with a view to reconnoitre the enemy's position and numbers near that town, and to force them to a decision whether to abandon the castle to its fate, or to protect it with all their force.

I found the enemy posted with a considerable force, commanded, as I understand, by General Reille, on the heights on the left of the Hormaza, with their right above the village of Hormaza, and their left in front of Estepar. We turned their right with the hussars, and Brigadier-General Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry, and the light division from Isar, while General Victor Alten's brigade of cavalry, and the Hon. Colonel O'Callaghan's brigade of the 2d division, moved up the heights from Hormaza; and the remainder of the troops, under the command of Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill, threatened the heights of Estepar. These movements dislodged the enemy from their position immediately. The cavalry of our left and centre were entirely in the rear of the enemy, who were obliged to retire across the Arlanzon, by the high road towards Burgos. Although pressed by our cavalry, and suffering considerable loss by the fire of Major Gardiner's troop of horse artillery, and obliged to make their movements at an accelerated pace, that they might not give time to our infantry to come up, they made it in admirable order: but they lost one gun, and some prisoners, taken by a squadron of the 14th light dragoons, commanded by Captain Milles, and a detachment of the 3d dragoons, which charged their rear.

The enemy took post on the left of the Arlanzon and Urbel rivers, which were much swelled by the rains; and in the course of the night retired their whole army through Burgos, having abandoned and destroyed, so far as they were able, in the short space of time during which they were there, the works of the castle, which they had constructed and improved at so large an expense; and they are now on their retreat towards the Ebro by the high road of Briviesca and Miranda. In the mean time the whole of the army of the allies has made a movement to the left this day; and the Spanish corps of Gallicia, under General Giron, and the left of the British and Portuguese army, under Lieut. Graham, will, I hope, pass the Ebro to-morrow.

In the course of the 9th, 10th, and 11th, Don Julian Sanchez was very active on the left of the enemy, and took several prisoners.

I have received a letter from General Elio, in which he informs me that the third Spanish army had joined the second, and these armies had taken the positions before occupied by the second army, and the Anglo-Sicilian corps, under Sir John Murray; and that General Sir John Murray had embarked, in obedience to the orders which he had received, with the troops under his command, had sailed from Alicant with a fair wind, and was out of sight on the 1st instant.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

The Earl Bathurst, &c.

Subijana, on the Bayas,
June 19, 1813.

My Lord,—The left of the army crossed the Ebro on the 14th, by the bridges of St Martin and Rocamunde, and the remainder on the 15th, by those bridges and that of Puenta Arenas. We continued our march on the following days towards Vittoria.

The enemy assembled on the 16th and 17th, a considerable corps at Espejo, not far from the Fuente Carra, composed of some of the troops which had been for some time in the provinces in pursuit of Longa and Mina, and others detached from the main body of the army, which were still at Pancorbo. They had likewise a division of infantry, and some cavalry at Frias since the 16th, for the purpose of observing our movements on the left of the Ebro.

These detachments marched yesterday morning, that from Frias upon St Millan, where it was found by the light division of the allied army, under Major-Gen. Charles Alten, and that from Espejo on Osma, where it met the 1st and 5th divisions, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham.

Major-General Charles Alten drove the enemy from St Millan, and afterwards cut off the rear brigade of the division, of which he took 300 prisoners, killed and wounded many, and the brigade was dispersed in the mountains.

The corps from Espejo was considerably stronger than the allied corps under Sir T. Graham, which had arrived nearly at the same time at Osma. The enemy moved on to the attack, but were soon obliged to retire; and they were followed to Espejo, from whence they retired through the hills to this place. It was late in the day before the other troops came up to the advanced position which those under Sir Thomas Graham had taken, and I halted the 4th division, which had relieved the 5th near Espejo.

The army moved forward this day to this river: found the enemy's rear-guard in a strong position on the left of the river, having his right covered by Subijana, and his left by the heights in front of Pobes.

We turned the enemy's left with the light division, while the 4th division, under Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole, attacked them in front, and the rear-guard was driven back upon the main body of the army, which was in march from Pancorbo to Vittoria, having broken up from thence last night. I am informed that the enemy have dismantled Pancorbo.

Colonel Longa's division joined the army on the 6th, on its arrival at Medina del Poman.

The Conde del Abisbal will arrive at Burgos on the 24th and 25th.

I have not received any intelligence from the eastern coast since I addressed your lordship last.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Downing street, July 3.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received by Earl Bathurst, from the Marquis of Wellington, dated Salvatierra, June 22, and Irunzun, June 24, 1813:—

My Lord,—The enemy's army, commanded by Joseph Buonaparte, having Marshal Jourdan as the major-general of the army, took up a position, on the night of the 19th instant, in front of Vittoria, the left of which rested upon the heights which end at Puebla de Arlanzon, and extended from thence across the valley of Zadora, in front of the village of Arunez. They occupied with the right of the centre a height which commanded the valley of Zadora, and the right of their army was stationed near Vittoria, and was destined to defend the passages of the river Zadora, in the neighbourhood of that city. They had a reserve, in rear of their left, at the village of Gomecha. The nature of the country through which the army had passed since it had reached the Ebro, had necessarily extended our columns, and we halted on the 20th in order to close them up, and moved the left to Margina, where it was most likely it would

be necessary: I reconnoitered the enemy's position on that day, with a view to the attack to be made on the following morning, if they should still remain in it. We accordingly attacked the enemy yesterday, and I am happy to inform your lordship, that the allied army, under my command, gained a complete victory; having driven them from all their positions, having taken from them 151 pieces of cannon, 415 waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, cattle, treasure, &c., and a considerable number of prisoners. The operations of the day commenced by Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill obtaining possession of the heights of La Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested, which heights they had not occupied in great strength. He detached on this service one brigade of the Spanish division, under General Murillo; the other brigade being employed in keeping the communication between his main body, on the high road from Miranda to Vittoria, and the troops detached to the heights. The enemy, however, soon discovered the importance of the heights, and reinforced the troops there to such an extent, as that Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill was obliged to detach, first, the 71st regiment, and the light infantry battalion of Major-General Walker's brigade, under the command of the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Cadogan, and successively other troops, to the same point; and the allies not only gained, but maintained possession of these important heights throughout their operations, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to retake them. The contest, here, however, was very severe, and the loss sustained considerable. General Murillo was wounded, but remained in the field; and I am concerned to have to report, that the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Cadogan has died of a wound which he received. In him his majesty has lost an officer of great zeal, and tried gallantry, who had already acquired the respect and regard of the whole profession, and of whom it might be expected, that if he had lived he would have rendered the most important services to his country. Under cover of the possession of these heights, Sir Rowland Hill successively passed the Zadora, at la Puebla, and the defile formed by the heights and the river Zadora, and attacked and gained possession of the village of Sabijana de Alva, in front of the enemy's line, which the enemy made repeated attempts to regain. The difficult nature of the country prevented the communication between our different columns moving to the attack from their stations on the river Bayas at as early an hour as I had expected, and it was late before I knew that the column composed of the 3d and 7th divisions, under the command of the Earl of Dalhousie, had arrived at the station appointed for them. The 4th and light divisions, however, passed the Zadora immediately after Sir Rowland Hill had possession of Sabijana de Alva, the former at the bridge of Nanciaus, and the latter at the bridge of Tres Puentes; and almost as soon as these had crossed, the column under the Earl of Dalhousie arrived at Mendouza, and the 3d division, under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, crossed at the bridge higher up, followed by the 7th division, under the Earl of Dalhousie. These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill should move forward from Sabijana de Alva to attack the left. The enemy, however, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachment in the hills, abandoned his position in the valley as soon as he saw our disposition to at-

tack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vittoria. Our troops continued to advance in admirable order, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground In the meantime, Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the left of the army, consisting of the 1st and 5th divisions, and General Pack's and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and Generals Bock's and Anson's brigades of cavalry, and who had been moved on the 20th to Margina, moved forward from thence on Vittoria, by the high road from that town to Bilboa. He had besides with him the Spanish division under Colonel Longa; and General Giron, who had been detached to the left under a different view of the state of affairs, and had afterwards been recalled, and had arrived on the 20th at Orduna, marched that morning from thence, so as to be in the field in readiness to support Lieut.-General Sir T. Graham, if his support had been required. The enemy had a division of infantry and some cavalry advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilboa, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Major. Both Gamarra and Abechuco were strongly occupied, as *tetes-de-pont* to the bridges over the Zadora at these places. Brigadier-General Pack, with his Portuguese brigade, and Colonel Longa, with the Spanish division, were directed to turn and gain the heights, supported by Major-General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry, under the command of Major-General Oswald, who was desired to take the command of all these troops. Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham reports, that in the execution of this service, the Portuguese and Spanish troops behaved admirably.—The 4th and 8th cacadores particularly distinguished themselves. Colonel Longa being on the left, took possession of Gamarra Menor. As soon as the heights were in our possession, the village of Gamarra Major was most gallantly stormed and carried by Brigadier-General Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which advanced in columns of battalions, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry, without firing a shot, assisted by two guns of Major Lawson's brigade of artillery. The enemy suffered severely, and lost three pieces of cannon. The Lieut.-General then proceeded to attack the village of Abechuco, with the 1st division, by forming a strong battery against it, consisting of Captain Dubourdieu's brigade, and Captain Ramsay's troop of horse artillery, and, under cover of this fire, Colonel Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack of the village, which was carried, the light battalion having charged and taken three guns and a howitzer on the bridge: this attack was supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portugueze infantry.

During the operation at Abechuco, the enemy made the greatest efforts to re-possess themselves of the village of Gamarro Major, which were gallantly repulsed by the troops of the 5th division, under the command of Major-General Oswald. The enemy had, however, on the heights on the left of the Zadora, two divisions of infantry in reserve, and it was impossible to cross by the bridges till the troops which had moved upon the enemy's centre and left had driven them through Vittoria. The whole then co-operatedin the pursuit, which was continued by all till after it was dark. The movement of the troops under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, and their possession of Gamarra and Abechuco, intercepted the enemy's retreat by the high road to France. They were then obliged to turn to the road towards Pamplona; but they were unable to hold any position for a

sufficient length of time to allow their baggage and artillery to be drawn off. The whole, therefore, of the latter, which had not already been taken by the troops in their attack of the successive positions, taken up by the enemy in their retreat from their first position on Aruney and on the Zadora, and all their ammunition and baggage, and every thing they had, were taken, close to Vittoria. I have reason to believe that the enemy carried off with them one gun and one howitzer only. The army under Joseph Buonaparte consisted of the whole of the armies of the south and of the centre, and of four divisions, and all the cavalry of the army of Portugal, and some troops of the army of the north. General Foix's division of the army of Portugal was in the neighbourhood of Bilboa; and General Clausel, who commands the army of the north, was near Logrono with one division of the army of Portugal, commanded by Gen. Topin and General Vandermassen's division of the army of the north. The 6th division of the allied army, under Major-General the Hon. Edward Pakenham, was likewise absent, having been detained at Medina del Pomar for three days, to cover the march of our magazines and stores. I cannot extol too highly the good conduct of all the general officers, officers, and soldiers of the army in this action. Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill speaks highly of the conduct of Gen. Murillo, and the Spanish troops under his command, and of that of Lieutenant-General the Hon. W. Stewart and the Conde d'Amarante, who commanded divisions of infantry under his directions. He likewise mentions the conduct of the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel O'Callagan, who maintained the village of Sabijana de Alava against all the efforts of the enemy to regain possession of it, and that of Lieutenant-Colonel Brooke, of the adjutant-general's department, and Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Alexander Abercromby, of the quarter-master-general's department. It was impossible for the movements of any troops to be conducted with more spirit and regularity than those of these respective divisions of Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Lowry Cole, and Major-General Charles Baron Alten. These troops advanced in echelons of regiments, in two, and occasionally three lines; and the Portuguese troops, in the 3d and 4th divisions, under the command of Brigadier-General Power and Colonel Stubbs, led the march with a steadiness and gallantry never before surpassed on any occasion. Major-General the Hon. C. Colville's brigade of the 3d division was seriously attacked, in its advance, by a very superior force, well formed; which it drove in, supported by General Inglis's brigade of the 7th division, commanded by Colonel Grant, of the 82d. These officers, and the troops under their command, distinguished themselves. Major-General Vandeleur's brigade of the light division was, during the advance upon Vittoria, detached to the support of the 7th division, and Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie has reported most favourably of its conduct. Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham particularly reports his sense of the assistance he received from Colonel Delancey, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, and from Lieutenant-Colonel Bouverie, of the adjutant-general's department, and from the officers of his personal staff, and from the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Upton, Assistant Quarter-Master-General, and Major Hope, Assistant-Adjutant, with the 1st division; and Major-General Oswald reports the same of Lieutenant-Colonel Berkeley, of the adjutant-general's department, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gomm, of the quarter-master-general's department. I am particularly indebted to Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, and

Lieutenant-Gen. Sir Rowland Hill, for the manner in which they have respectively conducted the service intrusted to them since the commencement of the operations, which have ended in the battle of the 21st, and for their conduct in that battle; as likewise to Marshal Sir William Beresford, for the friendly advice and assistance which I have received from him upon all occasions during the late operations. I must not omit to mention, likewise, the conduct of General Giron, who commands the Gallician army, who made a forced march from Orduna, and was actually on the ground in readiness to support Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham. I have frequently been indebted, and have had occasion to call the attention of your lordship to the conduct of the Quarter-Master-General, Major-Gen. George Murray, who, in the late operations, and in the battle of the 21st instant, has again given me the greatest assistance. I am likewise indebted much to Lord Aylmer, the deputy-adjutant-general, and to the officers of the adjutant and quarter-master-general's departments respectively, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and the officers of my personal staff, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir R. Fletcher, and the officers of the Royal Engineers. Col. his Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Orange was in the field as my aid-de-camp, and conducted himself with his usual gallantry snd intelligence. Mareschal del Campo Don Luis Wimpfen, and the Inspector-General, Don Thomas O'Donoju, and the officers of the staff of the Spanish army, have invariably rendered me every assistance in their power in the course of these operations; and I avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my satisfaction at their conduct, as likewise with that of Mareschal del Campo Don Miguel de Alava, and of the Brigadier-Genrral Don Joseph O'Lawlor, who have been so long and so usefully employed with me. The artillery was most judiciously placed by Lieut.-Colonel Dickson, and was well served, and the army is particularly indebted to that corps. The nature of the ground did not allow of the cavalry being generally engaged, but the general officers, commanding the several brigades, kept the troops under their command respectively close to the infantry to support them, and they were most active in the pursuit of the enemy after they had been driven through Vittoria. I send this dispatch by my aide-de-camp, Capt. Fremantle, whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship's protection: he will have the honour of laying at the feet of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the colours of the 4th battalion of the 100th regiment, and Marshal Jourdan's baton of a marshal of France, taken by the 87th regiment.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) WELLINGTON.

Abstract of loss from June 12 *to* 21.

British—2 serjeants, 9 rank and file, 9 horses, killed; 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 62 rank and file, 13 horses, wounded.

Portuguese—3 rank and file killed; 1 major, 1 captain, 3 serjeants, 16 rank and file, wounded.

On the 21*st*.—Total British loss.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 6 captains, 10 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 staff, 15 serjeants, 4 drummers, 460 rank and file, 92 horses, killed; 1 general staff, 7 lieutenant-colonels, 5 majors, 40 captains, 87 lieutenants, 22 ensigns, 5 staff, 123 serjeants 13 drummers, 2504 rank and file, 68 horses, wounded.

Total Portuguese loss.—3 captains, 1 lieutenant, 3 ensigns, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 138 rank and file, 1 horse, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 majors,

16 captains, 10 lieutenants, 19 ensigns, 2 staff, 35 serjeants, 1 drummer, 811 rank and file, wounded.

Total Spanish loss.—1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 85 rank and file, killed; 1 general staff, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 6 lieutenants, 453 rank and file, wounded.

Grand Total.—1 lieutenant-colonel, 10 captains, 14 lieutenants, 7 ensigns, 1 staff, 19 serjeants, 5 drummers, 683 rank and file, 93 horses, killed; 2 general staff, 9 lieutenant-colonels, 9 majors, 59 captains, 103 lieutenants, 41 ensigns, 7 staff, 158 serjeants, 14 drummers, 3768 rank and file, 68 horses, wounded.

N. B. 1 serjeant, 2 drummers, 263 rank and file, have been returned missing by the several corps of the army, British and Portuguese; it is supposed that the greater number of them lost their regiments in the course of the night, and that very few have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

(Signed) AYLMER,
Deputy-Adjutant-General.

Return of ordnance, carriages, and ammunition, captured from the enemy in the action of the 21st of June, 1813.

Vittoria, June 23.

Brass ordnance on travelling carriages.

Twenty-eight 12-pounder guns, 43 8-pounder guns, 43 4-pounder guns, 3 eight-inch howitzers, 20 six-inch howitzers, 3 four and 2 five inch howitzers, 2 six-inch mortars.—Total, 151.

Caissons—55 12-pounder guns, 76 8-pounder guns, 68 4-pounder guns, 7 eight-inch howitzers, 54 six-inch howitzers, 5 four and 2 five-inch howitzers, 149 small arm ammunition.—Total, 415.

Rounds of ammunition—1936 12-pounder guns, 5424 eight-pounder guns, 3434 4-pounder guns, 97 eight-inch howitzers, 3358 six-inch howitzers.—Total, 14,249.

One million nine hundred and seventy-three thousand four hundred musket-ball cartridges, 40,668lb. of gunpowder, 56 forage waggons, 44 forge waggons.

R. D. HENAGAN,
Commissary Royal Artillery.
A. DICKSON,
Lieut.-Col. commanding Artillery.

Irunzun, June 24.

My Lord,—The departure of Captain Fremantle having been delayed till this day, by the necessity of making up the returns, I have to report to your lordship, that we have continued to pursue the enemy, whose rear reached Pamplona this day. We have done them as much injury as has been in our power, considering the state of the weather and of the roads; and this day the advanced guard, consisting of Major-General Victor Baron Alten's brigade, and the 1st and 3d battalions of the 95th regiment, and Major Ross's troop of horse artillery, took from them the remaining gun they had. They have entered Pamplona, therefore, with one howitzer only. General Clausel, who had under his command that part of the army of the north, and one division of the army of Portugal, which was not in the action of the 21st, approached Vittoria on the 23d, when he heard of the action of the preceding day, and finding there the 6th division, which had just arrived, under the command of Major-General the Hon. E. Pakenham, he retired upon la Guardia, and has since marched upon Tudela de Ebro. It is probable that the enemy will continue their retreat into France. I have detached General Giron with the Gallician army in pursuit of the convoy which moved from Vittoria on the morning of the 20th, which I hope he will overtake before it reaches Bayonne. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

Downing-street, July 19.

Dispatches, of which the following are extracts, have been this day received at Earl Bathurst's office, addressed to his lordship by Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington.

Ostiz, July 3.

General Clausel having retired towards Logrono, after finding our troops at Vittoria, on the 22d of June, and having ascertained the result of the action of the 21st, still remained in the neighbourhood of Logrono on the 24th, and till late on the 25th, and had not marched for Tudela, as I had been informed, when I wrote my dispatch of the 24th ult.; I conceived, therefore, that there was some prospect of intercepting his retreat; and after sending the light troops towards Roncesvalles in pursuit of the army under Joseph Buonaparte, I moved the light, 4th, 3d, and 7th divisions, and Colonel Grant's and Major-General Ponsonby's brigades of cavalry, towards Tudela, and the 5th and 6th divisions, and the household and General D'Orban's cavalry, from Vittoria to Salvatierra, towards Logrono, in hopes that I should be able to intercept General Clausel. He, however, made some extraordinary forced marches, followed by General Mina with his own cavalry, and the regiment of Spanish cavalry under the command of Don Julian Sanchez, and arrived at Tudela on the evening of the 27th. He there crossed the Ebro, but the Alcade having informed him that we were upon the road, he immediately re-crossed, and marched towards Zaragossa, where, I understand from General Mina, he has since arrived.

General Mina is still following the enemy, and he has taken from him two pieces of cannon, and some stores in Tudela, and 200 prisoners. Lieutenant-General Clinton has also taken possession of five guns, which the enemy left at Logrono. In the meantime the troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir R. Hill have kept the blockade of Pampeluna, and have moved through the mountains to the head of the Bidassoa, the enemy having entirely retired into France on that side.

I enclose the report which I have received from Lieutenant-General Sir T. Graham, of his actions with the enemy on the 24th and 25th of June, which appear to have been more serious than I had imagined, when I addressed your lordship on the 26th ult.

General Foy had with him the garrison of Bilboa, and those of Mondragon and Tolosa, besides his division of the army of Portugal, and his force was considerable. It gives me great satisfaction to see that the Spanish and Portuguese troops mentioned by Sir T. Graham have conducted themselves so well.

The lieutenant-general has continued to push on the enemy by the high road, and has dislodged them from all the strong positions which they had taken; and yesterday a brigade of the army of Gallicia, under the command of General Castanos, attacked and drove the enemy across the Bidassoa, by the bridge of Irun. The enemy still maintained a post in a strong stone block-house, which served as a head to the bridge, and some troops in some loopholed houses on the right of the Bipassoa: but General Giron having sent for some Spanish artillery, and Captain Dubourdieu's brigade of nine-pounders having been sent to their support, the fire of these guns obliged the enemy to evacuate, and they blew up the block-house, and burnt the bridge.

Sir Thomas Graham reports, that in all these affairs the Spanish troops have behaved remarkably well. The

garrison at Passages, consisting of 150 men, surrendered on the 30th, to the troops under Colonel Longa.

The enemy, on seeing some of our ships off Deba, evacuated the town and fort of Guetaria on the 1st instant, and the garrison went, by sea, to St Sebastian. This place is blockaded by land by a detachment of Spanish troops.

They have likewise evacuated Castro, and the garrison have gone by sea to Santona.

In my former reports, I have made your lordship acquainted with the progress of the army of reserve of Andalusia, under General the Conde de Abisbal, to join the army, and he arrived at Burgos on the 25th and 26th ultimo.

When the enemy retired across the Ebro, previous to the battle of Vittoria, they left a garrison of about 700 men in the castle of Pancorbo, by which they commanded, and rendered it impossible for us to use, the great communication from Vittoria to Burgos; I, therefore, requested the Conde del Abisbal, on his march to Miranda, to make himself master of the town and lower works, and to blockade the place as closely as he could. I have not received the report of his first operations, but I understand he carried the town and lower fort by assault on the 28th; and I have now the pleasure to enclose his report of the final success of his operation, and the copy of the capitulation, by which the garrison have surrendered,

The decision and dispatch with which this place has been subdued, are highly creditable to the Conde des Abisbal, and the officers and troops under his command.

I am concerned to inform your lordship, that Lieutenant-General Sir J. Murray raised the siege of Tarragona, I cannot say on what day, and embarked his troops. A great proportion of the artillery and stores were left in the batteries. It appears that Marshal Suchet, with a considerable body of troops, had moved from Valencia by Tortosa, and General Maurice Mathieu, with another corps, from the neighbourhood of Barcelona, for the purpose of impeding Sir John Murray's operations, which he did not think himself sufficiently strong to continue. I have not yet received from Sir John Murray the detailed account of these transactions; Lieutenant-General Lord William Bentinck, however, who had joined and had taken the command of the army at the Col de Balaguer, on the 17th, had brought it back to Alicant, where he arrived himself on the 23d, and was proceeding to carry into execution my instructions.

When Marshal Suchet marched into Catalonia, the Duke del Parque had advanced, and established his head-quarters at San Felipe de Xativa, and his troops on the Xucar, where he still was on the 24th.

Extract of a Letter from Sir John Murray to Lord Wellington.

His Majesty's ship Malta,
June 14, 1813.

My Lord,—Admiral Hallowell has just decided on sending a ship to Alicant, and I have merely time to state to your lordship, and I do so with great regret, that I have been under the necessity of raising the siege of Tarragona, and embarking the army under my command. In my private letter of the 7th instant, I mentioned to your lordship the reports of the assemblage of the French forces at Barcelona, and that Marshal Suchet was likewise in march from Valencia; and stated it as my opinion, that should these reports be confirmed, the object your lordship had in view could not be

accomplished. Unfortunately these rumours proved true, and reluctantly I resolved upon raising the siege and embarking the army, as the only means of avoiding a general action, which must have been fought under every disadvantage. I cannot at this moment refer to dates, but it is sufficient for the present to state, that the French force at Barcelona was never rated to me at less than 8000, and that previous to their march it would amount to 10,000, with 14 pieces of artillery, I have, however, no account that it ever exceeded eight, and that is the number on which my calculation was formed. This force, upon the evening of the 9th, or morning of the 10th, marched out from Barcelona, and entered Villa Franca, at four o'clock in the evening of the 11th, from whence it was reported to me to march at 12 o'clock at night for Vendrells, distant only 18 or 20 miles from Tarragona by the great road, and a few miles further by another road, by which cannon can easily pass. On the 9th or 10th the arrival of Marshal Suchet at Valencia was made known to me; his exact force was never perfectly ascertained, but from the intelligence received from Valencia, he marched from thence with 9000 men, and certainly in the rear of that place had the power of drawing great reinforcements to his army.

To these corps must be added, a body of 1000 men, which had previously arrived at Tortosa, and another corps, independent of the garrison of 2,500 men, who had arrived at Lerida. These corps, which I am sure I do not exaggerate, amount to 20,500 men, with which, in four or five days, Marshal Suchet could attack the allied army, if he thought proper; or avoid an action, if he wished still more to reinforce his army. Your lordship, on the other hand, will observe, that I could scarcely bring into the field 12,000 men, and that the army of Catalonia was stated to me at 8500, making 20,500, of which two British and two Spanish divisions were at the Col de Balaguer, and could not be withdrawn; and I could not leave less than 2500 to cover the artillery and stores, and to contain the garrison of Tarragona. The two corps, at the least, would amount to upwards of 4500 men, leaving me 16,000 men to meet the best French troops in Spain, amounting to upwards of 20,000.

I am sure there is nobody more willing to give full credit to the gallantry of the Spanish troops than I am, but your lordship well knows that they are unable to move, and I could not therefore depend upon the execution of any order which necessarily obliged them to make a movement; and of troops of this description I had about 13,000 men; unless, therefore, I could place them in position, which, as the French had the option of fighting when and where they pleased, it was impossible I could place any reliance upon them. My British and German troops amounted only to 4500. Perhaps your lordship may be of opinion, that under these circumstances, I ought to have risked an action, had no other unfavourable objections existed; but when your lordship is informed, that I had no possibility of retreat if unsuccessful,—that there would have been no hopes of embarkation if followed,—and that the army must have been unavoidably lost, if beat,—I venture to hope that your lordship will think, however much it is to be regretted, that I have adopted the only means of maintaining entire, or indeed of saving, an army on which so much depends. I feel the greater confidence in this hope, on reverting to the 13th paragraph of your lordship's general instructions for the conduct of the campaign.

I am fully aware there are many cir-

cumstances which may require further information, and upon all parts I shall be happy to give every explanation in my power. Your lordship perhaps may be of opinion that the place should have been taken; but as it was far too strong to storm, I believe it not only to have been impossible, but that we should not have taken it in eight or ten days: My only regret is, that I continued the siege so long. Induced by the hopes of the reinforcements I expected, I continued it to the last moment, and fortunately the weather proving favourable, the troops were embarked without molestation. On this favourable circumstance, I could not depend for another day, and therefore having taken my part, I immediately put it in execution, and I regret to say, that I was in consequence obliged to leave the guns in the most advanced batteries. Had I remained another day, they might have been brought off; but this risk I would not run, when the existence of the army was at stake, not only from unfavourable weather, but from the appearance of an enemy, in whose presence I could not have embarked perhaps at all, certainly not without suffering a great loss, and without the possibility of deriving any advantage.

I have only further at this time to add, should blame be attached to the failure of the expedition, no share of it can fall on Admiral Hallowell, who conducted the naval branch of it. From that distinguished officer I have met with every assistance and co-operation in his power; and I think it only justice to him to state, that it was his opinion that the cannon in the batteries might have been saved by remaining till the night, and that they then could have been brought off. This, however, was a risk I did not wish to run for so trifling an object, and preferred losing them to the chance of the embarkation being opposed, and of an eventual much more serious loss.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) J. MURRAY,
Lieutenant-General.
To the Marquis of Wellington,
K. G. &c.

Admiralty Office, July 10.

Copy of a letter from the Hon. Captain Capel, of his Majesty's ship La Hogue, to John Wilson Croker, Esq. dated at Halifax, June 11, 1813.

Sir,—It is with the greatest pleasure I transmit you a letter I have just received from Captain Broke, of his Majesty's ship Shannon, detailing a most brilliant achievement, in the capture of the United States frigate Chesapeake, in 15 minutes. Captain Broke relates so fully the particulars of this gallant affair, that I feel it unnecessary to add much to his narrative; but I cannot forbear expressing the pleasure I feel in bearing testimony to the indefatigable exertions, and persevering zeal of Captain Broke during the time he has been under my orders: placing a firm reliance on the valour of his officers and crew, and a just confidence in his system of discipline, he sought every opportunity of meeting the enemy on fair terms; and I have to rejoice with his country and his friends, at the glorious result of this contest: he gallantly headed his boarders in the assault, and carried all before him. His wounds are severe, but I trust his country will not be long deprived of his services.

I have the honour to be, &c.
THOMAS BLADEN CAPEL,
Capt. and senior Officer at Halifax.

Shannon, Halifax, June 6, 1813.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that being close in with Boston Light House, in his Majesty's ship under my command, on the 1st inst.

I had the pleasure of seeing that the United States frigate Chesapeake (whom we had long been watching) was coming out of the harbour to engage the Shannon; I took a position between Cape Ann and Cape Cod, and then hove-to for him to join us; the enemy came down in a very handsome manner, having three American ensigns flying; when closing with us, he sent down his royal yards. I kept the Shannon's up, expecting the breeze would die away. At half-past five p. m. the enemy hauled up within hail of us on the starboard side, and the battle began, both ships steering full under the top-sails; after exchanging between two and three broadsides, the enemy's ship fell on board of us, her mizen channels locking in with our fore-rigging. I went forward to ascertain her position, and observing that the enemy were flinching from their guns, I gave orders to prepare for boarding. Our gallant bands appointed to that service immediately rushed in, under their respective officers, upon the enemy's decks, driving every thing before them with irresistible fury. The enemy made a desperate but disorderly resistance. The firing continued at all the gangways, and between the tops, but in two minutes' time the enemy were driven sword in hand from every post. The American flag was hauled down, and the proud old British Union floated triumphant over it. In another minute they ceased firing from below, and called for quarter. The whole of this service was achieved in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action.

I have to lament the loss of many of my gallant shipmates, but they fell exulting in their conquest.

My brave first lieutenant, Mr Watt, was slain in the moment of victory, in the act of hoisting the British colours; his death is a severe loss to the service. Mr Aldham, the purser, who had spiritedly volunteered the charge of a party of small-arm men, was killed at his post on the gangway. My faithful old clerk, Mr Dunn, was shot by his side. Mr Aldham has left a widow to lament his loss. I request the commander-in-chief will recommend her to the protection of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty. My veteran boatswain, Mr Stephens, has lost an arm. He fought under Lord Rodney on the 12th of April. I trust his age and services will be duly rewarded.

I am happy to say that Mr Samwell, a midshipman of much merit, is the only other officer wounded besides myself, and he not dangerously. Of my gallant seamen and marines we had twenty-three slain and fifty-six wounded. No expressions I can make use of can do justice to the merits of my valiant officers and crew; the calm courage they displayed during the cannonade, and the tremendous precision of their fire, could only be equalled by the ardour with which they rushed to the assault. I recommend them all warmly to the protection of the commander-in-chief. Having received a severe sabre wound at the first onset, whilst charging a part of the enemy who had rallied on their forecastle, I was only capable of giving command till assured our conquest was complete, and then directing second Lieutenant Wallis to take charge of the Shannon, and secure the prisoners, I left the third lieutenant, Mr Falkiner (who had headed the main-deck boarders) in charge of the prize. I beg to recommend these officers most strongly to the commander-in-chief's patronage, for the gallantry they displayed during the action, and the skill and judgment they evinced in the anxious duties which afterwards devolved upon them.

To Mr Etough, the acting master, I am much indebted, for the steadiness

with which he conned the ship into action. The Lieutenants Jones and Law, of the marines, bravely boarded at the head of their respective divisions. It is impossible to particularize every brilliant deed performed by my officers and men; but I must mention, when the ships' yard-arms were locked together, that Mr Cosnahan, who commanded in our main-top, finding himself screened from the enemy by the foot of the topsail, laid out at the main-yard-arm to fire upon them, and shot three men in that situation. Mr Smith, who commanded in our fore-top, stormed the enemy's fore-top from the fore-yard arm, and destroyed all the Americans remaining in it. I particularly beg leave to recommend Mr Etough, the acting master, and Messrs. Smith, Leake, Clavering, Raymond, and Littlejohn, midshipmen. This latter officer is the son of Captain Littlejohn, who was slain in the Berwick. The loss of the enemy was about 70 killed, and 100 wounded. Among the former were the four lieutenants, a lieutenant of marines, the master and many other officers. Captain Laurence is since dead of his wounds.

The enemy came into action with a complement of four hundred and forty men; the Shannon having picked up some recaptured seamen, had three hundred and thirty. The Chesapeake is a fine frigate, and mounts forty-nine guns, eighteens on her main deck, two-and-thirties on her quarter-deck and forecastle. Both ships came out of action in the most beautiful order, their rigging appearing as perfect as if they had only been exchanging a salute.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) P. B. V. BROKE.
To Captain the Hon. T. Bladen Capel, &c. Halifax.

Admiralty Office, August 14.

Dispatches of which the following are copies, have been received at this office from Admiral the Right Hon. Sir J. B. Warren, Bart. and K. B. commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels on the American and West Indian station, addressed to J. W. Croker, Esq.

San Domingo, Hampton Roads, Chesapeak, June 24.

Sir,—I request you will inform their lordships, that, from the information received of the enemy's fortifying Craney Island, and it being necessary to obtain possession of that place, to enable the light ships and vessels to proceed up the narrow channel towards Norfolk, to transport the troops over on that side for them to attack the new fort and lines, in the rear of which the Constellation frigate was anchored, I directed the troops under Sir Sidney Beckwith to be landed upon the continent, within the nearest point to that place, and a reinforcement of seamen and marines from the ships; but, upon approaching the island, from the extreme shoalness of the water on the sea-side, and the difficulty of getting across from the land, as well as the island itself being fortified with a number of guns and men from the frigate and the militia, and flanked by fifteen gun-boats, I considered, in consequence of the representation of the officer commanding the troops, of the difficulty of their passing over the land, that the persevering in the attempt would cost more men than the number with us would permit, as the other forts must have been stormed before the frigate and dock-yard could be destroyed; I therefore ordered the troops to be re-embarked.

I am happy to say, that the loss in

the above affair (returns of which are enclosed) has not been considerable, and only two boats sunk. I have to regret, that Captain Hanchett, of his majesty's ship Diadem, who volunteered his services, and led the division of boats with great gallantry, was severely wounded by a ball in the thigh. The officers and men behaved with much bravery, and if it had been possible to have got at the enemy, I am persuaded would have soon gained the place.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN BORLASE WARREN.

J. W. Croker, Esq.

A general return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the officers, non-commissioned officers, drummers, and rank and file, in the affair with the enemy, near Crany Island, June 22.

Total.—3 killed, 8 wounded, 52 missing.

San Domingo, Hampton Roads, June 27.

Sir,—I request you will inform their lordships, that the enemy having a post at Hampton, defended by a considerable corps, commanding the communication between the upper part of the country and Norfolk, I considered it advisable, and with a view to cut off their resources, to direct it to be attacked by the troops composing the flying corps attached to this squadron; and having instructed Rear Admiral Cockburn to conduct the naval part of the expedition, and placed Captain Pechell, with the Mohawk sloop and launches, as a covering force, under his orders, the troops were disembarked with the greatest zeal and alacrity.

Sir S. Beckwith, commanding the troops, having most ably attacked and defeated the enemy's force, and took their guns, colours, and camp, I refer their lordships to the quarter-master-general's report (which is enclosed), and that will explain the gallantry and behaviour of the several officers and men employed on this occasion, and I trust will entitle them to the favour of his royal highness the prince regent, and the approbation of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty.

Sir Sidney Beckwith having reported to me that the defences of the town were entirely destroyed, and the enemy completely dispersed in the neighbourhood, I ordered the troops to be re-embarked, which was performed with the utmost good order by the several officers of the squadron, under the orders of Rear-Admiral Cockburn. I have, &c.

JOHN B. WARREN.

J. W. Croker, Esq.

His Majesty's ship San Domingo, Hampton Roads, June 28.

Sir,—I have the honour to report to you, that in compliance with your orders to attack the enemy in town and camp at Hampton, the troops under my command were put into light sailing vessels and boats during the night of the 25th instant, and by the excellent arrangements of Rear Admiral Cockburn, who was pleased in person to superintend the advance, under Lieut.-Colonel Napier, consisting of the 102d regiment, two companies of Canadian chasseurs, three companies of marines from the squadron, with two six-pounders from the royal marines artillery, were landed half an hour before daylight the next morning, about two miles to the westward of the town, and the royal marine battalions, under Lieut.-Colonel Williams were brought on shore so expeditiously, that the column was speedily enabled to move forward.

With a view to turn the enemy's position, our march was directed to-

wards the great road, leading from the country into the rear of the town: whilst the troops moved off in this direction, Rear Admiral Cockburn, to engage the enemy's attention, ordered the armed launches and rocket boats to commence a fire upon their batteries; this succeeded so completely, that the head of our advanced guard had cleared a wood, and were already on the enemy's flank before our approach was perceived; they then moved from their camp to their position in rear of the town, and here they were vigorously attacked by Lieut.-Col. Napier, and the advance; unable to stand which, they continued their march to the rear of the town, when a detachment, under Lieut.-Colonel Williams, conducted by Captain Powell, assistant quarter-master-general, pushed through the town, and forced their way across a bridge of planks into the enemy's encampment, of which, and the batteries, immediate possession was gained. In the meantime some artillerymen stormed and took the enemy's remaining field-piece.

Enclosed, I have the honour to transmit a return of ordnance taken. Lieutenant-Colonel Williams will have the honour of delivering to you a stand of colours of the 68th regiment, James City light infantry, and one of the 1st battalion 85th regiment. The exact numbers of the enemy it is difficult to ascertain. From the woody country, and the strength of their position, our troops have sustained some loss; that of the enemy was very considerable: every exertion was made to collect the wounded Americans, who were attended by a surgeon of their own, and by the British surgeons, who performed amputations on such as required it, and afforded every assistance in their power; the dead bodies of such as could be collected were also carefully buried.

I beg leave on this occasion to express the obligations I owe to Lieut.-Colonel Napier and Lieut.-Colonel Williams, for their kind and able assistance, to Major Malcolm, and Captain Smith, and all the officers and men, whose zeal and spirited conduct entitle them to my best acknowledgments.

I have the honour to be, &c.

SYDNEY BECKWITH,
Quarter-master-general.

Right Hon. J. B. Warren,
K. B. &c.

Return of Ordnance Stores taken in Hampton, on the 25th of June.

Four twelve pounder guns on travelling carriages, 3 six-pounder guns on travelling carriages, with limbers, and a proportion of ammunition for each of the above calibres; 3 covered waggons and their horses.

A return of the killed, wounded, and missing at Hampton, 26th June, 1813.

Total—5 killed; 33 wounded; 10 missing.

Downing-street, August 16.

His serene highness the hereditary Prince of Orange has arrived at this office with dispatches addressed to Earl Bathurst, by Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, of which the following are copies:—

San Estevan, August 1, 1813.

My Lord,—Two practical breaches having been effected at San Sebastian on the 24th of July, orders were given that they should be attacked on the morning of the 25th. I am concerned to have to report that this attempt to obtain possession of the place failed, and that our loss was very considerable.

Marshal Soult had been appointed

Lieutenant de l' Empereur and commander-in-chief of the French armies in Spain and the southern provinces of France, by a *Decret Imperial* on the 1st of July, and he joined and took the command of the army on the 13th of July, which having been joined nearly about the same time by the corps which had been in Spain under the command of General Clauzel, and by other reinforcements, was called the army of Spain, and reinforced into nine divisions of infantry, forming the right, centre, and left, under the command of General Reille, Comte d'-Erlon, and General Clauzel, as Lieut.-Generals, and a reserve under General Villatte; and two divisions of dragoons and one of light cavalry, the two former under the command of Generals Treillard and Tilly, and the latter under the command of General Pierre Soult. There was besides allotted to the army a large proportion of artillery, and a considerable number of guns had already joined.

The allied army was posted, as I have already informed your lordship, in the passes of the mountains. Major-General Byng's brigade of British infantry, and General Murillo's division of Spanish infantry, were on the right, in the pass of Roncesvalles. Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole was posted at Viscarret, to support those troops; and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton, with the third division, at Olaque, in reserve.

Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill occupied the valley of Bastan with the remainder of the second division, and the Portugueze division, under the Conde de Amarante, detaching General Campbell's Portuguese brigade to Los Alduides, within the French territory. The light and seventh divisions occupied the heights of Santa Barbara, and the Puerto de Echalar, and kept the communication with the valley of Bastan; and the sixth division was in reserve at San Estevan. General Longa's division kept the communication between the troops at Vera and those under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, and Marischal del Campo Giron, on the great road.

The Conde del Abisbal blockaded Pampeluna.

On the 24th, Marshal Soult collected the right and left wings of his army, with one division of his centre, and two divisions of cavalry, at St Jean de Pied de Port, and on the 25th attacked, with between thirty and forty thousand men, General Byng's post at Roncesvalles. Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole moved up to his support with the fourth division, and these officers were enabled to maintain their post throughout the day. But the enemy turned it in the afternoon; and Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole considered it to be necessary to withdraw in the night; and he marched to the neighbourhood of Zubiri.

In the actions which took place on this day, the 20th regiment distinguished themselves.

Two divisions of the centre of the enemy's army attacked Sir Rowland Hill's position in the Puerto de Maya, at the head of the valley of Bastan, in the afternoon of the same day. The brunt of the action fell upon Major-General Pringle's and Major-General Walker's brigades in the second division, under the command of Lieutenant-General the Hon. W. Stewart. These troops were at first obliged to give way; but having been supported by Major-General Barnes's brigade of the 7th division, they regained that part of their post, which was the key of the whole, and would have enabled them to reassume it, if circumstances had permitted it: but Sir Rowland Hill having been apprised of the necessity that Sir Lowry Cole should retire, deemed it expedient

to withdraw his troops likewise to Irurita; and the enemy did not advance on the following day beyond the Puerto de Maya.

Notwithstanding the enemy's superiority of numbers, they acquired but little advantage over these brave troops during the seven hours they were engaged. All the regiments charged with the bayonet. The conduct of the 82d regiment, which moved up with Major-General Barnes's brigade, is particularly reported.

Lieutenant-General the Hon. W. Stewart was slightly wounded.

I was not apprised of these events till late in the night of the 25th and 26th; and I adopted immediate measures to concentrate the army to the right, still providing for the siege of San Sebastian, and for the blockade of Pamplona.

This would have been effected early on the 27th, only that Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole and Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Picton concurred in thinking their post at Zubiri not tenable for the time during which it would have been necessary to wait in it. They therefore retired early on the 27th, and took up a position to cover the blockade of Pamplona, having the right, consisting of the 3d division, in front of Huarte, and extending to the hills beyond Olaz, and the left, consisting of the 4th division, Major-General Byng's, and Brigadier General Campbell's Portuguese brigade, on the heights in front of Villalba, having their left at a chapel behind Sorausen, on the high road from Ostiz to Pamplona, and their right resting upon a height which defended the high road from Zubiri and Roncesvalles. General Murillo's division of Spanish infantry, and that part of the Conde del Abisbal's corps not engaged in the blockade, were in reserve. From the latter, the regiment of Travia, and that of El Principe, were detached to occupy part of the hill on the right of the fourth division, by which the road from Zubiri was defended.

The British cavalry under Lieut.-General Sir Stapleton Cotton were placed near Huarte on the right, being the only ground on which it was possible to use the cavalry.

The river Lanz runs in the valley which was on the left of the allied, and on the right of the French army along the road to Ostiz. Beyond this river there is another range of mountains connected with Ligasso and Marcalain, by which places it was now necessary to communicate with the rest of the army.

I joined the third and fourth division just as they were taking up their ground on the 27th: and shortly afterwards the enemy formed their army on a mountain, the front of which extends from the high road to Ostiz to the high road to Zubiri, and they placed one division on their left of that road on a height, and in some villages in front of the third division. They had here also a large body of cavalry.

In a short time after they had taken up their ground, the enemy attacked the hill on the right of the fourth division, which was then occupied by one battalion of the 4th Portuguese regiment, and by the Spanish regiment of Pravia.

The troops defended their ground, and drove the enemy from it with the bayonet. Seeing the importance of this hill to our position, I reinforced it with the 40th regiment; and this regiment, with the Spanish regiments of El Principe and Pravia, held it from this time, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the enemy, during the 27th and 28th, to obtain possession of it.

Nearly at the same time that the enemy attacked this height on the 27th, they took possession of the village of Sorausen on the road to Ostiz, by

which they acquired the communication by that road, and they kept up a fire of musketry along the line till it was dark.

We were joined on the morning of the 28th by the sixth division of infantry, and I directed that the heights should be occupied on the left of the valley of the Lanz; and that the sixth division should form across the valley in rear of the left of the fourth division, resting their right on Oricain, and their left upon the heights above-mentioned.

The sixth division had scarcely taken up their position when they were attacked by a very large force of the enemy, which had been assembled in the village of Sorausen.

Their front was, however, so well defended by the fire of their own light troops from the heights on their left, and by the fire from the heights occupied by the fourth division and Brigadier-General Campbell's Portuguese brigade, that the enemy were soon driven back with immense loss, from a fire on their front, both flanks, and rear.

In order to extricate their troops from the difficulty in which they found themselves in their situation in the valley of the Lanz, the enemy now attacked the height on which the left of the fourth division stood, which was occupied by the seventh Caçadores, of which they obtained a momentary possession. They were attacked, however, again by the seventh Caçadores, supported by Major-General Ross, at the head of his brigade of the fourth division, and were driven down with great loss.

The battle now became general along the whole front of the heights, occupied by the fourth division, and in every part in our favour, excepting where one battalion of the tenth Portuguese regiment of Major-General Campbell's brigade was posted. This battalion having been overpowered, and having been obliged to give way immediately on the right of Major-General Ross's brigade, the enemy established themselves on our line, and Major-General Ross was obliged to withdraw from his post.

I, however, ordered the 27th and 48th regiments to charge, first that body of the enemy which had first established themselves on the height, and next those on the left. Both attacks succeeded, and the enemy were driven down with immense loss; and the 6th division having moved forward at the same time to a situation in the valley nearer to the left of the 4th, the attack upon this front ceased entirely, and was continued but faintly on other points of our line.

In the course of this contest, the gallant fourth division, which has so frequently been distinguished in this army, surpassed their former good conduct. Every regiment charged with the bayonet; and the 40th, the 7th, 20th, and 23d, four different times. Their officers set them the example, and Major-General Ross had two horses shot under him. The Portuguese troops likewise behaved admirably; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Spanish regiments del Principe and Pravia.

I had ordered Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill to march by Lanz upon Lizasso, as soon as I found that Lieutenant-Generals Sir Thomas Picton and Sir Lowry Cole had moved from Zubiri; and Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie, from St Estevan, to the same place, where both arrived on the 28th, and the seventh division came to Marcalain.

The enemy's force which had been in front of Sir Rowland Hill followed his march, and arrived at Ostiz on the 29th. The enemy thus reinforced, and occupying a position in the moun-

tains which appeared little liable to attack, and finding that they could make no impression on our front, determined to endeavour to turn our left by an attack on Sir Rowland Hill's corps.

They reinforced with one division the troops which had been already opposed to him, still occupying the same points in the mountain, on which was formed their principal force, but they drew into their left the troops which occupied the heights opposite the third division, and they had during the night of the 29th and 30th, occupied in strength the crest of the mountain on our left of the Lanz, opposite to the sixth and seventh divisions; thus connecting their right in their position with the divisions detached to attack Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill.

I, however, determined to attack their position, and ordered Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie to possess himself of the top of the mountain in his front, by which the enemy's right would be turned, and Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton to cross the heights on which the enemy's left had stood, and to turn their left by the road to Roncesvalles. All the arrangements were made to attack the front of the enemy's position, as soon as the effect of these movements on their flanks should begin to appear. Major-General the Honourable Edward Pakenham, whom I had sent to take the command of the sixth division, Major-General Pack having been wounded, turned the village of Sorausen, as soon as the Earl of Dalhousie had driven the enemy from the mountain, by which the flank was defended; and the sixth division, and Major-General Byng's brigade, which had relieved the fourth division on the left of our position on the road to Ostiz, instantly attacked and carried that village.

Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole likewise attacked the front of the enemy's main position with the 7th Caçadores, supported by the 11th Portuguese regiment, the 40th, and the battalion under Colonel Bingham, consisting of the Queen's and 53d regiment. All these operations obliged the enemy to abandon a position which is one of the strongest and most difficult of access that I have yet seen occupied by troops.

In their retreat from this position, the enemy lost a great number of prisoners.

I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of all the general officers, officers and troops throughout these operations. The attack made by Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie was admirably conducted by his lordship, and executed by Major-General Inglis and the troops composing his brigade; and that by Major-General the Hon. Edward Pakenham and Major-General Byng, and that by Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole, and the movement made by Sir Thomas Picton, merit my highest commendation.

The latter officer co-operated in the attack of the mountain by detaching troops to his left, in which the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Trench was wounded, but I hope not seriously.

While these operations were going on, and in proportion as I observed their success, I detached troops to the support of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill.

The enemy appeared in his front late in the morning, and immediately commenced an extended manœuvre upon his flank, which obliged him to withdraw from a height which he occupied behind the Lizasso to the next range. He there, however, maintained himself, and I enclose his report of the conduct of the troops. I continued the pursuit of the enemy, after

their retreat from the mountain to Olaque, where I was at sunset, immediately in the rear of their attack upon Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill. They withdrew from his front in the night, and yesterday took up a strong position, with two divisions, to cover their rear in the pass of Dona Maria.

Lieutenant General Sir Rowland Hill, and the Earl of Dalhousie, attacked and carried the pass, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the enemy and the strength of their position. I am concerned to add, that Lieutenant-General the Hon. William Stewart was wounded upon this occasion.

I enclose Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill's report.

In the meantime I moved with Major General Byng's brigade and the 4th division, under Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole, by the pass of Velate upon Irurita, in order to turn the enemy's position on Dona Maria. Major-General Byng took, in Elizondo, a large convoy going to the enemy, and made many prisoners.

We have this day continued the pursuit of the enemy in the valley of the Bidassoa, and many prisoners and much baggage have been taken. Major-General Byng has possessed himself of the valley of Bastan, and of the position on the Puerto de Maya; and the army will be this night nearly in the same positions, which they occupied on the 25th of July.

I trust that H. R. H. the Prince Regent will be satisfied with the conduct of the troops of his majesty and of his allies on this occasion. The enemy having been considerably reinforced and re-equipped after their late defeat, made a most formidable attempt to revive the blockade of Pamplona with the whole of their forces, excepting the reserve under General Villatte, which remained in front of our troops on the great road from Irun.

This attempt has been entirely frustrated by the operations of a part only of the allied army, and the enemy have sustained a defeat and suffered a severe loss in both officers and men.

The enemy's expectations of success, beyond the point of raising the blockade of Pamplona, were certainly very sanguine. They brought into Spain a large body of cavalry, and a great number of guns, neither of which arms could be used to any great extent by either party in the battle which took place. They sent off the guns to St Jean de Pied de Port on the evening of the 28th, which have thus returned to France in safety.

The detail of the operations will shew your lordship how much reason I have to be satisfied with the conduct of all the general officers, officers and troops. It is impossible to describe the enthusiastic bravery of the fourth division; and I was much indebted to Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole, for the manner in which he directed their operations; to Major-General Ross, Major-General Byng, and Brigadier-General Campbell, of the Portuguese service. All the officers commanding, and the officers of regiments, were remarkable for their gallantry; but I particularly observed Lieutenant-Colonel O'Toole, of the 7th Caçadores, in the charge upon the enemy on our left, on the 28th, and Captain Joaquim Telles Juradao, of the 11th Portuguese regiment, in the attack of the mountain on the 30th.

I beg to draw your lordship's attention, likewise, to the valuable assistance I received, throughout these operations, from Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, from Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie, and Sir Thomas Picton, in those of the 30th and 31st of July.

To the Conde del Abisbal also I am indebted for every assistance it was in his power to give, consistently with his attention to the blockade. I have already mentioned the conduct of the regiments of Pravia and El Principe, belonging to the army of reserve of Andalusia, in a most trying situation; and the whole corps appeared animated by the same zealous spirit which pervaded all the troops in that position.

Marshal Sir William Beresford was with me throughout these operations, and I received from him all the assistance which his talents so well qualify him to afford me. The good conduct of the Portuguese officers and troops in all the operations of the present campaign, and the spirit which they shew on every occasion, are not less honourable to that nation, than they are to the military character of the officer, who, by his judicious measures, has re-established discipline and revived a military spirit in the army.

I have again to draw your lordship's attention to the valuable assistance I received throughout these operations from the Quarter-Master-Gen. Major-General Murray, and the Adjutant-General, Major-General Pakenham, and the officers of those departments respectively; and from Lieutenant-Col. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, and the officers of my personal staff.

Although our wounded are numerous, I am happy to say that the cases in general are slight; and I have great pleasure in reporting to your lordship, that the utmost attention has been paid to them by the inspector of hospitals, Dr M'Gregor, and by the officers of the department under his directions.

Adverting to the extent and nature of our operations, and the difficulties of our communications at times, I have reason to be extremely well satisfied with the zeal and exertions of Sir Robert Kennedy, the Commissary-General, and the officers of his department, throughout the campaign, which upon the whole have been more successful in supplying the troops than could have been expected.

I transmit this dispatch to your lordship by his Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Orange, who is perfectly well acquainted with all that has passed, and with the situation of the army; and will be able to inform your lordship of many details relating to this series of operations, for which a dispatch does not afford scope. His Highness had a horse shot under him in the battle near Sorausen on the 28th of July.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) WELLINGTON.

London Gazette Extraordinary,
Sept. 14, 1813.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, Sept. 14, 1813.

Major Hare has arrived at this office with dispatches addressed to Earl Bathurst, by Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, of which the following are copies:—

Lezaca, Sept. 2, 1813.

My Lord,—The fire against the fort of San Sebastian was opened on the 26th of August, and directed against the towers which flanked the curtain on the eastern face, against the demy-bastion on the south-eastern angle, and the termination of the curtain of the southern face. Lieut.-General Sir T. Graham had directed that an establishment should be formed on the island of Santa Clara, which was effected on the night of the 26th; and the enemy's detachment on that island were made prisoners. Captain Cameron, of the 9th, had the command of

the detachment which effected this operation, and Sir Thomas Graham particularly applauds his conduct and that of Captain Henderson, of the royal engineers.

The conduct of Lieut. the Hon. James Arbuthnot of the royal navy, who commanded the boats, was highly meritorious, as likewise that of Lieut. Bell, of the royal marines.

All that it was deemed practicable to carry into execution, in order to facilitate the approach to the breaches before made in the wall of the town, having been effected on the 30th of August, and another breach having been made at the termination of the curtain, the place was stormed at 11 o'clock in the day on the 31st, and carried. The loss on our side has been severe. Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith, who had joined the army only two days before, and Major-Generals Oswald and Robinson were unfortunately wounded in the breach; and Colonel Sir Richard Fletcher, of the royal engineers, was killed by a musket ball at the mouth of the trenches. In this officer, and in Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, of the 9th regiment, his majesty's service has sustained a serious loss.

I have the honour to enclose Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham's report of this operation, in which your lordship will observe, with pleasure, another distinguished instance of the gallantry and perseverance of his majesty's officers and troops, under the most trying difficulties.

All reports concur in praise of the conduct of the detachment from the 10th Portuguese brigade, under Major Snodgrass, which crossed the river Urumea, and stormed the breach on the right, under all the fire which could be directed upon them from the castle and town.

The garrison retired to the castle, leaving about 270 prisoners in our hands; and I hope that I shall soon have the pleasure to inform your lordship that we have possession of that post.

Since the fire against St Sebastian had been recommenced, the enemy had drawn the greatest part of their force to the camp of Urogue, and there was every reason to believe, that they would make an attempt to relieve the place.

Three divisions of the 4th Spanish army, commanded by General Don Manuel Freyre, occupied the heights of San Marcial, and the town of Irun, by which the approach to St Sebastian, by the high road, was covered and protected, and they were supported by the 1st division of British infantry, under Major-General Howard, and Maj.-General Lord Aylmer's brigade, on their left, and in the rear of Irun; and by General Longa's division encamped near the Sierra de Aya, in the rear of their right. In order to secure them still further, I moved two brigades of the 4th division, on the 30th, to the convent of San Antonio, one of which (General Ross's), under Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Lowry Cole, moved up the same day to the Sierra de Aya, and the other, on the morning of the 31st, leaving the 9th Portuguese brigade on the heights between the Convent and Vera, and Lezaca.

Major-General Inglis's brigade of the 7th division was moved on the 30th to the brigade of Lezaca; and I gave orders for the troops in the Puertos of Echalar, Zugarramurdi, and Maya, to attack the enemy's weakened posts in front of those positions.

The enemy crossed the Bidassoa by the fords between Andara, and destroyed the bridge on the high road, before day-light on the morning of the 31st, with a very large force, with which they made a most desperate attack along the whole front of the po-

sition of the Spanish troops on the heights of San Marcial. They were driven back, some of them even across the river, in the most gallant style, by the Spanish troops, whose conduct was equal to that of any troops that I have ever seen engaged; and the attack having been frequently repeated, was, upon every occasion, defeated with the same gallantry and determination. The course of the river being immediately under the heights on the French side, on which the enemy had placed a considerable quantity of cannon, they were enabled to throw a bridge across the river, about three quarters of a mile above the high road, over which, in the afternoon they marched again a considerable body, which, with those who had crossed the fords, made another desperate attack upon the Spanish positions. This was equally beat back; and at length finding all their efforts on that side fruitless, the enemy took advantage of the darkness of a violent storm to retire their troops from this front entirely.

Notwithstanding that, as I have above informed your lordship, I had a British division on each flank of the 4th Spanish army, I am happy to be able to report, that the conduct of the latter was so conspicuously good, and they were so capable of defending their post without assistance, notwithstanding the desperate efforts of the enemy to carry it, that finding the ground did not allow of my making use of the 1st or 4th divisions on the flanks of the enemy's attacking corps, neither of them were in the least engaged during the action.

Nearly at the same time that the enemy crossed the Bidassoa in front of the heights of San Marcial, they likewise crossed that river with about three divisions of infantry in two columns, by the fords below Salin, in front of the position occupied by the 9th Portuguese brigade. I ordered Major-General Inglis to support this brigade with that of the 7th division under his command; and as soon as I was informed of the course of the enemy's attack, I sent to Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie to request that he would likewise move towards the Bidassoa, with the 7th division, and to the light division, to support Major-General Inglis by every means in their power. Major-General Inglis found it impossible to maintain the heights between Lezaca and the Bidassoa, and he withdrew to those in front of the convent of San Antonio, which he maintained.

In the mean time, Major-General Kempt moved one brigade of the light division to Lezaca, by which he kept the enemy in check, and covered the march of the Earl of Dalhousie to join Major-General Inglis.

The enemy, however, having completely failed in their attempt upon the position of the Spanish army on the heights of San Marcial; and finding that Major-General Inglis had taken a position from which they could not drive him; at the same time that it covered and protected the right of the Spanish army, and the approaches to San Sebastian by Oyarzun, and that their situation on the left of the Bidassoa was becoming at every moment more critical, retired during the night.

The fall of rain during the evening and night had so swollen the Bidassoa, that the rear of their column was obliged to cross at the bridge of Vera. In order to effect this object, they attacked the posts of Major-General Skerrett's brigade of the light division, at about three in the morning, both from the Puerto de Vera and from the left of the Bidassoa. Although the nature of the ground ren-

dered it impossible to prevent entirely the passage of the bridge after daylight, it was made under the fire of a great part of Major-Gen. Skerrett's brigade, and the enemy's loss in the operation must have been very considerable. Whilst this was going on upon the left of the army, Mariscal de Campo Don Pedro Giron attacked the enemy's posts in front of the pass of Echalar, on the 30th and 31st.—Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie made General Le Cor attack those in front of Zugarramurdi, with the 6th Portuguese brigade, on the 31st; and the Hon. Major-General Colville made Colonel Douglas attack the enemy's posts in front of the pass of Maya, on the same day, with the 7th Portuguese brigade. All these troops conducted themselves well. The attack made by the Earl of Dalhousie delayed his march till late in the afternoon of the 31st, but he was in the evening in a favourable situation for his farther progress; and in the morning of the 1st, in that allotted for him.

In these operations, in which a second attempt by the enemy to prevent the establishment of the allies upon the frontiers has been defeated, by the operations of a part only of the allied army, at the very moment at which the town of St Sebastian was taken by storm, I have had great satisfaction in observing the zeal and ability of the officers, and the gallantry and discipline of the soldiers.

The different reports which I have transmitted to your lordship from Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham will have shewn the ability and perseverance with which he has conducted the arduous enterprize entrusted to his direction, and the zeal and exertion of all the officers employed under him.

I fully concur in the Lieut.-General's report of the cordial assistance which he has received from Capt. Sir George Collier, and the officers, seamen, and marines under his command; who have done every thing in their power to facilitate and ensure our success. The seamen have served with the artillery in the batteries, and have upon every occasion manifested that spirit which is characteristic of the British navy.

I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of Mariscal de Campo Don Manuel Freyre, the Commander-in-chief of the 4th Spanish army, who, whilst he made every disposition which was proper for the troops under his command, set them an example of gallantry, which having been followed by the general officers, chiefs, and other officers of the regiments, ensured the success of the day. In his report, in which I concur, the general expresses the difficulty which he finds of selecting particular instances of gallantry, in a case in which all have conducted themselves so well; but he has particularly mentioned General Mendizabel, who volunteered his assistance, and commanded on the height of San Marcial; Mariscal de Campo Losado, who commanded in the centre, and was wounded; Mariscal de Campo Jose Garcia de Paredes, the commanding officer of the artillery; Brigadiers Don Juan Diaz Porlier, Don Jose Maria Espeleta, Don Stanislas Sanchez Salvado; the chief of the staff of the fourth army, and Don Antonio Roselly; and Colonel Fuentes Pita, the commanding engineer, Don Juan Loarte, of the regiment de la Constitution, and Don Juan Uarte Mendia.

Major-General Inglis, and the regiments in his brigade of the seventh division, conducted themselves remarkably well. The 51st regiment, under Colonel Mitchel, and the 68th, under Lieut.-Colonel Hawkins, covered the change of position by the troops from the heights between the Bidassoa and

Lezaca, to those of San Antonio; and these corps were distinguished.

Throughout these operations I have received every assistance from the Adjutant-General, Major-General Pakenham, and the Quarter-Master-General, Major-General Murray, and all the officers of the staff.

I transmit this dispatch by Major Hare, Acting Assistant-Adjutant-General with this army, attached to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship's protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

Oyarzun, Sept. 1, 1813.

My Lord,—In obedience to your lordship's orders of the preceding day, to attack and form a lodgment on the breach of St Sebastian, which now extended to the left, so as to embrace the outermost tower, the end and front of the curtain immediately over the left bastion, as well as the faces of the bastion itself, the assault took place at eleven o'clock, A. M. yesterday; and I have the honour to report to your lordship, that the heroic perseverance of all the troops concerned was at last crowned with success.

The column of attack was formed of the second brigade of the 5th division, commanded by Major-General Robinson, with an immediate support of detachments as per margin,* and having in reserve the remainder of the 5th division, consisting of Major-General Sprye's Portuguese brigade, and the first brigade under Major-General Hay, as also the 5th battalion of caçadores of General Bradford's brigade, under Major Hill; the whole under the direction of Lieut.-General Sir James Leith, commanding the 5th division.

Having arranged every thing with Sir J. Leith, I crossed the Urumia to the batteries of the right attack, where every thing could be most distinctly seen, and from whence the orders for the fire of the batteries, according to circumstances, could be immediately given.

The column, in firing out of the right trenches, was, as before, exposed to a heavy fire of shells and grape-shot, and a mine was exploded in the left angle of the counterscarp of the hornwork, which did great damage, but did not check the ardour of the troops in advancing to the attack. There was never any thing so fallacious as the external appearance of the breach; without some description, the almost insuperable difficulties of the breach cannot be estimated. Notwithstanding its great extent, there was but one point where it was possible to enter, and there by single files. All the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of at least 20 feet to the level of the streets: so that the narrow ridge of the curtain itself, formed by the breaching of its end and front, was the only accessible point. During the suspension of the operations of the siege, from want of ammunition, the enemy had prepared every means of defence which art could devise, so that great numbers of men were covered by entrenchments

* One hundred and fifty volunteers of the light division, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hunt, of the 52d regiment; four hundred of the first division (consisting of two hundred of the brigade of guards, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke; of one hundred of the light battalion, and one hundred of the line battalions of the King's German Legion), under Major Robertson; and two hundred volunteers of the fourth division, under Major Rose, of the 20th foot.

and traverses, in the horn-work, on the ramparts of the curtain, and inside of the town opposite to the breach, and ready to pour a most destructive fire of musketry on both flanks of the approach to the top of the narrow ridge of the curtain.

Every thing that the most determined bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried in vain by the troops, who were brought forward from the trenches in succession. No man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge; and though the slope of the breach afforded shelter from the enemy's musketry, yet still the nature of the stone rubbish prevented the great exertions of the engineers and working parties from being able to form a lodegment for the troops, exposed to the shells and grape from the batteries of the castle, as was particularly directed, in obedience to your lordship's instruction: and, at all events, a secure lodgement could never have been obtained without occupying a part of the curtain.

In this almost desperate state of the attack, after consulting with Colonel Dickson, commanding the royal artillery, I ventured to order the guns to be turned against the curtain. A heavy fire of artillery was directed against it; passing a few feet only over the heads of our troops on the breach, and was kept up with a precision of practice beyond all example. Meanwhile I accepted the offer of a part of Major-General Bradford's Portuguese brigade to ford the river near its mouth. The advance of the 1st battalion, 13th regiment, under Major Snodgrass, over the open beach, and across the river; and of a detachment of the 24th regiment, under Lieut.-Colonel M'Bean, in support, was made in the handsomest style, under a very severe fire of grape. Major Snodgrass attacked, and finally carried the small breach on the right of the great one, and Lieut.-Colonel M'Bean's detachment occupied the right of the great breach. I ought not to omit to mention, that a similar offer was made by the 1st Portuguese regiment of Brigadier-General Wilson's brigade, under Lieut.-Colonel Fearon; and that both Major-General Bradford, and Brigadier-General Wilson, had from the beginning, urged most anxiously the employment of their respective brigades in the attack, as they had so large a share in the labour and fatigues of the right attack.

Observing now the effect of the admirable fire of the batteries against the curtain, though the enemy was so much covered, a great effort was ordered to be made to gain the high ridge at all hazards, at the same time that an attempt should be made to storm the horn work.

It fell to the lot of the 2d brigade of the 5th division, under the command of Colonel the Hon. Charles Grenville, to move out of the trenches for this purpose, and the 3d battalion of the Royal Scots, under Lieutenant-Colonel Barnes, supported by the 38th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Miles, fortunately arrived to assault the breach of the curtain, about the time when an explosion on the rampart of the curtain (occasioned by the fire of the artillery) created some confusion among the enemy. The narrow pass was gained, and was maintained, after a severe conflict, and the troops on the right of the breach having about this time succeeded in forcing the barricades on the top of the narrow line wall, found their way into the houses that joined it. Thus, after an assault which lasted above two hours, under the most trying circumstances, a firm footing was obtained.

It was impossible to restrain the impetuosity of the troops, and in an hour more the enemy were driven from

all the complication of defences prepared in the streets, suffering a severe loss on their retreat to the castle, and leaving the whole town in our possession.

Though it must be evident to your lordship, that the troops were all animated with the most enthusiastic and devoted gallantry, and that all are entitled to the highest commendation, yet I am sure your lordship will wish to be informed more particularly concerning those, who, from their situations, had opportunities of gaining peculiar distinction; and as the distance I was at myself does not enable me to perform this act of justice from personal observation, I have taken every pains to collect information from the superior officers. Lieut.-General Sir James Leith justified, in the fullest manner, the confidence reposed in his tried judgment and distinguished gallantry, conducting and directing the attack, till obliged to be reluctantly carried off, after receiving a most severe contusion on the breast, and having his left arm broken.

Major-General Hay succeeded to the command, and ably conducted the attack to the last. Lieut.-General Sir James Leith expresses his great obligations to Major-Generals Hay and Robinson, (the latter was obliged to leave the field from a severe wound in the face,) and to Lieut.-Cols. Berkeley and Gomm, assistant adjutant-general and assistant quarter-master-general of the 5th division, for their zealous services, during this arduous contest. He warmly recommends to your lordship's notice his aid-de-camp, Captain Belches, of the 59th foot; and, in conjunction with Major-Gen. Hay, he bears testimony to the highly-meritorious conduct of Captain James Stewart, of the 3d battalion Royal Scots, aid-de-camp to Major-General Hay; and he recommends to your lordship's notice, Major-General Robinson's aid-de-camp, Captain Wood, 4th foot, as also Captains Williamson and Jones of that regiment; the former was severely wounded in the command of the 4th, following the forlorn hope in the best style, and remaining long after his wound. Captain Jones succeeded to the command of the brigade, and conducted it with great ability.

Sir James Leith likewise particularizes Captain Taylor, 48th regiment, brigade-major to the 1st brigade, and Lieut. Le Blanc, of the 4th foot, who led the light infantry company of the regiment immediately after the forlorn hope, and is the only surviving officer of the advance.

Major-General Robinson unites his testimony of praise of Captains Williamson and Jones, and Lieutenant Le Blanc, above mentioned. He likewise commends highly Capt. Livesay, who succeeded to the command of the 47th foot, on Major Kelly's being killed, and kept it till wounded, when the command devolved on Lieut. Power, who ably performed the duty; as also Captain Pilkington, who succeeded to the command of the 59th on Captain Scott's being killed, and retained it till wounded, when the command of that battalion fell to Captain Halford, who led it with great credit, and also Brevet-Major Anwyll, brigade-major of the 2d brigade.

Major-General Hay having now the command of the 5th division, mentions in terms of great praise the excellent conduct of Major-General Sprye, commanding the Portuguese brigade, and the very distinguished gallantry of Colonel de Regoa, and the 15th Portuguese regiment, under his command, and of Colonel M'Crae, with the 3d Portuguese regiment; and Maj.-Gen. Sprye mentions in terms of high praise Lieut.-Col. Hill, commanding the 8th Caçadores, and Major Charles Stuart Campbell, commanding the 3d regi-

ment, in Colonel M'Crae's absence on general duty; and he expresses his great obligations to Captain Brackenburg, of the 61st regiment, his aid-de-camp, and to Brig.-Major Fitzgerald. Major-Gen. Hay speaks most highly of the services of Colonel the Hon. C. Greville, of the 38th, in command of the 2d brigade; and of the conspicuous gallantry of Lieut.-Col. Barnes, in the successful assault of the curtain, with the brave battalion of the Royal Scots; and also of the exemplary conduct of Lieut.-Col. Cameron, of the 9th foot, and Lieut.-Colonels Miles and Dean, of the 38th, and all the officers and troops engaged; and he expresses himself as most particularly indebted to the zeal, intelligence, and intrepidity of Brigade-Major Taylor, and Captain Stewart, of the Royal Scots, acting as his aid-de-camp, formerly mentioned.

Major-Gen. Hay likewise expresses his great satisfaction with the gallant and judicious conduct of Lieut-Col. Cooke, commanding the detachment of Guards; of Lieut.-Colonel Hunt, commanding the detachment of the 1st division, who was severely wounded, and of all the other officers and troops of the detachment.

Major-General Hay conducted the division along the ramparts himself, with the judgment and gallantry that has so often marked his conduct.

I have now only to repeat the expressions of my highest satisfaction with the conduct of the officers of the royal artillery and engineers, as formerly particularized in the report of the first attack. Every branch of the artillery service has been conducted by Col. Dickson with the greatest ability, as was that of the engineer department by Lieut.-Col. Sir Richard Fletcher, till the moment of his much-lamented fall at the mouth of the trenches. Lieut.-Col. Burgoyne succeeded to the command, and is anxious that I should convey to your lordship Sir R. Fletcher's sense of the great merit and gallantry of Captain Henderson, in the attack of the island, on the morning of the 27th ult. and of the persevering exertions of Majors Ellicomb and Smith, in pushing forward the operations of the two attacks—the latter officer having had the merit of the first arrangements for the attack on the right.

Lieut.-Col. Burgoyne was himself wounded, and only quitted the field from loss of blood; but I am happy to say he is able to carry on the duty of the department.

The conduct of the navy has been continued on the same principle of zealous co-operation by Sir George Collier; and the services of Lieutenant O'Reiley, with the seamen employed in the batteries, has been equally conspicuous as before.

Your lordship will now permit me to call your attention to the conduct of that distinguished officer, Major-General Oswald, who has had the temporary command of the 5th division in Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith's absence, during the whole of the campaign, and who resigned the command of the division on Sir James Leith's arrival on the 30th ultimo.

Having carried on with indefatigable attention all the laborious duties of the left attack, no person was more able to give Sir James Leith the best information and assistance. This Sir James Leith acknowledges he did with a liberality and zeal for the service in the highest degree praiseworthy, and he continued his valuable services to the last, by acting as a volunteer, and accompanying Lieutenant-General Sir James Leith to the trenches on the occasion of the assault. I have infinite satisfaction in assuring your lordship of my perfect approbation of Major-

General Oswald's conduct, ever since the 5th division formed a part of the left column of the army.

I beg to assure your lordship, that Col. Delancy, Deputy-Quarter-Master-Gen. and Lieut.-Colonel Bouverie, Assistant-Adjutant-General, attached to the left column, have continued to render me the most valuable assistance; and that the zeal of Captain Calvert, of the 29th regiment, my first aid-de-camp, as well as that of the rest of the officers of my personal staff, entitles them all to my warmest and perfect approbation.

Your lordship has, with an attention extremely grateful to me, permitted me to name an officer to be the bearer of your lordship's dispatches home; and I beg to recommend for that commission Major Hare, of the 12th foot, a gallant soldier of fortune, who has, on many former occasions, served on my staff, and is now attached to it as assistant-adjutant-general.

I have the honour, &c.
(Signed) T. GRAHAM.

P. S.—No return of artillery and stores has yet been sent in, and I fear the returns of the severe losses of the troops may not be quite correct.

I have omitted to mention the gallant conduct of Lieut. Gethin, 11th regiment, acting engineer, who conducted a Portuguese column to the attack, and took the enemy's colours.
(Signed) T. G.

Admiralty Office, Oct. 12.

The letters, of which the following are copies and extracts, have been transmitted to John Wilson Croker, Esq. by Vice Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean:—

Milford, off Porto Ré, July 6, 1813.

Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, that on the 28th ultimo I left Melada, and on the 30th assembled the Elizabeth and Eagle off Promontorio. On the 1st instant, the squadron entered the Quarnier Channel, and on the 2d, in the evening, anchored about four miles from Fiume, which was defended by four batteries, mounting fifteen heavy guns. On the 3d, in the morning, the ships named in the margin * weighed, with a light breeze from the south-west, with the intention of attacking the sea-line of batteries, (for which the arrangement had been previously made and communicated), leaving a detachment of boats and marines with the Haughty, to storm the battery at the Mole head, as soon as the guns were silenced; but the wind, very light, shifting to the S. E. with current from the river, broke the ships off, and the Eagle could only fetch the second battery, opposite to which she anchored. The enemy could not stand the well-directed fire of that ship. This being communicated by telegraph, I made the signal to storm, when Capt. Rowley, leading in his gig the first detachment of marines, took possession of the fort, and hoisted the king's colours, whilst Captain Hoste, with the marines of the Milford, took and spiked the guns of the first battery, which was under the fire of the Milford and Bacchante, and early evacuated. Captain Rowley, leaving a party of seamen to turn the guns of the second battery against the others, without losing time, boldly dashed on through the town, although annoyed by the enemy's musketry from the windows of the houses, and a field-piece placed in the centre of the great street; but the marines, headed by Lieutenants Lloyd and Ne-

* Milford, Elizabeth, Eagle, Bacchante, and Haughty.

pean, and the seamen of the boats, proceeded with such firmness, that the enemy retreated before them, drawing the field-piece until they came to the square, where they made a stand, taking post in a large house. At this time, the boats, with their carronades, under Captain Markland, opened against the gable end of it with such effect, that the enemy gave way at all points, and I was gratified at seeing them forsake the town in every direction. Captain Hoste, with his division, followed close to Captain Rowley, and on their junction, the two batteries, with the field-piece, stores, and shipping, were taken possession of, the governor, and every officer and man of the garrison having run away. Considering the number of troops in the town, above 350, besides natives, our loss has been trifling; one marine of the Eagle, killed; Lieut. Lloyd, and five seamen and marines, wounded. Nothing could exceed the spirit and disposition manifested by every captain, officer, seaman, and marine, in the squadron.

Although the town was stormed in every part, by the prudent management of Captains Rowley and Hoste, not an individual has been plundered, nor has any thing been taken away except what was afloat, and in the government stores.

I herewith send a return of the property and vessels captured, and have the honour to be, &c. &c.

THOS. FRAS. FREMANTLE.

Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew,
Bart, &c. &c. &c.

A list of vessels, stores, &c. taken and destroyed at Fiume, on the 3d of July, 1813.

Ninety vessels; more than half of the smaller class were returned to the proprietors, 13 sent to Lissa, laden with oil, grain, powder, and merchandize; the rest were destroyed; 59 iron guns (part only mounted), rendered totally useless; eight brass 18-pounders, and one field piece, taken away; 500 stand of small arms; 200 barrels of powder; rations of bread for 70,000 men, and two magazines, with stores, &c. burnt.

THOS. FRAS. FREMANTLE.

Extract of a letter from Lieut. General Sir Thomas Graham, to the Marquis of Wellington, dated Ernani, Sept. 9, 1813.

I have the satisfaction to report to your lordship, that the castle of San Sebastian has surrendered; and I have the honour to transmit the capitulation, which, under all the circumstances of the case, I trust your lordship will think I did right to grant to a garrison which certainly made a very gallant defence.

Ever since the assault of the 31st ultimo, the vertical fire of the mortars, &c. of the right attack, was occasionally kept up against the castle, occasioning a very severe loss to the enemy; and yesterday morning a battery of seventeen 24-pounders in the hornwork, and another of three 18-pounders, still more on the left, having been completed by the extraordinary exertions of the artillery and engineers, aided by the indefatigable zeal of all the troops; the whole of the ordnance, amounting to 54 pieces, including two 24-pounders, and one howitzer on the island, opened at ten A. M. against the castle, and with such effect, that before one P. M. a flag of truce was hoisted at the Mirador battery by the enemy; and after some discussion, the terms of the surrender were agreed on. Thus giving your lordship another great result of the campaign, in the acquisition to the allied armies of this interesting point on the coast, and near the frontier.

Captain Stewart, of the Royals, aide-de-camp to Major-General Hay,

who so greatly distinguished himself during the siege, is unfortunately among the killed since the last return.

I omitted in my last report to mention my obligations to the great zeal of Captain Smith, of the royal navy, who undertook and executed the difficult task of getting guns up the steep scarp of the island into a battery which was manned by seamen under his command, and which was of much service. Captain Bloye, of the Lyra, has been from the beginning constantly and most actively employed on shore, and I feel greatly indebted to his services.

Besides the officers of artillery formerly mentioned, who have continued to serve with equal distinction, I should not omit the names of Captains Morrison, Power, and Parker, who have been constantly in the breaching batteries, and in the command of companies. I beg leave to repeat my former recommendation of Captain Cameron, of the 9th foot, who volunteered to command the attack of the island, and who conducted himself so ably on that occasion, and during all the time he commanded there.

Convention proposed for the capitulation of the Fort of La Motte of San Sebastian, by the Adjutant Commandant Chevalier de Songeon, chief of the staff, to the troops stationed in the fort, charged with full powers by General Rey, commanding the said troops, on the one side; and by Colonel De Lancey, deputy quarter-master-general, Lieut.-Colonel Dickson, commanding the artillery, and Lieut.-Colonel Bouverie, charged with full powers by Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, on the other side.

The above-named having exchanged their full powers, agreed as follows:—

Art. 1. The French troops forming the garrison of Fort La Motte shall be prisoners of war to his majesty's troops and their allies.—Answer: Agreed.

Art 2. They shall be embarked in his Britannic majesty's ships and conveyed to England direct, without being obliged to go further by land than to the port of Passages.—Answer: Agreed.

Art. 3. The general and other superior officers, and the officers of regiments and of the staff, as well as the medical officers, shall preserve their swords and their private baggage, and the non-commissioned officers and soldiers shall preserve their knapsacks.—Answer: Agreed.

Art. 4. The women, the children, and the old men, not being military, shall be sent back to France, as well as the other non-combatants, preserving their private baggage.—Answer: Granted for the women and children. The old men and non-combatants must be examined.

Art. 5. The Commissaire de Guerre, Burbier de Guilly, having with him the wife and the two daughters of his brother, who died at Pamplona, requests Sir Thomas Graham to authorise his return to France, with the three above-named ladies, as he is their chief support. He is not a military man.—Answer: This article shall be submitted to the Marquis of Wellington by Sir Thomas Graham.

Art. 6. The sick and wounded shall be treated according to their rank, and taken care of as English officers and soldiers.—Answer: Agreed.

Art. 7. The French troops shall file out to-morrow morning, by the gate of Mirador, with all the honours of war, with arms and baggage, and drums beating, to the outside, where they will lay down their arms; the officers of all ranks preserving their swords, their servants, horses, and bag-

gage, and the soldiers their knapsacks, as mentioned in the third article.—Answer: Agreed.

Art. 8. A detachment of the allied army, consisting of one hundred men, shall occupy in the evening the gate of the Mirador, a like detachment shall occupy the gate of the governor's battery. These two ports shall be for that purpose evacuated by the French troops as soon as the present capitulation shall be accepted and ratified by the commanding generals.—Answer: Agreed.

Art. 9. The plans and all the papers regarding the fortifications shall be given over to an English officer, and officers shall be named equally on each side, to regulate all that concerns the artillery, engineer, and commissariat department.—Answer: Agreed.

Art. 10. The general commanding the French troops shall be authorised to send to his Excellency Marshal Soult, an officer of the staff, who shall sign his parole of honour, for his exchange with a British officer of his rank. This officer shall be the bearer of a copy of the present capitulation.—Answer: Submitted for the decision of Lord Wellington. The officer to be sent to Marshal Soult shall be chosen by the commanding officer of the French troops.

Art. 11. If any difficulties or misunderstandings shall arise in the execution of the articles of this capitulation, they shall be always decided in favour of the French garrison.—Answer: Agreed.

Made and concluded this 8th day of September, 1813.

(Signed) Adjutant Commandant Chevalier SONGEON.
(Signed) W. DE LANCEY, Col.
(Signed) A. DICKSON, Lieut.-Col. commanding the Artil.
(Signed) H. BOUVERIE, Lieut.-Col.

Approved, (Signed) Le General Governeur REY.
(Signed) T. GRAHAM, Lieut.-Gen.

Approved on the part of the royal navy,
GEO. COLLIER, commanding the squadron of his majesty's ships off St Sebastian.

Return of the French garrison made prisoners of war by capitulation in the Castle of St Sebastian, on the 8th of September, 1813.

Eighty officers, 1756 serjeants, drummers, and rand rank and file.—Grand total, 1836.

N. B. 23 officers, and 512 men, out of the above number, are sick and wounded in the hospital.

Downing Street, Sept. 7.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received by Earl Bathurst, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from Lieut.-Gen. Sir George Prevost, Bart.

Kingston, Upper Canada, July 3, 1813.

I have the honour to transmit to your lordship copies of letters from Colonel Vincent and Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, and of the papers accompanying them, containing the highly gratifying intelligence of the capture, on the 24th ult. of a body of the enemy's forces, consisting of two field officers, 21 other officers of different ranks, 27 non-commissioned officers, and 462 privates, together with a stand of colours, and two field-pieces. The details of this gallant affair, which reflects so much credit on our Indian allies, as well as upon Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, for the promptitude and decision with which he availed himself of the impression their attack had made upon the enemy, will, I have no doubt,

be read by your lordship with great satisfaction Since the surprise of the enemy's camp at Stoney Creek, on the 6th ult. and their subsequent retreat from the Forty Mile Creek, in which almost the whole of their camp equipage, together with a quantity of stores and provisions, fell into our hands, Major General Dearborn has withdrawn the troops from Fort Erie, and has concentrated his forces at Fort George. Colonel Vincent has in consequence made a forward movement from the head of the lake, in order to support the light infantry and Indian warriors, who are employed in circumscribing the enemy, so as to compel them to make use of their own resources for the maintenance of their army. Major-General de Rottenburgh has assumed the command of the centre division of the army of Upper Canada. After the squadron under Commodore Sir James Yeo had shewn itself off the Forty Mile Creek, which principally determined the enemy to retreat from that position, it was very successfully employed in interrupting and cutting off their supplies going from the Genesee river, and their other settlements upon the southern shore of the lake; five small vessels, with provisions, clothing, and other articles, were taken, and several loaded boats were captured, and some destroyed.

[Transmitted by Colonel St Vincent.]

Beaver Dam, June 24, 1813.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that the troops you have done me the honour to place under my command, have succeeded this day in taking prisoners a detachment of the United States army, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Boerstler. In this affair the Indian warriors, under the command of Captain Kerr, were the only force actually engaged: to them great merit is due, and to them I feel particularly obliged for their gallant conduct on this occasion. On the appearance of the detachment of the 49th regiment, under Lieut. Fitzgibbon, and the light company of the 8th or King's regiment, the two flank companies of the 104th, under Major De Haren, and the provincial cavalry under Captain Hall, the whole surrendered to his majesty's forces. To the conduct of Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, through whose address the capitulation was entered into, may be attributed the surrender of the American force. To Major De Haren, for his speedy movement to the point of attack, and execution of the arrangements I had previously made with him, I am very much obliged. I have the honour to enclose the capitulation entered into between Colonel Boerstler and myself, and a return of prisoners taken, exclusive of wounded, not yet ascertained. I lost no time in forwarding my staff-adjutant, Lieut. Barnard, to communicate to you this intelligence. He has been particularly active and useful to me upon all occasiods. I take this opportunity of mentioning him to you, and beg the favour of you to recommend him to his Excellency Sir G. Prevost, as an active and promising young officer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CECIL BISSHOPP,
Lieut.-Col. commanding the troops in advance.

Brigadier-General Vincent, &c. &c.

Township of Louth, June 24, 1813.

Sir,—At De Coris this morning, about seven o'clock, I received information that about 1000 of the enemy, with two guns, were advancing towards me from St Davids. I soon after heard a firing of cannon and musketry, and, in consequence, rode in advance two miles on the St David's road: I discovered by the firing, that the enemy was moving for the road on the

mountain. I sent off Cornet M'Kenny to order out my detachment of the 49th, consisting of a subaltern and 46 rank and file, and closed upon the enemy to reconnoitre. I discovered him on the mountain road, and took a position on an eminence to the right of it. My men arrived and pushed on in his front to cut off his retreat, under a fire from his guns, which, however, did no execution. After examining his positions, I was informed he expected reinforcements; I therefore decided upon summoning him to surrender. After the exchange of several propositions, between Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler and myself, in the name of Lieutenant-Colonel De Haren, Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler agreed to surrender on the terms stated in the articles of capitulation. On my return to my men to send on an officer to superintend the details of the surrender, you arrived.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) J. Fitzgibbon,
Lieut. 49th foot.

To Major De Haren, &c. &c.

June 22, 1813.

Particulars of the capitulation made between Captain M'Dowell, on the part of Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, of the United States army, and Major De Haren, of his Britannic Majesty's Canadian regiment, on the part of Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, commanding the advance of the British, respecting the force under the command of Lieutenant-Col. Boerstler.

1st. That Lieutenant-Col. Boerstler and the force under his command, shall surrender prisoners of war.

2d. That the officers shall retain their arms, horses, and baggage.

3d. That the non-commissioned officers and soldiers shall lay down their arms at the head of the British column, and become prisoners of war.

4th. That the militia and volunteers with Lieutenant-Col. Boerstler, shall be permitted to return to the United States on parole.

(Signed) Andw. M'Dowell,
Captain, United States' Light Artillery.

Acceded to.
(Signed) P. G. Boerstler.
Lieut.-Colonel commanding detachment United States army.
P. V. De Haren,
Major, Canadian Regiment.

Return of American prisoners taken near Fort George, June 24, 1813.

Light dragoons—1 cornet, 1 serjeant, 19 rank and file. Light artillery—1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 31 rank and file. 6th reg. infantry—1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 54 rank and file. 14th ditto—1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 11 lieutenants, 1 surgeon, 15 serjeants, 301 rank and file. 20th ditto—1 major. 23d ditto—1 captain, 4 serjeants, 2 drummers, 57 rank and file.

Total—1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 6 captains, 13 lieutenants, 1 cornet, 1 surgeon, 25 serjeants, 2 drummers, 462 rank and file.

Thirty militia released on parole, not included in this return.

Return of ordnance, &c. taken.

One 12-pounder, one 6-pounder, two cars, stand of colours of the 14 United States' regiment.

(Signed) E. Baynes, Adj.-Gen.

The loss of the enemy is supposed to be about 100 in killed and wounded.

From the London Gazette, Nov. 13.

Colonial Department.

Downing-street, Nov. 11.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, was this day received by

Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, from Lieutenant-General Sir G. Prevost, Bart. commanding his Majesty's forces in North America:—

Head-quarters, St David's, Niagara Frontier, Aug. 25.

Major-General Proctor having given way to the clamour of our Indian allies, to act offensively, moved forward on the 20th ult. with about 350 of the 41st regiment, and between 3 and 4000 Indians, and on the 2d inst. attempted to carry, by assault, the block-houses and works at Sandusky, where the enemy had concentrated a considerable force. The Indians, however, previously to the assault, withdrew themselves from out of the reach of the enemy's fire.

The handful of his Majesty's troops employed on this occasion displayed the greatest bravery; nearly the whole of them having reached the fort, and made every effort to enter it; but a galling and destructive fire being kept up by the enemy, within the block-house, and from behind the picketing, which completely protected them, and which we had not the means to force, the major-general thought it most prudent not to continue longer so unavailing a contest: he accordingly drew off the assailants, and returned to Sandwich, with the loss of 25 killed, as many missing, and about 40 wounded. Amongst the former are brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Shortt, and Lieutenant J. G. Gordon, of the 41st regiment.

I am happy to be able to acquaint your lordship, that it appears by further accounts received from Major-General Proctor to the 23d instant, that the enemy had been disappointed in an attempt to create distrust and disaffection amongst our Indian allies, by a deputation of chiefs, sent by them for that purpose; and that in a talk which took place between the deputies from the American Indians and the chiefs of our Indian warriors, the contempt with which General Harrison's proposals were received by the latter, and the determination expressed by them of adhering to the cause of their great father in England, appeared sensibly to affect the deputies, and affords strong grounds to believe that the nations whom they represented will not be induced to take up arms against us, or their Indian brethren acting with us.

On my arrival at this frontier, I found 2000 British soldiers, on an extended line, cooping up in Fort George an American force exceeding 4000 men. Feeling desirous of ascertaining in person the extent of the enemy's works, and of viewing the means he possessed for defending the position he occupied, I ordered a general demonstration to be made on Fort George, to commence by the attack and surprise of all the American picquets thrown out in its front. This service was executed to my entire satisfaction; the picquets were driven in, a great part of them being taken, with a very trifling loss, and I found myself close to the fort, and the new entrenched camp which is formed on the right of that work, both of them crowded with men, bristled with cannon, and supported by the fire from Fort Niagara, on the opposite side of the river; but no provocation could induce the American army to leave their places of shelter, and venture into the field.

Having made a display of my force in vain, a deliberate retreat ensued without a casualty. Since I had the honour of addressing your lordship on the 1st inst. every possible exertion has been made by Commodore Sir J. Yeo, but in vain, to bring the enemy's squadron to a decisive action; repeatedly has he offered them battle, and as repeatedly have they declined it, which their great superiority in sailing, to-

gether with the light and baffling winds prevailing on the lake at this season, has enabled them hitherto effectually to do. He, however, was fortunate enough, on the night of the 10th inst. to get so close in with the enemy, as to render an action inevitable, unless they chose to sacrifice two of their schooners in order to avoid it: to this sacrifice they submitted, and Sir James had the satisfaction, after a few shots had been fired, to take possession of two very fine schooners, the one carrying one long thirty-two pounder and two long sixes, and the other one long thirty-two pounder, and one long twelve, with a complement of 43 men each. Having proceeded to York for the purpose of refitting his prizes, he sailed from thence with them in pursuit of the enemy on the 13th inst. and having followed them down the lake on the 17th. again saw them on the 18th, but was unable to come up with them. On the night preceding that of the capture of the above vessels, two of the enemy's largest schooners, carrying nine guns each, overset and sunk, in carrying sail to keep from our squadron, and excepting sixteen persons, all on board perished, in number about one hundred. Sir James Yeo has been into Kingston with his squadron, to take in provisions and refit, and since sailing, has cruised off York and Niagara, but has not seen any thing further of the enemy's fleet. I understand that Commodore Chauncey, with his squadron, after the loss of his schooner in the night of the 10th, returned to Sackett's harbour; from which place he sailed suddenly on the 14th, and again returned to it on the 18th pursued by our fleet. I have not yet been able correctly to ascertain whether he has since left it.

London Gazette Extraordinary, Monday, October 19.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Downing-street, Oct. 19.

Captain the Earl of March arrived this morning with a dispatch from Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, addressed to Earl Bathurst, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, of which the following is a copy:—

Lezaca, Oct. 9.

My Lord,—Having deemed it expedient to cross the Bidassoa with the left of the army, I have the pleasure to inform your lordship that that object was effected on the 7th instant.

Lieutenant-General Sir T. Graham directed the 1st and 5th divisions, and the 1st Portuguese brigade, under Brigadier-General Wilson, to cross that river in three columns below and in one above the site of the bridge, under the command of Major-General Hay, the Hon. Colonel Grenville, Major-Gen. the Hon. Edward Stopford, and Major-General Howard; and Lieutenant-General Don Manual Freyre directed that part of the 4th Spanish army under his immediate command, to cross in three columns at fords, above those at which the allied British and Portuguese troops passed. The former were destined to carry the enemy's entrenchments about and above Andaye, while the latter should carry those on the Montagne-Verte and on the height of Mandale, by which they were to turn the enemy's left.

The operations of both bodies of troops succeeded in every point. The British and Portuguese troops took seven pieces of cannon in the redoubts and batteries which they carried, and the Spanish troops one piece of cannon in those by them.

I had particular satisfaction in observing the steadiness and gallantry of

all the troops. The 9th British regiment were very strongly opposed, charged with bayonets more than once, and have suffered; but I am happy to add, that in other parts of these corps our loss has not been severe.

The Spanish troops under Lieut.-General Don Manuel Freyre behaved admirably, and turned and carried the enemy's entrenchments in the hill with great dexterity and gallantry; and I am much indebted to the lieutenant-general, and to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham, and to the general and staff officers of both corps, for the execution of the arrangements for this operation.

Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham having thus established, within the French territory, the troops of the allied British and Portuguese army, which had been so frequently distinguished under his command, resigned the command to Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, who had arrived from Ireland the preceding day.

While this was going on upon the left, Major-General C. Baron Alten attacked, with the light division, the enemy's entrenchments in the Puerto de Vera, supported by the Spanish division under Brigadier-Gen. Longa; and the Mareschal del Campo Don Pedro Giron attacked the enemy's entrenchments and posts on the mountain called La Rhune, immediately on the right of the light division, with the army of reserve of Andalusia.

Colonel Colborne, of the 52d regiment, who commanded Major-General Skerritt's brigade, in the absence of the Major-General, on account of his health, attacked the enemy's right in a camp which they had strongly entrenched; and the 52d regiment, under the command of Major Mein, charged in a most gallant style, and carried the entrenchments with the bayonet. The 1st and 3d caçadores, and the 2d battalion 95th regiment, as well as the 52d, distinguished themselves in this attack.

Major-General Kemp's brigade attacked by the Puerto, where the opposition was not so severe; and Major-General Charles Alten has reported his sense of the judgment displayed both by the major-general and by Colonel Colborne in these attacks; and I am particularly indebted to Major-General Charles Alten for the manner in which he executed this service: the light division took 22 officers and 400 men prisoners, and three pieces of cannon.

These troops carried every thing before them in the most gallant style, till they arrived at the foot of the rock on which the hermitage stands, and they made repeated attempts to take even that post by storm; but it was impossible to get up, and the enemy remained during the night in possession of the hermitage, and on a rock on the same range of mountain with the Spanish troops. Some time elapsed yesterday morning before the fog cleared away sufficiently to enable me to reconnoitre the mountain, which I found to be least inaccessible by its right, and that the attack of it might be connected with advantage with the attack of the enemy's works in front of the camp of Sarre. I accordingly ordered the army of reserve to concentrate to their right; and, as soon as the concentration commenced, Marescal del Campo Don Pedro Giron ordered the battalion de las Ordenes to attack the enemy's post on the rock on the right of the position occupied by his troops, which was instantly carried in the most gallant style. Those troops followed up their success, and carried an entrenchment on a hill which protected the right of the camp of Sarre, and the enemy immediately evacuated all their works to defend the approaches to the camp, which were taken possession of by detachments

from the 7th division, sent by Lieut.-General the Earl of Dalhousie, through the Puerto de Eschalar, for this purpose.

Don P. Giron then established a battalion on the enemy's left, on the Hermitage. It was too late to proceed farther last night, and the enemy withdrew from their post at the hermitage, and from the camp of Sarre during the night.

It gives me singular satisfaction to report the good conduct of the officers and troops of the army of reserve of Andalusia, as well in the operations of the 7th instant, as in those of yesterday. The attack made by the battalion of Las Ordenes, under the command of Colonel Hoare yesterday, was made in as good order, and with as much spirit, as any that I have seen made by any troops; and I was much satisfied with the spirit and discipline of the whole of this corps.

I cannot applaud too highly the execution of the arrangements for these attacks by the Mareschal del Campo Don Pedro Giron, and the general and staff officers under his directions. I omitted to report to your lordship in my dispatch of the 4th instant, that upon my way to Roncevalles, on the 1st instant, I directed Brigadier-General Campbell to endeavour to carry off the enemy's picquets in his front, which he attacked on that night, and completely succeeded, with the Portuguese troops under his command, in carrying the whole of one picquet, consisting of 70 men; a fortified post on the mountain of Arolla was likewise stormed, and the whole garrison put to the sword.

Since I addressed your lordship last, I have received dispatches from Lieut.-General Clinton, in Catalonia, to the 3d instant. The general was still at Tarragona, and the enemy were in their old position on the Lobregat.

Lieut.-General Lord William Bentinck had embarked for Sicily on the 22d of September.

I send this dispatch by my aide-de-camp, Captain the Earl of March, whom I beg to recommend to your lordship's protection.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

London Gazette, November 9.

Lord Arthur Hill has arrived with dispatches from Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington to Earl Bathurst, dated Vera, Nov. 1st, of which the following are extracts:—

Vera, November 1, 1813.

Nothing of importance has occurred in the line since I addressed your lordship last.

The enemy's garrison of Pamplona made proposals to Don Carlos D'Espana to surrender the place on the 26th of October, on condition, first, that they should be allowed to march to France with six pieces of cannon; secondly, that they should be allowed to march to France under an engagement not to serve against the allies for a year and a day. Both these conditions were rejected by Don Carlos D'Espana, and they were told that he had orders not to give them a capitulation on any terms excepting that they should be prisoners of war; to which they declared they would never submit.

Vera, November 1, 1813.

Since I wrote to your lordship this morning, I have received a letter, of which I enclose a copy from Marischal del Campo Don Carlos D'Espana, in which he announces the surrender by capitulation of the fortress of Pamplona, the garrison being prisoners of war, upon which event I beg leave to congratulate your lordship.

I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of Don Carlos D'Espana, and that of the troops under his command, during the period that he has commanded the blockade, that is since the beginning of August.

In every sortie which the enemy have made, they have been repulsed with loss; and the general, and the officers and troops, have, on every occasion, conducted themselves well. Don Carlos D'Espana was severely wounded on the 10th of September, as reported in my dispatch of the 19th of that month; but having reported that he was able to continue to perform his duty, I considered it but justice to allow him to continue in a command of which he had to that moment performed the duties in so satisfactory a manner; and I am happy that it has fallen to his lot to be the instrument of restoring to the Spanish monarchy so important a fortress as Pamplona.

Not having yet received the details of the terms of capitulation, I must delay to forward them till the next occasion.

(TRANSLATION.)

Most Excellent Sir,—Glory be to God, and honour to the triumphs of your excellency in this ever-memorable campaign.

I have the honour and the great satisfaction of congratulating your excellency on the surrender of the important fortress of Pamplona, the capitulation of which having been signed by the superior officers entrusted with my powers, and by those delegated by the general commanding the place, I have, by virtue of the authority which you conferred upon me, just ratified. The garrison remains prisoners of war, as your excellency had determined from the beginning that they should, and will march out to-morrow at two in the afternoon, in order to be conducted to the port of Passages.

Our troops occupy one of the gates of the citadel, and those of France the place.

May God guard the precious life of your excellency.

Dated from the camp in front of Pamplona, 31st Oct. 1813.

(Signed) CARLOS ESPANA.

His Excellency Field-Marshal the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo.

November 25, 1813.

The Marquis of Worcester has arrived here with a dispatch, of which the following is a copy, addressed to the Earl of Bathurst by the Marquis of Wellington, dated

St Pe, November 13, 1813.

My Lord,—The enemy have, since the beginning of August, occupied a position with their right upon the sea, in front of St Jean Luz, and on the left of the Nivelle, their centre on La Petite La Rhune in the Sarre, and on the heights behind the village, and their left, consisting of two divisions of infantry, under the Comte D'Erlon, on the right of that river, on a strong height in the rear of Anhoue, and on the mountain of Mondarin, which protected the approach to that village; they had one division under General Foy, St Jean de Pied de Port, which was joined by one of the army of Arragon, under General Paris, at the time the left of the allied army crossed the Bidassoa, on the 7th of October; General Foy's division joined those on the heights behind Anhoue, when Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill moved into the valley of Pastan.

The enemy, not satisfied with the natural strength of this position, had the whole of it fortified, and their right, in particular, had been made so strong, that I did not deem it expedient to attack it in front.

Pamplona having surrendered on

the 31st of October, and the right of the army having been disengaged from covering the blockade of that place, I moved Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, on the 6th and 7th, into the valley of Bastan, as soon as the state of the roads, after the recent rains, would permit, intending to attack the enemy on the 8th instant; but the rain which fell on the 7th instant having again rendered the roads impracticable, I was obliged to defer the attack till the 10th, when we completely succeeded in carrying all the positions on the enemy's left and centre, in separating the former from the latter, and by these means turning the enemy's strong positions occupied by their right on the lower Nivelle, which they were obliged to evacuate during the night, having taken 51 pieces of cannon, and 1400 prisoners.

The object of the attack being to force the enemy's centre, and to establish our army in rear of the right, the attack was made in columns of divisions, each led by the general officer commanding it, and each forming its own reserve. Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill directed the movement of the right, consisting of the 2d division, under Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir William Stewart; the 6th division, under Lieut.-General Sir H. Clinton; a Portuguese division, under Lieutenant-General Sir John Hamilton; and a Spanish division under General Morillo, and Col. Grant's brigade of cavalry, and a brigade of Portuguese artillery, under Lieut.-Colonel Tulloh, and three mountain guns, under Lieutenant Robe, which attacked the positions of the enemy behind Anhoue.

Marshal Sir William Beresford directed the movements of the right of the centre, consisting of the 3d division under Major-General the Hon. Charles Colville; the seventh division, under Marischal del Campo Le Cor; and the fourth division, under Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Lowry Cole. The latter attacked the redoubts in front of Sarre, that village and the heights behind it, supported on their left by the army of reserve of Andalusia, under the command of the Marischal de Campo Don Pedro Giron, which attacked the enemy's positions on their right of Sarre, on the slopes of La Petite La Rhune, and the heights beyond the village, on the left of the 4th division. Major-General Charles Baron Alten attacked with the light division, the enemy's positions on La Petite La Rhune, and having carried them, co-operated with the right of the centre on the attack of the heights behind Sarre.

General Alten's brigade of cavalry, under the direction of Lieut.-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, followed the movements of the centre, and there were three brigades of British artillery with this part of the army, and three mountain guns with General Giron, and three with Major-General Charles Alten.

Lieut.-General Don Manuel Freyre, moved, in two columns, from the heights of Mandale towards Ascain, in order to take advantage of any movements the enemy might make from the right of his position towards his centre; and Lieut.-General Sir John Hope, with the left of the army, drove in the enemy's outposts in front of their entrenchments on the Lower Nivelle, carrying the redoubt above Orogne, and established himself on the heights immediately opposite Sibour, in readiness to take advantage of any movement made by the enemy's right.

The attack began at day-light, and Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir Lowry Cole having obliged the enemy to evacuate the redoubt on their right, in the front of Sarre, by a cannonade, and that in front of the left of the village having been likewise evacuated

on the approach of the 7th division, under General Le Cor, to attack it, Lieut.-General Sir Lowry Cole attacked and possessed himself of the village, which was turned, on its left, by the 3d division, under Major-General the Hon. Charles Colville, and on its right by the reserve of Andalusia, under Don Pedro Giron, and Major-General Charles Baron Alten carried the positions on La Petite La Rhune.

The whole then co-operated in the attack of the enemy's main position behind the village. The 3d and 7th divisions immediately carried the redoubts on the left of the enemy's centre, and the light division those on the right, while the 4th division, with the reserve of Andalusia on the left, attacked their positions in their centre. By these attacks, the enemy were obliged to abandon their strong positions, which they had fortified with much care and labour; and they left in the principal redoubt on the height, the 1st battalion 88th regiment, which immediately surrendered.

While these operations were going on in the centre, I had the pleasure of seeing the 6th division, under Lieut.-General Sir Henry Clinton, after having crossed the Nivelle, and having driven in the enemy's picquets on both banks, and having covered the passage of the Portuguese division, under Lieutenant-General Sir John Hamilton, on its right, make a most handsome attack upon the right of the enemy's position behind Anhoue, and on the right of the Nivelle, and carry all the entrenchments, and the redoubt on that flank. Lieut.-General Sir John Hamilton, supported with the Portuguese division, the 6th division on its right, and both co-operated in the attack of the second redoubt, which was immediately carried.

Major-General Pringle's brigade of the second division, under Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir William Stewart, drove in the enemy's picquets on the Nivelle, and in frount of Anhoue; and then Major-General Byng's brigade of the second divison carried the entrenchments and a redoubt further on the enemy's left, in which attack the Major-General and these troops distinguished themselves. Major-General Morillo covered the advance of the whole to the heights behind Anhoue, by attacking the enemy's posts on the slopes of Mondarin, and following them towards Itzatce. The troops on the heights behind Anhoue were by these operations, under the direction of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, forced to retire towards the bridge of Cambo, on the Nive, with the exception of the division in Mondarin, which by the march of a part of the 2d division, under Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir William Stewart, was pushed into the mountains towards Baygory.

As soon as the heights were carried on both banks of the Nivelle, I directed the 3d and 7th divisions, being the right of our centre, to move by the left of that river upon St Pé, and the 6th division by the right of that river, on the same place, while the 4th and light divisions, and General Giron's reserve, held the heights above Ascain, and covered this movement on that side, and Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill covered it on the other. A part of the enemy's troops had retired from their centre, and had crossed the Nivelle at St Pé; and as soon as the 6th division approached, the 3d division, under Major-General the Hon. Charles Colville, and the 7th division, under Gen. Le Cor, crossed that river and attacked, and immediately gained possession of the heights beyond it.

We were thus established in the rear of the enemy's right; but so much of the day was now spent, that

it was impossible to make any farther movement; and I was obliged to defer our further operations till the following morning.

The enemy evacuated Ascain in the afternoon, of which village Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre took possession; and quitted all their works and positions in front of St Jean de Luz during the night, and retired upon Bidart, destroying all the bridges on the Lower Nivelle. Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir John Hope followed them with the left of the army, as soon as he could cross the river; and Marshal Sir William Beresford moved the centre of the army as far as the state of the roads, after a violent fall of rain, would allow; and the enemy retired again on the night of the 11th, into an entrenched camp in front of Bayonne.

In the course of the operations of which I have given your lordship an outline, in which we have driven the enemy from positions which they had been fortifying with great labour and care for three months, in which we have taken fifty-one pieces of cannon, six tumbrils of ammunition, and fourteen hundred prisoners, I have great satisfaction in reporting the good conduct of all the offieers and troops. The report itself will shew how much reason I had to be satisfied with the conduct of Marshal Sir William Beresford, and of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, who directed the attack of the centre and right of the army: and with that of Lieut.-Generals the Hon. Sir G. L. Cole, the Hon. Sir William Stewart, Sir John Hamilton, and Sir Henry Clinton; and Major-Generals the Hon. C. Colville, Charles Baron Alten, Marischal de Campo P. Le Cor, and Marischal de Campo Don Pablo Murillo, commanding divisions of infantry; and with that of Don Pedro Giron, commanding the reserve of Andalusia.

Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, and Marshal Sir William Beresford, and these general officers, have reported their sense of the conduct of the generals and troops under their command, respectively; and I particularly request your lordship's attention to the conduct of Major-General Byng, and of Major-General Lambert, who conducted the attack of the 6th division. I likewise particularly observed the gallant conduct of the 51st and 68th regiments, under the command of Major Rice and Lieutenant-Colonel Hawkins, in Major-General Inglis's brigade, in the attack of the heights above St P , in the afternoon of the 10th. The 8th Portuguese brigade, in the 3d division, under Major General Power, likewise distinguished themselves in the attack of the left of the enemy's centre, and Major-General Anson's brigade, of the 4th division, in the village of Sarré, and the centre of the heights.

Although the most brilliant part of this service did not fall to the lot of Lieutenant-Gen. the Hon. J. Hope, and Lieutenant-Gen. Don M. Freyre, I have every reason to be satisfied with the mode in which these general officers conducted the service of which they had the direction.

Our loss, although severe, has not been so great as might have been expected, considering the strength of the position attacked, and the length of time (from day-light till dark) during which the troops were engaged: but I am concerned to add, that Col. Barnard, of the 95th, has been severely, though I hope not dangerously, wounded; and that we have lost in Lieutenant-Col. Lloyd, of the 94th, an officer who had frequently distinguished himself, and was of great promise.

I received the greatest assistance in forming the plan for this attack, and throughout the operations, from the

Quarter-Master-General Sir George Murray, and the Adjutant-General the Hon. Sir Edward Pakenham, and from Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Lieutenant-Col. Campbell, and all the officers of my personal staff, and his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange.

The artillery which was in the field was of great use to us; and I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the intelligence and activity with which it was brought to the point of attack, under the direction of Colonel Dickson, over the bad roads through the mountains at this season of the year.

I send this dispatch by my aide-de-camp, Lieut. Marquis of Worcester, whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

P. S. I enclose a return of killed and wounded.

Since the returns of the enemy's loss was received, we have taken one hundred more prisoners, and four hundred wounded.

General Total—(British and Portuguese killed and wounded.)

Two general staff, 6 lieutenant-colonels, 4 majors, 44 captains, 80 lieutenants, 42 ensigns, 6 staff, 161 serjeants, 29 drummers, 2320 rank and file, 41 horses.

Foreign office, Nov. 21, 1813.

The Baron Perponcher, and Mr James Fagel, have arrived this day from Holland, deputed by the provisional government which has been established in that country, to inform his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, that a counter-revolution broke out in part of the United Provinces on Monday last, the 15th instant; when the people of Amsterdam rose in a body, proclaiming the house of Orange, with the old cry of "*Orange Boven*," and universally putting up the Orange colours.

This example was immediately followed by the other towns of the provinces of Holland and Utrecht, as Haarlem, Leyden, Utrecht, the Hague, Rotterdam, &c.

The French authorities were dismissed, and a temporary government established, and proclaimed, in the name of the Prince of Orange, and until his serene highness's arrival, composed of the most respectable members of the old government, and chiefly of those not employed under the French.

Amsterdam, Nov. 16, 1813.

The events of last night have shewn the necessity of appointing, without delay, an administration in this great city, which, in its form and composition, may ensure the confidence of the good citizens: in consequence, the officers of the schuttery (armed burghers) have agreed to undertake the establishment of such an administration; and a number of the most respectable inhabitants have been called out, and invited by them to take upon themselves, at so critical a moment, the honourable and interesting task of effecting every thing that can contribute to prevent or stop the incalculable evils of anarchy.

The following gentlemen have been this day appointed, desired, and authorized to regulate and divide among themselves the functions, in the manner they will judge most expedient:—(Here follows a list of 24 names.)

The colonel and chief of the municipal guards, who has the great satisfaction of acquainting the public with the above circumstances, cannot let pass this opportunity, without admonishing his fellow-citizens in the most earnest manner to behave with temper and moderation; and at the same time, manifesting his expectation and wishes,

that the joy which will be excited by these events, may not induce or mislead the inhabitants to improper behaviour towards any persons whatsoever, or to pillage or plunder any private or public buildings; since the officers and all the members composing the municipal guard, are strictly resolved to repel, with all the powers of which they are in possession, all and any trespasses which may be committed, to the end that the perpetrators receive due punishment for their offences.

(Signed) The colonel and chief of the municipal guard,

G. C. R. R. Von Brienen.

In the name of his Highness the Prince of Orange.

Leopold Count of Limburg Stirum, Governor of the Hague.

As the blessed restoration is fast approaching, I give notice to all the inhabitants of the Hague, that their wishes will soon be fulfilled, and that a provisional government will immediately be established, to provide for every thing, until his Serene Highness shall appear among us.

In the meantime I invite all good citizens to watch for the preservation of peace and order. I promise to the lowest a day of rejoicing at the public expence; but I warn every one who would pillage and plunder, that the heaviest penalties will be inflicted upon them.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 18.

Copy of an enclosure from Admiral Young, commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the North Sea, off the Scheldt, the 11th instant.

His Majesty's ship Horatio, off Zuderie Zee, Island of Schowen, Dec 8.

Sir,—Yesterday morning some pilots brought off a letter, from a gentleman who had been in the British service, requesting aid to drive the French from Zuderie Zee. I lost no time in working up, and anchored just out of gun-shot of a heavy battery, which totally commanded the passage. As it was necessary to pass, in execution of your orders, I made the disposition for attacking it. I therefore collected 50 marines and 70 seamen from the Horatio, with the same number from the Amphion, with a determination of storming it from the rear, as soon as the tide would answer for the boats to leave the ship, which could not be done till nine p. m. During the interval a deputation from the principal citizens came on board under a flag of truce, from the French general, requesting, that, in order to save the effusion of blood, and prevent the disorders which were likely to ensue in the city, then in a state of insurrection, terms of capitulation should be granted, by which the French, with their baggage, should be allowed to withdraw, and be conveyed to Bergen-of-zoom: this I peremptorily refused, and sent back the terms herewith enclosed. The thickness of the weather did not enable the deputation to quit the ship before ten o'clock at night, which induced me to extend the time till midnight. I had not proceeded any considerable distance from the ship, before the signal, in token of submission, was made. I landed at the battery, which having secured, I went forward to the town, and found the native French had made their escape. I directed the seamen to remain at the gate, and entered with the marines amidst the acclamatians of an immense multitude; proceeding to the town-hall, I was met by the most respectable inhabitants in a body, and then having dissolved the French municipal authorities, I directed the ancient magistrates of the city to resume their functions. This morning, in compliance with my directions, the magis-

trates of the town of Browershaven, reported their having driven the French from thence, and they received similar injunctions with respect to their provisional government. I took possession of a brig of 14 guns, fromerly his Majesty's brig Bustler, which the enemy had attempted to scuttle, also a French gun-boat, and a considerable quantity of powder, and have, in the course of this day, brought in 20 prisoners, and more are expected I feel happy in having obtained so important an acquisition as the whole island of Schowen, without bloodshed, and facilitating the means of opening a communication with the allied forces in the south of Holland. In closing this dispatch, I beg leave to recommend to your particular notice the zeal and activity of Captain Stewart of the Amphion, together with Lieut. Whyte, first of the Horatio, with the rest of the officers, seamen, and marines, under my command, in this service. I must here beg leave to express how much I am indebted to Captain Hamilton Smith of the quarter-master-general's department, for his advice and assistance, who, from his knowledge of the Dutch language and of the people, has very much facilitated these operations. I also enclose the list of ordnance, &c. taken.

have, &c.

(Signed) G. STUART.

Admiral Young, &c.

Dated on board his Britannic Majesty's ship Horatio, at half-past 7 o'clock, Dec. 7.

Sir,—With a view to spare the effusion of blood, as senior officer in command of his Britannic Majesty's forces, I feel it my duty, after the communication I have received, and the resources which I at present have, to summon you to surrender prisoners of war, with the French officers and troops under your immediate command. No other conditions will be admitted. I expect a decisive answer by twelve o'clock this night; my authority will not admit of the suspension of hostilities longer than that period. If accepted, one gun; if not, three ditto.

(Signed) G. STUART.

To the commanding officer of the French troops in the town of Zuderie Zee, island of Schowen.

A list of ordnance taken.

Six iron 36-pounders, 6 iron 24-pounders, 2 brass 6-pounders, 2 brass 13-inch mortars, and a considerable quantity of shot and ammunition.

(Signed) G. STUART,
Capt. and senior officer.

Mem.—Brass ordnance embarked.

Copy of another enclosure from Admiral Young.

Horatio, off Zuderie Zee, Dec. 10, 1813.

Sir,—The thickness of the weather preventing the Tickler's sailing yesterday, enables me to acquaint you of an affair by the boats of the Horatio and Amphion, under the immediate command of Lieutenant Whyte, first of the Horatio. Having received information that the French had augmented their forces in the island of Tholen, with 400 men, and it being necessary to secure the battery at the point of Steavniesse, in order for the ships to pass up the Keetan, I dispatched the boats of the two ships at ten P. M. with the boats' crews only, when they landed two miles in the rear of the battery: immediately on their approach the French precipitately fled, and did not enable our brave fellows to oppose them, and we made only three prisoners. The battery consisted of six 24-pounder guns. Lieutenant Whyte, with the assistance of

Lieutenant Champion, first of the Amphion, and the officers and men under their command, dismantled the battery, spiked the guns, destroyed the carriages and ammunition, and returned on board at half-past three A. M. Though the enemy did not oppose our force, I hope it will not diminish the merits of the officers and men employed, and that their zeal and activity will merit your approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. STUART.

To W. Young, Esq. &c.

Admiralty-Office,
Jan. 11, 1814.

Copy of an enclosure from Rear-Admiral Fremantle, to John Wilson Croker, Esq.

His Majesty's ship Havannah,
before Zara, Dec. 6, 1813.

Sir,—It is with great satisfaction I have the honour to inform you, that the fortress of Zara has this day capitulated to the combined Austrian and English forces, after sustaining a cannonade of thirteen days from the English batteries, consisting of two 32-pound carronades, eight 18-pounders, and seven 12-pound long guns, as well as of two howitzers worked by Austrians.

As the courier which conveys this information will set out immediately, I shall defer entering into particulars until another opportunity, and confine myself to the general terms granted, which are, that the garrison are to march out with the honours of war; to ground their arms on the glacis, and then to be conducted, as prisoners of war, until exchanged, to the outposts of the nearest French army.

The outwork of the garrison to be occupied this evening by the Austrian troops, and the whole of the enemy to march out on the 9th, at ten A. M.

As soon as I can make ready a copy of the terms, I shall have the honour of forwarding them to you: In the mean time,

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEO. CADOGAN, Capt.

Rear-Admiral Fremantle, &c.

Major Hill, aide-de-camp to Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill, has arrived with a dispatch, of which the following is a copy, addressed to Earl Bathurst by Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, K. G. dated

St Jean de Luz,
Dec. 14, 1813.

My Lord,—Since the enemy's retreat from the Nivelle, they had occupied a position in front of Bayonne, which had been entrenched with great labour since the battle fought at Vittoria in June last. It appears to be under the fire of the works of the place; the right rests upon the Adour, and the front in this part is covered by a morass, occasioned by a rivulet which falls into the Adour. The right of the centre rests upon this same morass, and its left upon the river Nive. The left is between the Nive and the Adour, on which river the left rests. They had their advanced posts from their right in front of Anglet and towards Biaritz. With the left they defended the river Nive, and communicated with General Paris's division of the army of Catalonia, which was at St Jean Pied de Port, and they had a considerable corps cantoned in Ville Franche and Monguerre.

It was impossible to attack the enemy in this position, as long as they remained in force in it.

I had determined to pass the Nive immediately after the passage of the Nivelle, but was prevented by the bad state of the roads, and the swelling of all the rivulets, occasioned by the fall of rain in the beginning of that month; but the state of the weather and roads

having at length enabled me to collect the materials, and make the preparations for forming bridges for the passage of that river, I moved the troops out of their cantonments on the 8th, and ordered that the right of the army, under Lieut.-General Sir Rowland Hill, should pass on the 9th, at and in the neighbourhood of Cambo, while Marshal Sir William Beresford should favour and support this operation by passing the 6th division, under Lieut.-General Sir Henry Clinton, at Ustaritz: both operations succeeded completely. The enemy were immediately driven from the right bank of the river, and retired towards Bayonne, by the great road of St Jean Pied de Port. Those posted opposite Cambo were nearly intercepted by the 6th division, and one regiment was driven from the road, and obliged to march across the country.

The enemy assembled in considerable force on a range of heights running parallel with the Adour, and still keeping Ville Franche by their right. The 8th Portuguese regiment, under Colonel Douglas, and the 9th Caçadores, under Colonel Brown, and the British light infantry battalions of the 6th division, carried this village and the heights in the neighbourhood.—The rain which had fallen the preceding night, and on the morning of the 8th, had so destroyed the road, that the day had nearly elapsed before the whole of Sir Rowland Hill's corps had come up, and I was therefore satisfied with the possession of the ground which we occupied.

On the same day, Lieut.-General Sir John Hope, with the left of the army under his command, moved forward by the great road from St Jean de Luz towards Bayonne, and reconnoitered the right of the entrenched camp under Bayonne, and the course of the Adour below the town, after driving in the enemy's posts from the neighbourhood of Biaritz and Anglet. The light division, under Major-General Alten, likewise moved forward from Bassusarry, and reconnoitred that part of the enemy's entrenchments.

Sir John Hope and Major-General Alten retired in the evening to the ground they had before occupied.

On the morning of the 10th, Lieutenant-Gen. Sir Rowland Hill found that the enemy had retired from the position which they had occupied the day before on the heights, into the entrenched camp on that side of the Nive; and he, therefore, occupied the position intended for him, with his right towards the Adour, and his left at Ville Franche, and communicating with the centre of the army, under Marshal Sir William Beresford, by a bridge laid over the Nive; and the troops under the marshal were again drawn to the left of the Nive.

General Murillo's division of Spanish infantry, which had remained with Sir Rowland Hill, when the other Spanish troops went into cantonments, was placed at Urcuray, with Colonel Vivian's brigade of light dragoons at Hasparran, in order to observe the movements of the enemy's division, under General Paris, which, upon the passage of the Nive, had retired towards St Palais.

On the 10th, in the morning, the enemy moved out of the entrenched camp with their whole army, with the exception only of what occupied the works opposite to Sir Rowland Hill's position, and drove in the piquets of the light division, and of Sir John Hope's corps, and made a most desperate attack upon the post of the former at the chateau and church of Arcangues, and upon the advanced posts of the latter, on the high road from Bayonne to St Jean de Luz, near the mayor's house of Biaritz. Both attacks were repulsed in the most gallant style by the troops; and

Sir John Hope's corps took about 500 prisoners.

The brunt of the action with Sir John Hope's advanced post fell upon the 1st Portuguese brigade, under Brigadier-General A. Campbell, which were on duty, and upon Major-General Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which moved up to their support.—Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope reports most favourably of the conduct of those, and of all the other troops engaged; and I had great satisfaction in finding that this attempt made by the enemy upon our left, in order to oblige us to draw in our right, was completely defeated by a comparatively small part of our force.

I cannot sufficiently applaud the ability, coolness, and judgment of Lieut.-General Sir John Hope, who, with the general and staff officers under his command, shewed the troops an example of gallantry, which must have tended to produce the favourable result of the day.

Sir John Hope received a severe contusion, which, however, I am happy to say, has not deprived me for a moment of the benefit of his assistance.

After the action was over, the regiments of Nassau and Frankfort, under the command of Colonel Kruse, came over to the posts of Major-General Ross's brigade, of the 4th division, which were formed for the support of the centre.

When the night closed, the enemy were still in large force in front of our posts, on the ground from which they had driven the picquets. They retired, however, during the night, from Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope's front, leaving small posts, which were immediately driven in. They still occupied, in force, the ridge on which the picquets of the light division had stood; and it was obvious that the whole army was still in front of our left; and about three in the afternoon, they again drove in Lieut.-General Sir John Hope's picquets, and attacked his posts. They were again repulsed with considerable loss.

The attack was recommenced on the morning of the 12th, with the same want of success; the first division under Major-General Howard, having relieved the fifth division: and the enemy discontinued it in the afternoon, and retired entirely within the entrenched camp on that night. They never renewed the attack on the posts of the light division after the 10th.

Lieut.-General Sir John Hope reports most favourably of the conduct of all the officers and troops, particularly of the 1st Portuguese brigade, under Brigadier-General Archibald Campbell; and of Major-General Robinson's and Major-General Hay's brigade of the 5th division, under the command of the Honourable Colonel Greville. He mentions, particularly, Major-General Hay, commanding the 5th division; Major-Generals Robinson and Bradford; Brigadier-General Campbell; Colonels de Regoa and Greville, commanding the several brigades; Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd, of the 84th, who was unfortunately killed; Lieut.-Colonels Barnes of the royals, and Cameron of the 9th, Captain Ramsay of the horse artillery; Colonel Delancey, deputy quarter-master-general, and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Donald, assistant adjutant-general, attached to Sir John Hope's corps; and the officers of his personal staff.

The 1st division, under Major-General Howard, were not engaged until the 12th, when the enemy's attack was more feeble; but the guards conducted themselves with their usual spirit.

The enemy having thus failed in all their attacks, with their whole force, upon our left, withdrew into their entrenchments, on the night of the 12th, and passed a large force through

Bayonne, with which, on the morning of the 13th, they made a most desperate attack upon Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill.

In expectation of this attack I had requested Marshal Sir W. Beresford to reinforce the Lieut.-General with the 6th division, which crossed the Nive at day-light on that morning: and I further reinforced him by the 4th division, and two brigades of the 3d division.

The expected arrival of the 6th division gave the lieut.-general great facility in making his movements; but the troops under his own immediate command had defeated and repulsed the enemy with immense loss before their arrival. The principal attack having been made along the high-road from Bayonne to St Jean Pied de Port, Major-General Barnes's brigade of British infantry, and the 5th Portuguese brigade, under Brigadier-General Ashworth, were particularly engaged in the contest with the enemy on that point, and these troops conducted themselves admirably. The Portuguese division of infantry, under the command of Marischal del Campo Don F. le Cor, moved to their support on their left in a very gallant style, and regained an important position between these troops and Major-General Pringle's brigade, engaged with the enemy in front of Ville Franche. I had great satisfaction also in observing the conduct of Major-General Byng's brigade of British infantry, supported by the 4th Portuguese brigade, under the command of Brigadier-General Buchan, in carrying an important height from the enemy on the right of our position, and maintaining it against all their efforts to regain it.

Two guns and some prisoners were taken from the enemy, who being beaten at all points, and having suffered considerable loss, were obliged to retire upon their entrenchments.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to have another opportunity of reporting my sense of the merits and services of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill upon this occasion, as well as of those of Lieutenant-General Sir William Stewart, commanding the 2d division; Major-Generals Pringle, Barnes, and Byng; Marischal del Campo Don F. le Cor, and Brigadier-Generals Da Costa, Ashworth, and Buchan. The British artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, and the Portuguese artillery, under Colonel Tulloch, distinguished themselves; and Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill reports particularly the assistance he received from Lieut.-Colonels Bouverie and Jackson, the assistant adjutant and assistant quarter-master-general attached to his corps; Lieut.-Colonel Goldfinch, of the royal engineers, and from the officers of his personal staff.

The enemy marched a large body of cavalry across the bridge of the Adour yesterday evening, and retired their force opposite to Sir Rowland Hill this morning towards Bayonne.

Throughout these various operations I have received every assistance from the quarter-master-general, Major-General Sir George Murray, and the adjutant-general, Major-General Sir Edward Pakenham, and Lieut.-Col. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, and the officers of my personal staff.

I send this dispatch by Major Hill, aide-de-camp of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, whom I beg leave to recommend to your lordship's protection. I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

I enclose the returns of the killed and wounded.

General Total.

Killed—2 lieutenant-colonels, 3 majors, 9 captains, 13 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 staff, 15 serjeants, 4 drummers, 599 rank and file, 13 horses.

Wounded—4 general staff, 8 lieut.-colonels, 14 majors, 64 captains, 89 lieutenants, 45 ensigns, 9 staff, 215 serjeants, 25 drummers, 3434 rank and file, 21 horses.

Missing—1 colonel, 2 majors, 5 captains, 5 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 1 staff, 14 serjeants, 6 drummers, 467 rank and file, 1 horse.

APPENDIX II.—STATE PAPERS.

APPENDIX II.—STATE PAPERS.

Letter from the Princess of Wales to the Prince Regent.

Montague-house, Jan. 14, 1813.

"SIR,—It is with great reluctance that I presume to obtrude myself upon your royal highness, and to solicit your attention to matters which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than a public nature. If I could think them so—if they related merely to myself—I should abstain from a proceeding which might give uneasiness, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of your royal highness's time. I should continue, in silence and retirement, to lead the life which has been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society and those domestic comforts to which I have so long been a stranger, by the reflection that it has been deemed proper I should be afflicted without any fault of my own—and that your royal highness knows.

"But, sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to myself and my daughter. May I venture to say—a duty also to my husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice, and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly; or by secret insinuation, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious that she deserves no reproach, your royal highness has too sound a judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive, how much more justly they belong to the mother of your daughter—the mother of her who is destined, I trust at a very distant period, to reign over the British empire.

"It may be known to your royal highness, that during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority, I purposely refrained from making any representations which might then augment the painful difficulties of your exalted station. At the expiration of the restrictions, I still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that I might owe the redress I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited, in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mortification, I find that my unwillingness to complain has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am

at length compelled, either to abandon all regard for the two dearest objects which I possess on earth, mine own honour, and my beloved child, or to throw myself at the feet of your royal highness, the natural protector of both.

"I presume, sir, to represent to your royal highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the mother and the daughter, is equally injurious to my character and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wounds which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of these. To see myself cut off from one of the few domestic enjoyments left me—certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my child—involves me in such misery, as I well know your royal highness could never inflict upon me if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished. A single interview, weekly, seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a mother's affections. That, however, was reduced to our meeting once a fortnight; and I now learn that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced.

"But while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a mother upon your royal highness's notice, I must be allowed to say, that in the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this separation of a daughter from her mother, will only admit of one construction—a construction fatal to the mother's reputation. Your royal highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. He who dares advise your royal highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced, or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicions in your ear, betrays his duty to you, sir, to your daughter, and to your people, if he counsels you to permit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recommend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion. Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed: without the shadow of a charge against me—without even an accuser—after an enquiry that led to my ample vindication—yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, and held up to the world as a mother who may not enjoy the society of her only child.

"The feelings, sir, which are natural to my unexampled situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of your royal highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself. But I will not disguise from your royal highness what I cannot for a moment conceal from myself, that the serious, and it soon may be, the irreparable injury which my daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your royal highness, than any sufferings of my own could accomplish; and if for her sake I presume to call away your royal highness's attention from the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confident I am not claiming it for a matter of inferior importance either to yourself or your people.

"The powers with which the constitution of these realms vests your royal highness in the regulation of the royal family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample, and unquestionable. My appeal, sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly hope that your own pa-

rental feelings will lead you to excuse the anxiety of mine for impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our beloved child.

"It is impossible, sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your royal highness, that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections—the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us! That her love for me, with whom, by his majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know, and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence.

"But let me implore your royal highness to reflect how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment, by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my child's principles—if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

"The plan of excluding my daughter from all intercourse with the world, appears to my humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to be the sovereign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen, by a chance which I trust is very remote, that she should be called upon to exercise the powers of the crown, with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition as singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much; but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation. It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake, as well as her country's, that your royal highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

"Those who have advised you, sir, to delay so long the period of my daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions; both by the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journeys to town which she must make, unless she is to be secluded from all intercourse even with your royal highness and the rest of the royal family. To the same unfortunate counsels I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing both to my parental and religious feelings, that my daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other branches of the royal family have partaken of that solemnity. May I earnestly conjure you, sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our child?

"The pain with which I have at length formed the resolution of addressing myself to your royal highness is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, sir, to estimate the strength of the motives which have made me submit to it. They are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty towards your royal highness, my beloved child, and the country, which I devotedly hope she may be preserved to govern, and to show, by a new example, the liberal affection of a free and generous people

to a virtuous and constitutional monarch.

"I am, sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter,

Your royal highness's most devoted and most affectionate

Consort, cousin, and subject,

(Signed) CAROLINE LOUISA."

A copy of the report of the honourable the privy council, having been laid before the prince regent, was transmitted to her royal highness by Viscount Sidmouth on the evening of the day on which the above letter was sent; and Lord Harrowby replied to her royal highness, by letter, to this effect:

The report is as follows:—

To his royal highness the prince regent.—The members of his majesty's most honourable privy council: viz.—his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c.; having been summoned by command of your royal highness, on the 19th of February, to meet at the office of Viscount Sidmouth, secretary of state for the home department, a communication was made by his lordship to the lords then present, in the following terms:—

"My Lords,—I have it in command from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to acquaint your lordships, that a copy of a letter from the Princess of Wales to the Prince Regent having appeared in a public paper, which letter refers to the proceedings that took place in an enquiry instituted by command of his majesty, in the year 1806, and contains, among other matters, certain animadversions upon the manner in which the Prince Regent has exercised his undoubted right of regulating the conduct and education of his daughter the Princess Charlotte; and his royal highness having taken into his consideration the said letter so published, and adverting to the directions heretofore given by his majesty, that the documents relating to the said enquiry should be sealed up, and deposited in the office of his majesty's principal secretary of state, in order that his majesty's government should possess the means of resorting to them if necessary: his royal highness has been pleased to direct, that the said letter of the Princess of Wales, and the whole of the said documents, together with the copies of other letters and papers, of which a schedule is annexed, should be referred to your lordships, being members of his majesty's most honourable privy council, for your consideration: and that you should report to his royal highness your opinion, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales, and her daughter the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions."

Their lordships adjourned their meetings to Tuesday, the 23d of February; and the intermediate days having been employed in perusing the documents referred to them, by command of your royal highness, they proceeded on that and the following day to the further consideration of the said documents, and have agreed to report to your royal highness as follows:—

"In obedience to the commands of your royal highness, we have taken into our most serious consideration the letter from her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales to your royal highness, which has appeared in the public papers, and has been referred to us by your royal highness, in which letter the Princess of Wales, amongst other matters, complains that the intercourse between her royal highness, and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, has been subjected to certain restrictions.

"We have also taken into our most serious consideration, together with the other papers referred to us by your royal highness, all the documents relative to the enquiry instituted in 1806, by command of his majesty, into the truth of certain representations, respecting the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, which appear to have been pressed upon the attention of your royal highness, in consequence of the advice of Lord Thurlow, and upon grounds of public duty; by whom they were transmitted to his majesty's consideration; and your royal highness having been graciously pleased to command us to report our opinions to your royal highness, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter, the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint:

"We beg leave humbly to report to your royal highness, that after a full examination of all the documents before us, we are of opinion, that under all the circumstances of the case, it is highly fit and proper, with a view to the welfare of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, in which are equally involved the happiness of your royal highness, in your parental and royal character, and the most important interests of the state,—that the intercourse between her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint.

"We humbly trust that we may be permitted, without being thought to exeed the limits of the duty imposed on us, respectfully to express the just sense we entertain of the motives by which your royal highness has been actuated in the postponement of the confirmation of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte; as it appears by a statement under the hand of her majesty the queen, that your royal highness has conformed in this respect to the declared will of his majesty; who has been pleased to direct, that such ceremony should not take place till her royal highness should have completed her eighteenth year.

"We also humbly trust that we may be further permitted to notice some expressions in the letter of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, which may possibly be construed as implying a charge of too serious a nature to be passed over without observation. We refer to the words—"suborned traducers." As this expression, from the manner it is introduced, may, perhaps, be liable to misconstruction (however impossible it may be to suppose that it can have been so intended) to have reference to some part of the conduct of your royal highness, we feel it our bounden duty not to omit this opportunity of declaring, that the documents laid before us afford the most ample proof, that there is not the slightest foundation for such an aspersion.

(Signed)

C. Cantuar,	Melville,
Eldon,	Sidmouth,
E. Ebor,	J. London,
W. Armagh,	Ellenborough,
Harrowby, p. c.	Chas. Abbot,
Westmoreland, c. p. s.	N. Vansittart,
	C. Bathurst,
Buckinghamshire,	W. Grant,
Bathurst,	A. Macdonald,
Liverpool,	W. Scott,
Mulgrave,	J. Nichol,

A true copy, Sidmouth."

Copy of the Report of the Commissioners.

May it please your Majesty,

Your majesty having been graciously pleased, by an instrument under

your majesty's royal sign manual, a copy of which is annexed to this report, to "authorize, empower, and direct us to enquire into the truth of certain written declarations, touching the conduct of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, an abstract of which had been laid before your majesty, and to examine upon oath such persons as we should see fit, touching and concerning the same, and to report to your majesty the result of such examinations." We have, in dutiful obedience to your majesty's commands, proceeded to examine the several witnesses, the copies of whose depositions we have hereunto annexed; and, in further execution of the said commands, we now most respectfully submit to your majesty the report of these examinations as it has appeared to us: but we beg leave at the same time humbly to refer your majesty, for more complete information, to the examinations themselves, in order to correct any error of judgment, into which we may have unintentionally fallen, with respect to any part of this business. On a reference to the above-mentioned declarations, as the necessary foundation of all our proceedings, we found that they consisted in certain statements, which had been laid before his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, respecting the conduct of her royal highness the princess. That these statements, not only imputed to her royal highness great impropriety and indecency of behaviour, but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alledged declarations from the princess's own mouth and partly on the personal observation of the informants, the following most important facts: viz. That her royal highness had been pregnant in the year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse, and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her royal highness in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.

These allegations thus made, had, as we found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not indeed spoken to the important facts of the pregnancy or delivery of her royal highness, but had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so when connected with the assertions already mentioned.

In the painful situation in which his royal highness was placed, by these communications, we learn that his royal highness had adopted the only course which could, in our judgment, with propriety be followed. When informations, such as these, had been thus confidently alleged, and particularly detailed, and had been, in some degree, supported by collateral evidence, applying to other points of the same nature (though going to a far less extent), one line only could be pursued.

Every sentiment of duty to your majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state, so nearly touching the honour of your majesty's royal family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession of your majesty's crown.

Your majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter, which, on every account, demanded the most immediate investigation, your majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining, in the first instance, what degree of credit was due to the informations, and thereby enabling your majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt concerning them.

On this review, therefore, of the matters thus alleged, and of the course

hitherto pursued upon them, we deemed it proper, in the first place, to examine those persons in whose declarations the occasion for this enquiry had originated. Because if they, on being examined upon oath, had retracted or varied their assertions, all necessity for further investigation might possibly have been precluded.

We accordingly first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas, and Charlotte his wife, who both positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her royal highness, and the latter to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and above referred to. Their examinations are annexed to this report, and are circumstantial and positive.

The most material of those allegations, into the truth of which we had been directed to enquire, being thus far supported by the oath of the parties from whom they had proceeded, we then felt it our duty to follow up the enquiry by the examination of such other persons as we judged best able to afford us information, as to the facts in question.

We thought it beyond all doubt that, in this course of enquiry, many particulars must be learnt which would be necessarily conclusive on the truth or falsehood of these declarations. So many persons must have been witnesses to the appearances of an actually existing pregnancy; so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a real delivery; and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question, as the child of another woman, if it had been in fact the child of the princess; that we entertained a full and confident expectation of arriving at complete proof, either in the affirmative or negative, on this part of the subject.

This expectation was not disappointed. We are happy to declare to your majesty our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the princess is the child of her royal highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our enquiries.

The identity of the child, now with the princess, its parentage, the place and the date of its birth, the time and the circumstances of its being first taken under her royal highness's protection, are all established by such a concurrence, both of positive and circumstantial evidence, as can, in our judgment, leave no question on this part of the subject. The child was, beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-street hospital, on the 11th day of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the princess's house in the month of November following. Neither should we be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the princess, as stated in the original declarations;—a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses to whom, if true, it must in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit. The testimonies on these two points are contained in the annexed depositions and letters. We have not partially abstracted them in this report, lest, by any unintentional omission, we might weaken their effect; but we humbly offer to your majesty this our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole enquiry.

We do not, however, feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our report here. Besides the

allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the princess, those declarations, on the whole of which your majesty has been pleased to command us to enquire and report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting the conduct of her royal highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations.

From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examinations of Robert Bidgood, Wm. Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs Lisle, your majesty will perceive that several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses, who cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, we have seen no ground to question.

On the precise bearing and effect of the facts thus appearing, it is not for us to decide; these we submit to your majesty's wisdom; but we conceive it to be our duty to report on this part of the enquiry, as distinctly as on the former facts; that, as on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are to our minds satisfactorily disproved; so, on the other hand, we think that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her royal highness and Captain Manby, must be credited until they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration.

We cannot close this report, without humbly assuring your majesty, that it was, on every account, our anxious wish, to have executed this delicate trust, with as little publicity as the nature of the case would possibly allow; and we entreat your majesty's permission to express our full persuasion, that if this wish has been disappointed, the failure is not imputable to any thing unnecessarily said or done by us.

All which is most humbly submitted to your majesty.

(Signed) ERSKINE,
SPENCER,
GRENVILLE,
July 14, 1806. ELLENBOROUGH.

A true copy,
(*J. Becket.*)

Copy of the Princess of Wales's Letter to the King.

Blackheath, Aug. 12, 1806.

Sire,—With the deepest feelings of gratitude to your majesty, I take the first opportunity to acknowledge having received, as yesterday only, the report from the lords commissioners, which was dated from the 14th of July. It was brought by Lord Ershine's footman, directed to the Princess of Wales; besides a note enclosed, the contents of which were, that Lord Erskine sent the evidences and report by command of his majesty. I had reason to flatter myself that the lords commissioners would not have given in the report, before they had been properly informed of various circumstances, which must, for a feeling and delicate-minded woman, be very unpleasant to have spread, without having the means to exculpate herself. But I can, in the face of the Almighty, assure your majesty that your daughter-in-law is innocent, and her conduct unquestionable; free from all the indecorums and improprieties, which are imputed to her at present by the lords commissioners, upon the evidence of persons who speak as falsely as Sir John and Lady Douglas themselves. Your majesty can be sure that I shall be anxious to give the most solemn denial in my power to all the scandalous stories of Bidgood and Cole; to make my conduct be cleared in the most satisfactory way, for the tranquillity of your majesty, for the ho-

nour of your illustrious family, and the gratification of your afflicted daughter-in law. In the mean time, I can safely trust your majesty's gracious justice to recollect, that the whole of the evidence on which the commissioners have given credit to the infamous stories charged against me, was taken behind my back, without my having any opportunity to contradict or explain any thing, or even to point out those persons, who might have been called to prove the little credit which was due to some of the witnesses, from their connection with Sir John and Lady Douglas; and the absolute falsehood of parts of the evidence, which could have been completely contradicted. Oh! gracious king, I now look for that happy moment, when I may be allowed to appear again before your majesty's eyes, and receive once more the assurance from your majesty's own mouth that I have your gracious protection; and that you will not discard me from your friendship, of which your majesty has been so condescending to give me so many marks of kindness; and which must be my only support, and my only consolation, in this country. I remain, with sentiments of the highest esteem, veneration, and unfeigned attachment,

Sire,
Your majesty's most dutiful,
submissive, and humble
daughter-in-law and subject,
(Signed) CAROLINE.

To the king.

Aug. 17, 1806.

Sire,—Upon receiving the copy of the report, made to your majesty, by the commissioners, appointed to enquire into certain charges against my conduct, I lost no time, in returning to your majesty, my heartfelt thanks for your majesty's goodness in commanding that copy to be communicated to me.

I wanted no adviser but my own heart, to express my gratitude for the kindness and protection which I have uniformly received from your majesty. I needed no caution or reserve, in expressing my confident reliance, that that kindness and protection would not be withdrawn from me on this trying occasion, and that your majesty's justice would not suffer your mind to be affected to my disadvantage, by any part of a report, founded upon partial evidence, taken in my absence, upon charges not yet communicated to me, until your majesty had heard what might be alleged, in my behalf, in answer to it. But your majesty will not be surprised nor displeased that I, a woman, a stranger to the laws and usages of your majesty's kingdom, under charges, aimed originally at my life and honour, should hesitate to determine in what manner I ought to act, even under the present circumstances, with respect to such accusations, without the assistance of advice in which I could confide. And I have had submitted to me the following observations, respecting the copies of the papers with which I have been furnished. And I humbly solicit from your majesty's gracious condescension and justice, a compliance with the requests which arise out of them.

In the first place, it has been observed to me, that these copies of the report, and of the accompanying papers, have come unauthenticated by the signature of any person, high or low, whose veracity, or even accuracy, is pledged for their correctness, or to whom resort might be had, if it should be necessary hereafter to establish, that these papers are correct copies of the originals. I am far from insinuating that the want of such attestations was intentional. No doubt it was omitted through inadvertence, but its importance is particularly confirmed by the state in which the copy of Mrs Lisle's examination has been transmitted to me; for in the third page of

that examination, there have been two erasures, on one of which some words have been subsequently introduced, apparently in a different hand-writing from the body of the examination, and the passage, as it stands, is probably incorrect, because the phrase is unintelligible; and this occurs in an important part of her examination.

The humble, but earnest request, which I have to make to your majesty, which is suggested by this observation, is, that your majesty would be graciously pleased to direct, that the report, and the papers which accompany it, and which, for that purpose, I venture to transmit to your majesty with this letter, may be examined, and then returned to me, authenticated as correct, under the signature of some person, who, having attested their accuracy, may be able to prove it.

In the second place, it has been observed to me, that the report proceeds, by reference to certain written declarations, which the commissioners describe as the necessary foundation of all their proceedings, and which contain, as I presume, the charge or information against my conduct. Yet copies of these written declarations have not been given to me. They are described indeed, in the report, as consisting in certain statements, respecting my conduct, imputing, not only gross impropriety of behaviour, but expressly asserting facts of the most confirmed and abandoned criminality, for which, if true, my life might be forfeited. These are stated to have been followed by declarations from other persons, who, though not speaking to the same facts, had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so, as connected with the assertions already mentioned.

On this, it is observed to me, that it is most important that I should know the extent, and the particulars of the charges or informations against me, and by what accusers they have been made; whether I am answering the charges of one set of accusers, or more; whether the authors of the original declarations, who may be collected from the report to be Sir John and Lady Douglas, are my only accusers; and the declarations which are said to have followed, are the declarations of persons adduced as witnesses by Sir John and Lady Douglas to confirm their accusation; or whether such declarations are the charges of persons, who have made themselves also the authors of distinct accusations against me.

The requests, which I humbly hope your majesty will think reasonable and just to grant, and which are suggested by these further observations, are,

First, That your majesty would be graciously pleased to direct, that I should be furnished with copies of these declarations; and, if they are rightly described in the report, as the necessary foundation of all the proceedings of the commissioners, your majesty could not, I am persuaded, but have graciously intended, in directing that I should be furnished with a copy of the report, that I should also see this essential part of the proceeding, the foundation on which it rests.

Secondly, That I may be informed whether I have one or more, and how many accusers; and who they are; as the weight and credit of the accusation cannot but be much affected by the quarter from whence it originates.

Thirdly, That I may be informed of the time when the declarations were made. For the weight and credit of the accusation must also be much affected by the length of time which my accusers may have been contented to have been the silent depositories of those heavy matters of guilt and charge; and,

Lastly, That your majesty's goodness will secure to me a speedy return

of these papers, accompanied, I trust, with the further information which I have solicited; but at all events a speedy return of them. And your majesty will see, that it is not without reason that I make this last request, when your majesty is informed, that though the report appears to have been made upon the 14th of July, yet it was not sent to me till the 11th of the present month. A similar delay I should, of all things, deplore. For it is with reluctance that I yield to those suggestions, which have induced me to lay these my humble requests before your majesty, since they must, at all events, in some degree, delay the arrival of that moment to which I look forward with so eager and earnest an impatience; when I confidently feel I shall completely satisfy your majesty, that the whole of these charges are alike unfounded, and are all parts of the same conspiracy against me. Your majesty, so satisfied, will, I can have no doubt, be as anxious as myself, to secure to me that redress which the laws of your kingdom (administering under your majesty's just dispensation, equal protection and justice to every description of your majesty's subjects,) are prepared to afford to those who are so deeply injured as I have been. That I have in this case the strongest claim to your majesty's justice, I am confident I shall prove; but I cannot, as I am advised, so satisfactorily establish that claim, till your majesty's goodness shall have directed me to be furnished with an authentic statement of the actual charges against me, and that additional information, which it is the object of this letter most humbly, yet earnestly, to implore.

I am, sire,
Your majesty's most dutiful,
submissive, and humble
daughter-in-law,
Montague-house. (Signed) C. P.
To the king.

Montague-house, Dec. 8, 1806.

Sire,—I trust your majesty, who knows my constant affection, loyalty, and duty, and the sure confidence with which I readily repose my honour, my character, my happiness in your majesty's hands, will not think me guilty of any disrespectful or unduteous impatience, when I thus again address myself to your royal grace and justice.

It is, sire, nine weeks to-day, since my counsel presented to the lord high chancellor my letter to your majesty, containing my observations in vindication of my honour and innocence, upon the report presented to your majesty by the commissioners, who had been appointed to examine into my conduct. The lord chancellor informed my counsel, that the letter should be conveyed to your majesty on that very day; and further, was pleased, in about a week or ten days afterwards, to communicate to my solicitor, that your majesty had read my letter, and that it had been transmitted to his lordship with directions that it should be copied for the commissioners, and that when such copy had been taken, the original should be returned to your majesty.

Your majesty's own gracious and royal mind will easily conceive what must have been my state of anxiety and suspense, whilst I have been fondly indulging in the hope, that every day, as it passed, would bring me the happy tidings, that your majesty was satisfied of my innocence; and convinced of the unfounded malice of my enemies, in every part of their charge. Nine long weeks of daily expectation and suspense have now elapsed, and they have brought me nothing but disappointment. I have remained in total ignorance of what has been done, what is doing, or what is intended upon this subject. Your majesty's goodness will therefore pardon me, if in the step which I now take, I act upon a

mistaken conjecture with respect to the fact. But from the lord chancellor's communication to my solicitor, and from the time which has elapsed, I am led to conclude, that your majesty had directed the copy of my letter to be laid before the commissioners, requiring their advice upon the subject; and, possibly, their official occupations, and their other duties to the state, may not have as yet allowed them the opportunity of attending to it. But your majesty will permit me to observe, that however excusable this delay may be on their parts, yet it operates most injuriously upon me; my feelings are severely tortured by the suspense, while my character is sinking in the opinion of the public.

It is known that a report, though acquitting me of crime, yet imputing matters highly disreputable to my honour, has been made to your majesty; that that report has been communicated to me; that I have endeavoured to answer it; and that I still remain, at the end of nine weeks from the delivery of my answer, unacquainted with the judgment which is formed upon it. May I be permitted to observe upon the extreme prejudice which this delay, however to be accounted for by the numerous important occupations of the commissioners, produces to my honour? The world, in total ignorance of the real state of the facts, begin to infer my guilt from it. I feel myself already sinking in the estimation of your majesty's subjects, as well as of what remains to me of my own family, into (a state intolerable to a mind conscious of its purity and innocence) a state in which my honour appears at least equivocal, and my virtue is suspected. From this state I humbly entreat your majesty to perceive that I can have no hope of being restored until either your majesty's favourable opinion shall be graciously notified to the world, by receiving me again into the royal presence, or until the full disclosure of the facts shall expose the malice of my accusers, and do away every possible ground for unfavourable inference and conjecture.

The various calamities with which it has pleased God of late to afflict me, I have endeavoured to bear, and I trust I have borne, with humble resignation to the Divine will. But the effect of this infamous charge, and the delay which has suspended its final termination, by depriving me of the consolation which I should have received from your majesty's presence and kindness, have given a heavy addition to them all; and surely my bitterest enemies could hardly wish that they should be increased. But on this topic, as possibly not much affecting the justice, though it does the hardship, of my case, I forbear to dwell.

Your majesty will be graciously pleased to recollect, that an occasion of assembling the royal family and your subjects, in dutiful and happy commemoration of her majesty's birthday, is now near at hand. If the increased occupations which the approach of parliament may occasion, or any other cause, should prevent the commissioners from enabling your majesty to communicate your pleasure to me before that time, the world will infallibly conclude, (in their present state of ignorance,) that my answer must have proved unsatisfactory, and and that the infamous charges have been thought to be but too true.

These considerations, sire, will, I trust, in your majesty's gracious opinion, rescue this address from all imputation of impatience. For your majesty's sense of honourable feeling will naturally suggest, how utterly impossible it is that I, conscious of my own innocence, and believing that the malice of my enemies has been completely detected, can, without abandoning all regard to my interests, my

happiness, and my honour, possibly be contented to perceive the approach of such utter ruin to my character, and yet wait with patience, and in silence, till it overwhelms me. I therefore take the liberty of throwing myself again at your majesty's feet, and entreating and imploring of your majesty's goodness and justice, in pity for my miseries, which this delay so severely aggravates, and in justice to my innocence and character, to urge the commissioners to an early communication of their advice.

To save your majesty and the commissioners all unnecessary trouble, as well as to obviate all probability of further delay, I have directed a duplicate of this letter to be prepared, and have sent one copy of it through the lord chancellor, and another through Colonel Taylor, to your majesty.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. P.

To the king.

Jan. 28, 1807.

The lord chancellor has the honour to present his most humble duty to the Princess of Wales, and to transmit to her royal highness the accompanying message from the king; which her royal highness will observe he has his majesty's commands to communicate to her royal highness.

The lord chancellor would have done himself the honour to have waited personally upon her royal highness, and have delivered it himself, but he considered the sending it sealed as more respectful and acceptable to her royal highness. The lord chancellor received the original paper from the king yesterday, and made the copy now sent in his own hand.

To her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

The king having referred to his confidential servants the proceeding and papers relative to the written declarations, which had been before his majesty, respecting the conduct of the Princess of Wales, has been apprized by them, that, after the fullest consideration of the examinations taken on the subject, and of the observations and affidavits brought forward by the Princess of Wales's legal advisers, they agree in the opinions, submitted to his majesty in the original report of the four lords, by whom his majesty directed that the matter should, in the first instance, be enquired into; and that, in the present stage of the business, upon a mature and deliberate view of this most important subject in all its parts and bearings, it is their opinion, that the facts of this case do not warrant their advising that any further step should be taken in the business by his majesty's government, or any other proceedings instituted upon it, except such only as his majesty's law servants may, on reference to them, think fit to recommend, for the prosecution of Lady Douglas, on those parts of her depositions which may appear to them to be justly liable thereto.

In this situation, his majesty is advised, that it is no longer necessary for him to decline receiving the princess into his royal presence.

The king sees, with great satisfaction, the agreement of his confidential servants, in the decided opinion expressed by the four lords, upon the falsehood of the accusations of pregnancy and delivery, brought forward against the princess by Lady Douglas.

On the other matters produced in the course of the enquiry, the king is advised that none of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, can be considered as legally or conclusively established.

But in those examinations, and even in the answer drawn in the name of the princess by her legal advisers, there have appeared circumstances of conduct on the part of the princess, which his majesty never could regard but with serious concern. The elevated rank which the princess holds in this country, and the relation in which she stands to his majesty and the royal family, must always deeply involve both the interests of the state, and the personal feelings of his majesty, in the propriety and correctness of her conduct. And his majesty cannot, therefore, forbear to express in the conclusion of the business, his desire and expectation, that such a conduct may, in future, be observed by the princess, as may fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection, which the king always wishes to shew to every part of his royal family.

His majesty has directed that this message should be transmitted to the Princess of Wales, by his lord chancellor, and that copies of the proceedings, which had taken place on the subject, should also be communicated to his dearly beloved son the Prince of Wales.

Montague-house, Jan. 29, 1807.

Sire,—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of the paper, which, by your majesty's direction, was yesterday transmitted to me by the lord chancellor, and to express the unfeigned happiness which I have derived from one part of it. I mean that which informs me that your majesty's confidential servants have at length thought proper to communicate to your majesty their advice, "that it is no longer necessary for your majesty to decline receiving me into your royal presence." And I therefore humbly hope that your majesty will be graciously pleased to receive, with favour, the communication of my intention to avail myself, with your majesty's permission, of that advice, for the purpose of waiting upon your majesty on Monday next, if that day should not be inconvenient; when I hope again to have the happiness of throwing myself, in filial duty and affection, at your majesty's feet.

Your majesty will easily conceive that I reluctantly name so distant a day as Monday, but I do not feel myself sufficiently recovered from the measles, to venture upon so long a drive at an earlier day. Feeling, however, very anxious to receive again, as soon as possible, that blessing, of which I have been so long deprived, if that day should happen to be in any degree inconvenient, I humbly entreat and implore your majesty's most gracious and paternal goodness, to name some other day, as early as possible, for that purpose.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. P.

To the king.

Windsor Castle, Jan. 29, 1807.

The king has this moment received the Princess of Wales's letter, in which she intimates her intention of coming to Windsor on Monday next; and his majesty, wishing not to put the princess to the inconvenience of coming to this place so immediately after her illness, hastens to acquaint her that he shall prefer to receive her in London upon a day subsequent to the ensuing week, which will also better suit his majesty, and of which he will not fail to apprize the princess.

(Signed) GEORGE R.

To the Princess of Wales.

Windsor Castle, Feb. 10, 1807.

As the Princess of Wales may have been led to expect, from the king's letter to her, that he would fix an early day for seeing her, his majesty thinks it right to acquaint her, that the Prince of Wales, upon receiving the several

documents which the king directed his cabinet to transmit to him, made a formal communication to him, of his intention to put them into the hands of his lawyers; accompanied by a request, that his majesty would suspend any further steps in the business, until the Prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to him the statement which he proposed to make. The king therefore considers it incumbent upon him to defer naming a day to the Princess of Wales, until the further result of the prince's intention shall have been made known to him.

(Signed) GEORGE R.

To the Princess of Wales.

Montague-house, Feb. 12, 1807.

Sire,—I received yesterday, and with inexpressible pain, your majesty's last communication. The duty of stating, in a representation to your majesty, 'the various grounds upon which I feel the hardship of my case, and upon which I confidently think that, upon a review of it, your majesty will be disposed to recal your last determination, is a duty I owe to myself: and I cannot forbear, at the moment when I acknowledge your majesty's letter, to announce to your majesty that I propose to execute that duty without delay.

After having suffered the punishment of banishment from your majesty's presence for seven months, pending an enquiry which your majesty had directed, into my conduct, affecting both my life and my honour;—after that enquiry had, at length, terminated in the advice of your majesty's confidential and sworn servants, that there was no longer any reason for your majesty's declining to receive me;—if after your majesty's gracious communication, which led me to rest assured that your majesty would appoint an early day to receive me;—if after all this, by a renewed application on the part of the Prince of Wales, upon whose communication the first inquiry had been directed, I now find that that punishment, which has been inflicted, pending a seven months enquiry before the determination, should, contrary to the opinion of your majesty's servants, be continued after that determination, to await the result of some new proceeding, to be suggested by the lawyers of the Prince of Wales; it is impossible that I can fail to assert to your majesty, with the effect due to truth, that I am in the consciousness of my innocence, and with a strong sense of my unmerited sufferings,

Your majesty's much-injured subject and daughter-in-law, C. P.

To the King.

Montague house, Feb. 16, 1807.

Sire,—By my short letter to your majesty of the 12th instant, in answer to your majesty's communication of the 10th, I notified my intention of representing to your majesty the various grounds, on which I felt the hardship of my case; and a review of which, I confidently hoped, would dispose your majesty to recal your determination to adjourn, to an indefinite period, my reception into your royal presence; a determination, which, in addition to all the other pain which it brought along with it, affected me with the disappointment of hopes which I had fondly cherished with the most perfect confidence, because they rested on your majesty's gracious assurance.

Independently, however, of that communication from your majesty, I should have felt myself bound to have troubled your majesty with much of the contents of the present letter.

Upon the receipt of the paper which, by your majesty's commands, was transmitted to me by the lord chancellor, on the 28th of the last month,

and which communicated to me the joyful intelligence, that your majesty was "advised, that it was no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me into your royal presence," I conceived myself necessarily called upon to send an immediate answer to so much of it as respected that intelligence. I could not wait the time which it would have required to state those observations, which it was impossible for me to refrain from making at some period, upon the other important particulars which that paper contained. Accordingly, I answered it immediately; and as your majesty's gracious and instant reply of last Thursday fortnight announced to me your pleasure that I should be received by your majesty on a day subsequent to the then ensuing week, I was led most confidently to assure myself that the last week would not have passed without my having received that satisfaction. I therefore determined to wait in patience, without further intrusion upon your majesty, till I might have the opportunity of guarding myself from the possibility of being misunderstood, by personally explaining to your majesty, that, whatever observations I had to make upon the paper so communicated to me on the 28th ult., and whatever complaints respecting the delay, and the many cruel circumstances which had attended the whole of the proceedings against me, and the unsatisfactory state in which they were at length left by that last communication, they were observations and complaints which affected those only, under whose advice your majesty had acted, and were not, in any degree, intended to intimate even the most distant insinuation against your majesty's justice or kindness.

That paper established the opinion, which I certainly had ever confidently entertained, but the justness, of which I had not before any document to establish, that your majesty had, from the first, deemed this proceeding a high and important matter of state, in the consideration of which your majesty had not felt yourself at liberty to trust to your own generous feelings, and to your own royal and gracious judgment. I never did believe that the cruel state of anxiety in which I had been kept ever since the delivery of my answer, (for at least sixteen weeks) could be at all attributable to your majesty; it was most unlike every thing which I had ever experienced from your majesty's condescension, feeling, and justice; and I found, from that paper, that it was to your confidential servants I was to ascribe the length of banishment from your presence, which they at last advised your majesty it was no longer necessary should be continued. I perceive, therefore, what I always believed, that it was to them, and them only, that I owed the protracted continuance of my sufferings and of my disgrace; and that your majesty, considering the whole of this proceeding to have been instituted and conducted under the grave responsibility of your majesty's servants, had not thought proper to take any step or express any opinion upon any part of it, but such as was recommended by their advice. Influenced by these sentiments, and anxious to have the opportunity of conveying them, with the overflowings of a grateful heart, to your majesty, what were my sensations of surprise, mortification, and disappointment, on the receipt of your majesty's letter of the 10th inst., your majesty may conceive, though I am utterly unable to express.

That letter announces to me, that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents which your majesty directed your cabinet to transmit to him, made a personal communication to your majesty of his intention to put them into

the hands of his lawyers, accompanied by a request, that your majesty would suspend any further steps in the business, until the Prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to your majesty the statement which he proposed to make; and it also announces to me that your majesty therefore considered it incumbent on you to defer naming a day to me, until the further result of the Prince of Wales's intention should have been made known to your majesty.

This determination of your majesty, on this request made by his royal highness, I humbly trust your majesty will permit me to entreat you, in your most gracious justice to reconsider. Your majesty, I am convinced, must have been surprised at the time, and prevailed upon by the importunity of the Prince of Wales, to think this determination necessary, or your majesty's generosity and justice would never have adopted it. And if I can satisfy your majesty of the unparalleled injustice and cruelty of this interposition of the Prince of Wales at such a time and under such circumstances, I feel the most perfect confidence that your majesty will hasten to recal it.

I should basely be wanting to my own interest and feelings, if I did not plainly state my sense of that injustice and cruelty; and if I did not most loudly complain of it. Your majesty will better perceive the just grounds of my complaint, when I retrace the course of these proceedings from their commencement.

The four noble lords, appointed by your majesty to enquire into the charges brought against me, in their report of the 14th of July last, after having stated that his royal highness the Prince of Wales had laid before him, the charge which was made against me by Lady Douglas, and the declaration in support of it, proceed in the following manner:

"In the painful situation in which his royal highness was placed by these communications, we learnt that his royal highness had adopted *the only course* which could, in our judgment, with propriety be followed. When informations such as these had been thus confidently alleged and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence, applying to other facts of the same nature, (though going to a far less extent), *one line only* could be pursued.

"Every sentiment of duty to your majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state, so nearly touching the honour of your majesty's royal family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession of your majesty's crown.

"Your majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which, on every account, demanded the most immediate investigation, your majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining, in the first instance, what degree of credit was due to the informations, and thereby enabling your majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt respecting them."

His royal highness then, pursuing, as the four lords say, *the only course* which could in their judgment, with propriety, be pursued, submitted the matter to your majesty.—Your majesty directed the enquiry by the four noble lords.—The four lords, in their report upon the case, justly acquitted me of all crime, and expressed (I will not wait now to say how unjustly) the credit which they gave, and the con-

sequence they ascribed to other matters, which they did not, however, characterize as amounting to any crime.—To this report I made my answer.—That answer, together with the whole proceedings, was referred by your majesty, to the same four noble lords, and others of your majesty's confidential servants. They advised your majesty, amongst much other matter, (which must be the subject of further observations) that there was no longer any reason why you should decline receiving me.

Your majesty will necessarily conceive that I have always looked upon my banishment from your royal presence as, in fact, a punishment, and a severe one too. I thought it sufficiently hard, that I should have been suffering that punishment, during the time that this enquiry has been pending, while I was yet only under accusation, and upon the principles of the just laws of your majesty's kingdom, entitled to be presumed to be innocent, till I was proved to be guilty. But I find this does not appear to be enough, in the opinion of the Prince of Wales. For now, when after this long enquiry, into matters which required immediate investigation, I have been acquitted of every thing which could call for my banishment from your royal presence;—after your majesty's confidential servants have thus expressly advised your majesty that they see no reason why you should any longer decline to receive me into your presence;—after your majesty had graciously notified to me your determination to receive me at an early day, his royal highness interposes the demand of a new delay; desires your majesty not to take any step; desires you not to act upon the advice which your own confidential servants have given you, that you need no longer decline seeing me; not to execute your intention and assurance, that you would receive me at an early day;—because he has laid the documents before his lawyers, and intends to prepare a further statement. And the judgment of your majesty's confidential servants is, as it were, appealed from by the Prince of Wales, (whom, from this time at least, I must be permitted to consider as assuming the character of my accuser;)—the justice due to me is to be suspended, while the judgment of your majesty's sworn servants is to be submitted to the revision of my accuser's counsel; and I, though acquitted in the opinion of your majesty's confidential servants, of all that should induce your majesty to decline seeing me, am to have that punishment, which had been inflicted upon me during the enquiry, continued after that acquittal, till a fresh statement is prepared, to be again submitted, for aught I know, to another enquiry, of as extended a continuance as that which has just terminated.

Can it be said that the proceedings of the four noble lords, or of your majesty's confidential servants, have been so lenient and considerate towards me and my feelings, as to induce a suspicion that I have been too favourably dealt with by them? and that the advice which has been given to your majesty, that your majesty need no longer decline to receive me, was hastily and partially delivered? I am confident that your majesty must see the very reverse of this to be the case—that I have every reason to complain of the inexplicable delay which so long withheld that advice. And the whole character of the observations with which they accompanied it, marks the reluctance with which they yielded to the necessity of giving it.

For your majesty's confidential servants advise your majesty, "that it is no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me into your royal presence." If this is their opinion and their advice

now, why was it not their opinion and their advice four months ago, from the date of my answer? Nay, why was it not their opinion and advice from the date even of the original report itself? For not only had they been in possession of my answer for above *sixteen weeks*, which at least furnished them with all the materials on which this advice at length was given, but further, your majesty's confidential servants are forward to state, that after having read my observations and the affidavits which they annexed to them, they agree in *the opinions* (not in any single opinion upon any particular branch of the case, but in the *opinions generally*) which were submitted to your majesty, in the original report of the four lords. If therefore (notwithstanding their concurrence in *all* the opinions contained in the report) they have nevertheless given to your majesty their advice, "that it is no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me;"—what could have prevented their offering that advice, even from the 14th of July, the date of the original report itself? Or what could have warranted the withholding of it, even for a single moment? Instead, therefore, of any trace being observable, of hasty, precipitate, and partial determination in my favour, it is impossible to interpret their conduct and their reasons together in any other sense, than as amounting to an admission of your majesty's confidential servants themselves, that I have, in consequence of their withholding that advice, been unnecessarily and cruelly banished from your royal presence, from the 14th of July to the 28th of January, including a space of above six months; and the effect of the interposition of the prince, is to prolong my sufferings, and my disgrace, under the same banishment, to a period perfectly indefinite.

The principle which will admit th effect of such interposition now, may be acted upon again; and the prince may require a further prolongation, upon fresh statements and fresh charges, kept back possibly for the purpose of being from time to time conveniently interposed, to prevent for ever the arrival of that hour, which, displaying to the world the acknowledgment of my unmerited sufferings and disgrace, may at the same time expose the true malicious and unjust quality of the proceedings which have been so long carried on against me.

This unseasonable, unjust, and cruel interposition of his royal highness, as I must ever deem it, has prevailed upon your majesty to recal to my prejudice your gracious purpose of receiving me, in pursuance of the advice of your servants. Do I then flatter myself too much, when I feel assured that my *just* entreaty, founded upon the reasons which I urge, and directed to counteract only the effect of that *unjust* interposition, will induce your majesty to return to your original determination?

Restored, however, as I should feel myself, to a state of comparative security, as well as credit, by being at length permitted, upon your majesty's gracious re-consideration of your last determination, to have access to your majesty; yet, under all the circumstances under which I should now receive that mark and confirmation of your majesty's opinion of my innocence, my character would not, I fear, stand clear in the public opinion, by the mere fact of your majesty's reception of me. This revocation of your majesty's gracious purpose has flung an additional cloud upon the whole proceeding, and the inferences drawn in the public mind, from this circumstance, so mysteriously and so perfectly inexplicable, upon any grounds which are open to their knowledge, has made, and will leave so deep an

impression to my prejudice, as scarce any thing short of a public exposure of all that has passed can possibly efface.

The publication of all these proceedings to the world, then, seems to me, under the present circumstances, (whatever reluctance I feel at such a measure, and however I regret the hard necessity which drives me to it,) to be almost the only remaining resource, for the vindication of my honour and character. The falsehood of the accusation is, by no means, all that will, by such publication, appear to the credit and clearance of my character; but the course in which the whole proceedings have been carried on, or rather delayed, by those to whom your majesty referred the consideration of them, will show that, whatever measure of justice I may have ultimately received at their hands, it is not to be suspected as arising from any merciful and indulgent consideration of me, of my feelings, or of my case.

It will be seen how my feelings had been harassed, and my character and honour exposed by the delays which have taken place in these proceedings: it will be seen that the existence of the charge against me had avowedly been known to the public from the 7th of June in the last year—I say known to the public, because it was on that day that the commissioners, acting, as I am to suppose, (for so they state in their report) under the anxious wish, that their trust should be executed with as little publicity as possible, authorized that unnecessary insult and outrage upon me, as I must always consider it, which, however intended, gave the utmost publicity and exposure to the existence of these charges—I mean the sending two attornies, armed with their lordships' warrant, to my house, to bring before them, at once, about one-half of my household for examination. The idea of privacy, after an act so much calculated, from the extraordinary nature of it, to excite the greatest attention and surprise, your majesty must feel to have been impossible and absurd; for an attempt at secrecy, mystery, and concealment, on my part, could, under such circumstances, only have been construed into the fearfulness of guilt.

It will appear also, that from that time, I heard nothing authentically upon the subject till the 11th of August, when I was furnished, by your majesty's commands, with the report. The several papers necessary to my understanding the whole of these charges, in the authentic state in which your majesty thought it proper graciously to direct that I should have them, were not delivered to me till the beginning of September. My answer to these various charges, though the whole subject of them was new to those whose advice I had recourse to, long as that answer was necessarily obliged to be, was delivered to the lord chancellor, to be forwarded to your majesty by the 6th of October; and, from the 6th of October to the 28th of January, I was kept in total ignorance of the effect of that answer. Not only will this delay be apparent, but it will be generally shown to the world how your majesty's servants had, in this important business, treated your daughter-in-law, the Princess of Wales; and what measure of justice she, a female and a stranger in your land, has experienced at their hands.

Undoubtedly against such a proceeding I have ever felt, and still feel, an almost invincible repugnance. Every sentiment of delicacy, with which a female mind must shrink from the act of bringing before the public such charges, however conscious of their scandal and falsity, and however clearly that scandal and falsity may be manifested by the answer to those

charges;—the respect still due from me, to persons employed in authority under your majesty, however little respect I may have received from them;—my duty to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales;—my regard for all the members of your august family;—my esteem, my duty, my gratitude to your majesty,—my affectionate gratitude for all the paternal kindness which I have ever experienced from you;—my anxiety, not only to avoid the risk of giving any offence or displeasure to your majesty, but also to fly from every occasion of creating the slightest sentiment of uneasiness in the mind of your majesty, whose happiness it would be the pride and pleasure of my life to consult and to promote; all these various sentiments have compelled me to submit, as long as human forbearance could endure, to all the unfavourable inferences which were through this delay daily increasing in the public mind. What the strength and efficacy of these motives have been, your majesty will do me the justice to feel, when you are pleased, graciously to consider how long I have been contented to suffer those suspicions to exist against my innocence, which the bringing before the public of my accusation and my defence to it, would so indisputably and immediately have dispelled.

The measures, however, of making these proceedings public, whatever mode I can adopt (considering especially the absolute impossibility of suffering any partial production of them, and the necessity that, if for any purpose any part of them should be produced, the whole must be brought before the public) remains surrounded with all the objections which I have enumerated; and nothing could ever have prevailed upon me, or can now even prevail upon me to have recourse to it, but an imperious sense of indispensable duty to my future safety, to my present character and honour, and to the feelings, the character, and the interests of my child. I had flattered myself, when once this long proceeding should have terminated in my reception into your majesty's presence, that that circumstance alone would have so strongly implied my innocence of all that had been brought against me, as to have been perfectly sufficient for my honour and my security; but accompanied, as it now must be, with the knowledge of the fact, that your majesty has been brought to hesitate upon its propriety, and accompanied also with the very unjustifiable observations, as they appear to me, on which I shall presently proceed to remark; and which were made by your majesty's servants, at the time when they gave you their advice to receive me; I feel myself in a situation, in which I deeply regret that I cannot rest in silence without an immediate reception into your majesty's presence; nor, indeed, with that reception, unless it be attended by other circumstances which may mark my satisfactory acquittal of the charges which have been brought against me.

It shall at no time be said, with truth, that I shrunk back from these infamous charges; that I crouched before my enemies, and courted them, by my submission, into moderation! No, I have ever boldly defied them. I have ever felt, and still feel, that, if they should think, either of pursuing these accusations, or of bringing forward any other which the wickedness of individuals may devise, to affect my honour; (since my conscience tells me, that they must be as base and groundless as those brought by Lady Douglas,) while the witnesses to the innocence of my conduct are all living, I should be able to disprove them all; and, whoever may be my accusers, to triumph over their wickedness and malice. Bnt should these accusations be

renewed; or any other be brought forward in any future time, death may, I know not how soon, remove from my innocence its best security, and deprive me of the means of my justification, and my defence.

There are therefore other measures, which I trust your majesty will think indispensable to be taken for my honour and for my security. Amongst these, I most humbly submit to your majesty my most earnest entreaties that the proceedings, including not only my first answer, and my letter of the 8th of December, but this letter also, may be directed by your majesty to be so preserved and deposited, as that they may, all of them, securely remain permanent authentic documents and memorials of this accusation and of the manner in which I met it; of my defence, as well as of the charge. That they may remain capable at any time of being resorted to, if the malice which produced the charge originally shall ever venture to renew it.

Beyond this, I am sure your majesty will think it but proper and just, that I should be restored, in every respect, to the same situation from whence the proceedings, under these false charges, have removed me. That besides being graciously received again into the bosom of your majesty's royal family, restored to my former respect and station amongst them, your majesty will be graciously pleased, either to exert your influence, with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, that I may be restored to the use of my apartment in Carlton-house, which was reserved for me, except while the apartments were undergoing repair, till the date of these proceedings; or to assign to me some apartment in one of your royal palaces. Some apartment in or near to London is indispensably necessary for my convenient attendance at the drawing-room. And if I am not restored to that at Carlton-house, I trust your majesty will graciously perceive, how reasonable it is, that I should request that some apartment should be assigned to me, suited to my dignity and situation, which may mark my reception and acknowledgment as one of your majesty's family, and from which my attendance at the drawing-room may be easy and convenient.

If these measures are taken, I should hope that they would prove satisfactory to the public mind, and that I may feel myself fully restored in public estimation, to my former character. And should they prove so satisfactory, I shall indeed be delighted to think, that no further step may, even now, appear to be necessary to my peace of mind, my security, and my honour.

But your majesty will permit me to say, that if the next week, which will make more than a month from the time of your majesty's informing me that you would receive me, should pass without my being received into your presence, and without having the assurance that these other requests of mine shall be complied with, I shall be under the painful necessity of considering them as refused. In which case, I shall feel myself compelled, however reluctantly, to give the whole of these proceedings to the world. Unless your majesty can suggest other adequate means of securing my honour and my life from the effect of the continuance or renewal of these proceedings, for the future, as well as the present. For I entreat your majesty to believe, that it is only in the absence of all other adequate means, that I can have resort to that measure. That I consider it with deep regret; that I regard it with serious apprehension, by no means so much on account of the effect it may have upon myself, as on account of the pain which it may give to your majesty, your august family, and your loyal subjects.

As far as myself am concerned, I am aware of the observations to which this publication will expose me. But I am placed in a situation in which I have the choice only of two most unpleasant alternatives. And I am perfectly confident that the imputations and the loss of character which must, under these circumstances, follow from my silence, are most injurious and unavoidable; that my silence, under such circumstances, must lead inevitably to my utter infamy and ruin. The publication, on the other hand, will expose to the world nothing, which is spoken to by any witness (whose infamy and discredit is not unanswerably exposed and established) which can, in the slightest degree, affect my character, for honour, virtue, and delicacy.

There may be circumstances disclosed, manifesting a degree of condescension and familiarity in my behaviour and conduct, which, in the opinions of many, may be considered as not sufficiently guarded, dignified, and reserved. Circumstances, however, which my foreign education, and foreign habits, misled me to think, in the humble and retired situation in which it was my fate to live, and where I had no relation, no equal, no friend to advise me, were wholly free from offence. But when they have been dragged forward, from the scenes of private life, in a grave proceeding on a charge of high treason and adultery, they seem to derive a colour and character, from the nature of the charge, which they are brought forward to support. And I cannot but believe, that they have been used for no other purpose than to afford a cover, to screen from view the injustice of that charge; that they have been taken advantage of to let down my accusers more gently, and to deprive me of that full acquittal, on the report of the four lords, which my innocence of all offence most justly entitled me to receive.

Whatever opinion, however, may be formed upon any part of my conduct, it must in justice be formed with reference to the situation in which I was placed; if I am judged of as Princess of Wales, with reference to the high rank of that station, I must be judged as Princess of Wales, banished from the prince, unprotected by the support and the countenance which belong to that station; and if I am judged of in my private character, as a married woman, I must be judged of as a wife banished from her husband, and living in a widowed seclusion from him, and retirement from the world. This last consideration leads me to recur to an expression in Mrs Lisle's examination, which describes my conduct, in the frequency and the manner of my receiving the visits of Captain Manby, though always in the presence of my ladies, as unbecoming a married woman. Upon the extreme injustice of setting up the *opinion* of one woman, as it were, in judgment upon the conduct of another, as well as of estimating the conduct of a person in my unfortunate situation, by reference to that, which might in general be expected from a married woman living happily with her husband, I have before generally remarked; but beyond these general remarks in forming any estimate of my conduct, your majesty will never forget the very peculiar circumstances and misfortunes of my situation. Your majesty will remember that I had not been much above a year in this country, when I received the following letter from his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

"*Windsor Castle, April* 30, 1796.

"Madam,—As Lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head, with as much clearness, and with as much

propriety, as the nature of the subject will admit. Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power; let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required, through Lady Cholmondeley, that, even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter, which I trust Providence in its mercy will avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction by proposing, at any period, a connection of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence, trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity.

"I am, madam, with great truth,
Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) "George P."

And that to this letter I sent the following answer:

"*May* 6, 1796.

"The avowal of your conversation with Lord Cholmondeley, neither surprises nor offends me. It merely confirmed what you have tacitly insinuated for this twelvemonth. But, after this, it would be a want of delicacy, or rather an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself.

"I should have returned no answer to your letter, if it had not been conceived in terms to make it doubtful, whether this arrangement proceeds from you or from me, and you are aware that the credit of it belongs to you alone.

"The letter which you announce to me as the last, obliges me to communicate to the king, as to my sovereign and my father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed the copy of my letter to the king. I apprize you of it, that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment no protector but his majesty, I refer myself solely to him upon this subject, and if my conduct meets his approbation, I shall be in some degree at least consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself, as Princess of Wales, enabled, by your means, to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart, I mean charity.

"It will be my duty likewise to act upon another motive, that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial.

"Do me the justice to believe that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be

"Your much devoted
"Caroline."

The date of his royal highness's letter is the 30th of April, 1796. The date of our marriage, your majesty will recollect, is the 8th day of April, in the year 1795, and that of the birth of our only child the 7th of January, 1796.

On the letter of his royal highness I offer no comment. I only entreat your majesty not to understand me to introduce it, as affording any supposed justification or excuse for the least departure from the strictest line of virtue, or the most refined delicacy. The crime which has been insinuated against me would be equally criminal and detestable; the indelicacy imputed to me would be equally odious and abominable, whatever renunciation of conjugal authority and affection the above letter of his royal highness might in any construction of it be supposed to have conveyed. Such crimes and faults derive not their guilt from the consideration of the conjugal virtues of

the individual, who may be the most injured by them, however much such virtues may aggravate their enormity. No such letter, therefore, in any construction of it, no renunciation of conjugal affection or duties, could ever palliate them. But whether conduct, free from all crime, free from all indelicacy (which I maintain to be the character of the conduct to which Mrs Lisle's observations apply), yet possibly not so measured, as a cautious wife, careful to avoid the slightest appearance of not preferring her husband to all the world, might be studious to observe, whether conduct of such description, and possibly, in such sense, not becoming a married woman, could be justly deemed, in my situation, an offence in me, I must leave to your majesty to determine.

In making that determination, however, it will not escape your majesty to consider, that the conduct which does or does not become a married woman materially depends upon what is or is not known by her to be agreeable to her husband. His pleasure and happiness ought unquestionably to be her law, and his approbation the most favourite object of her pursuit. Different characters of men require different modes of conduct in their wives; but when a wife can no longer be capable of perceiving, from time to time, what is agreeable or offensive to her husband, when her conduct can no longer contribute to his happiness, no longer hope to be rewarded by his approbation, surely to examine that conduct by the standard of what ought, in general, to be the conduct of a married woman, is altogether unreasonable and unjust.

What then is my case? Your majesty will do me the justice to remark, that in the above letter of the Prince of Wales, there is not the most distant surmise, that crime, that vice, that indelicacy of any description, gave occasion to his determination; and all the tales of infamy and discredit which the inventive malice of my enemies has brought forward on these charges, have their date years and years after the period to which I am now alluding. What then, let me repeat the question, is my case? After the receipt of the above letter, and in about two years from my arrival in this country, I had the misfortune entirely to lose the support, the countenance, the protection of my husband; I was banished, as it were, into a sort of humble retirement, at a distance from him, and almost estranged from the whole of the royal family. I had no means of having recourse, either for society or advice, to those from whom my inexperience could have best received the advantages of the one, and with whom I could most becomingly have enjoyed the comforts of the other; and if, in this retired, unassisted, unprotected state, without the check of a husband's authority, without the benefit of his advice, without the comfort and support of the society of his family, a stranger to the habits and fashions of this country, I should, in any instance, under the influence of foreign habits, and foreign education, have observed a conduct, in any degree deviating from the reserve and severity of British manners, and partaking of a condescension and familiarity which that reserve and severity would, perhaps, deem beneath the dignity of my exalted rank, I feel confident, (since such deviation will be seen to have been ever consistent with perfect innocence,) that not only your majesty's candour and indulgence, but the candour and indulgence which, notwithstanding the reserve and severity of British manners, always belong to the British public, will never visit it with severity or censure.

It remains for me now to make some remarks upon the further contents of the paper, which was transmitted to

me by the lord chancellor on the 28th ult. And I cannot, in passing, omit to remark, that that paper has neither title, date, signature, nor attestation; and unless the lord chancellor had accompanied it with a note, stating, that it was copied in his own hand from the original, which his lordship had received from your majesty, I should have been at a loss to have perceived any single mark of authenticity belonging to it; and as it is, I am wholly unable to discover what is the true character which does belong to it. It contains, indeed, the advice which your majesty directed to be delivered to me.

Considering it, therefore, wholly as their act, your majesty will excuse and pardon me, if, deeply injured as I feel myself to have been by them, I express myself with freedom upon their conduct. I may speak, perhaps, with warmth, because I am provoked by a sense of gross injustice; I shall speak certainly with firmness and with courage, because I am emboldened by a sense of conscious innocence.

Your majesty's confidential servants say, "they agree in the opinion of the four lords," and they say this, "after the fullest consideration of my observations, and of the affidavits which were affixed to them." Some of these opinions, your majesty will recollect, are, that "William Cole, Fanny Lloyd, Robert Bidgood, and Mrs Lisle, are witnesses who cannot," in the judgment of the four lords, "be suspected of any unfavourable bias;" and "whose veracity, in this respect, they had seen no ground to question;" and "that the circumstances to which they speak, particularly as relating to Captain Manby, must be credited until they are decisively contradicted." Am I then to understand your majesty's confidential servants to mean, that they agree with the four noble lords in these opinions? Am I to understand, that after having read, with the fullest consideration, the observations which I have offered to your majesty; after having seen William Cole there proved to have submitted himself, five times at least, to private, unauthorized, voluntary examination by Sir John Douglas's solicitor, for the express purpose of confirming the statement of Lady Douglas (of that Lady Douglas, whose statement and deposition they are convinced to be so malicious and false, that they propose to institute such prosecution against her as your majesty's law officers may advise, upon a reference, now at length, after six months from the detection of that malice and falsehood, intended to be made) —after having seen this William Cole submitting to such repeated voluntary examinations for such a purpose, and although he was all that time a servant on my establishment, and eating my bread, yet never once communicating to me that such examinations were going on—am I to understand, that your majesty's confidential servants agree with the four lords in thinking, that he cannot, under such circumstances, *be suspected of unfavourable bias?* That after having had pointed out to them the direct flat contradiction between the same William Cole and Fanny Lloyd, they nevertheless agree to think them both (though in direct contradiction to each other, *yet both*) witnesses, *whose veracity they see no ground to question?* After having seen Fanny Lloyd directly and positively contradicted in an assertion most injurious to my honour, by Mr Mills and Mr Edmeades, do they agree in opinion with the four noble lords, that they see *no ground to question her veracity?*—After having read the observations on Mr Bidgood's evidence; after having seen, that he had the hardihood to swear, that he believed Captain Manby slept in my house, at Southend, and to insinuate that he slept in my bed-room; after having

seen that he founded himself on this most false fact, and most foul and wicked insinuation, upon the circumstance of observing a bason and some towels where he thought they ought not to be placed; after having seen that this fact, and this insinuation, were disproved before the four noble lords themselves, by two maid-servants, who at that time lived with me at Southend, and whose duties about my person, and my apartments, must have made them acquainted with this fact, as asserted, or as insinuated, if it had happened; after having observed too, in confirmation of their testimony, that one of them mentioned the name of another female servant (who was not examined,) who had from her situation equal means of knowledge with themselves—I ask whether, after all this decisive weight of contradiction to Robert Bidgood's testimony, I am to understand your majesty's confidential servants to agree with the four noble lords in thinking, that Mr Bidgood is a witness who *cannot be suspected of unfavourable bias*, and that there is *no ground to question his veracity*? If, sire, I were to go through all the remarks of this description which occur to me to make, I should be obliged to repeat nearly all my former observations, and to make this letter as long as my original answer; but to that answer I confidently appeal, and I will venture to challenge your majesty's confidential servants to find a single impartial and honourable man, unconnected in feeling and interest with the parties, and unconnected in council, with those who have already pledged themselves to an opinion upon this subject, who will lay his hand upon his heart, and say, that these three witnesses on whom that report so mainly relies are not to be suspected of the grossest partiality, and that their veracity is not most fundamentally impeached.

Was it then noble, was it generous, was it manly, was it just, in your majesty's confidential servants, instead of fairly admitting the injustice, which had been inadvertently, and unintentionally, no doubt, done to me by the four noble lords in their report, upon the evidence of these witnesses, to state to your majesty, that they agree with these noble lords in their opinion, though they cannot, it seems, go the length of agreeing any longer to withhold the advice which restores me to your majesty's presence? And with respect to the particulars to my prejudice, remarked upon in the report as those "which justly deserve the most serious consideration, and which must be credited till decisively contradicted," instead of fairly avowing, either that there was originally no pretence for such a remark, or that, if there had been originally, yet that my answer had given that decisive contradiction which was sufficient to discredit them;—instead, I say, of acting this just, honest, and open part, to take no notice whatsoever of those contradictions, and content themselves with saying, that "none of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, could be considered as *legally* or *conclusively* established?"

They agree in the opinion, that the facts or allegations, though stated in preliminary examination, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, *must be credited till decisively contradicted, and deserve the most serious consideration*. They read, with the fullest consideration, the contradiction which I have tendered to them; they must have known, that no other sort of contradiction could, by possibility, from the nature of things, have been offered upon such subjects; they do not question the truth, they do not point out the insufficiency of the contradiction, but in loose, general, inde-

finite terms, referring to my answer, consisting, as it does, of above two hundred written pages, and coupling it with those examinations (which they admit establish nothing against an absent party,) they advise your majesty, that "there appear many circumstances of conduct which could not be regarded by your majesty without serious concern;" and that as to all the other facts and allegations, except those relative to my pregnancy and delivery, they are not to be considered as "*legally and conclusively established*," because spoken to in preliminary examinations, not carried on in the presence of the parties concerned. They do not, indeed, expressly assert, that my contradiction was not decisive or satisfactory; they do not expressly state, that they think the facts and allegations want nothing towards their legal and conclusive establishment but a re-examination in the presence of the parties interested, but they go far to imply such opinions. That those opinions are utterly untenable against the observations I have made upon the credit and character of those witnesses, I shall ever most confidently maintain; but that those observations leave their credit wholly unaffected, and did not deserve the least notice from your majesty's servants, it is impossible that any honourable man can assert, or any fair and unprejudiced mind believe.

I now proceed, sire, to observe, very shortly, upon the advice further given to your majesty as contained in the remaining part of the paper; which has represented that, both in the examinations, and even in my answer, there have appeared many circumstances of conduct which could not be regarded but with serious concern, and which have suggested the expression of a desire and expectation, that such a conduct may in future be observed by me, as may fully justify these marks of paternal regard and affection which your majesty wishes to show to all your royal family.

And here, sire, your majesty will graciously permit me to notice the hardship of the advice, which has suggested to your majesty, to convey to me this reproof. I complain not so much for what it does, as for what it does not contain; I mean the absence of all particular mention of what it is that is the object of their blame. The circumstances of conduct, which appear in these examinations, and in my answer to which they allude as those which may be supposed to justify the advice, which has led to this reproof, since your majesty's servants have not particularly mentioned them, I cannot be certain that I know. But I will venture confidently to repeat the assertion, which I have already made, that there are no circumstances of conduct, spoken to by any witness, (whose infamy and discredit are not unanswerably exposed and established,) nor any where apparent in my answer, which have the remotest approach either to crime, or to indelicacy.

For my future conduct, sire, impressed with every sense of gratitude for all former kindness, I shall be bound, unquestionably, by sentiment as well as duty, to study your majesty's pleasure. Any advice which your majesty may wish to give to me in respect of any particulars of my conduct, I shall be bound and be anxious to obey as my law. But I must trust that your majesty will point out to me the particulars, which may happen to displease you, and which you may wish to have altered. I shall be as happy, in thus feeling myself safe from blame under the benefit of your majesty's advice, as I am now in finding myself secured from danger, under the protection of your justice.

Your majesty will permit me to add one word more.

Your majesty has seen what detriment my character has, for a time, sustained, by the false and malicious statement of Lady Douglas, and by the depositions of the witnesses who were examined in support of her statement. Your majesty has seen how many enemies I have, and how little their malice has been restrained by any regard to truth in the pursuit of my ruin. Few as, it may be hoped, may be the instances of such determined and unprovoked malignity, yet I cannot flatter myself, that the world does not produce other persons who may be swayed by similar motives to similar wickedness. Whether the statement, to be prepared by the Prince of Wales, is to be confined to the old charges, or is intended to bring forward new circumstances, I cannot tell; but if any fresh attempts of the same nature shall be made by my accusers, instructed as they will have been by their miscarriage in this instance, I can hardly hope that they will not renew their charge, with an improved artifice, more skilfully directed, and with a malice inflamed rather than abated by their previous disappointment. I therefore can only appeal to your majesty's justice, in which I confidently trust, that whether these charges are to be renewed against me, either on the old or on fresh evidence; or whether new accusations, as well as new witnesses, are to be brought forward, your majesty, after the experience of these proceedings, will not suffer your royal mind to be prejudiced by *ex parte*, secret examinations, nor my character to be whispered away by insinuations, or suggestions, which I have no opportunity of meeting. If any charge, which the law will recognise, should be brought against me in an open and a legal manner, I should have no right to complain, nor any apprehension to meet it. But till I may have a full opportunity of meeting it, I trust your majesty will not suffer it to excite even a suspicion to my prejudice. I must claim the benefit of the presumption of innocence till I am proved to be guilty; for, without that presumption, against the effects of secret insinuation and *ex parte* examinations, the purest innocence can make no defence and can have no security.

Surrounded, as it is now proved that I have been for years, by domestic spies, your majesty must, I trust, feel convinced, that if I had been guilty, there could not have been wanting evidence to have proved my guilt. And that these spies have been obliged to have resort to their own invention for the support of the charge, is the strongest demonstration that the truth, undisguised, and correctly represented, could furnish them with no handle against me. And when I consider the nature and malignity of that conspiracy which, I feel confident I have completely detected and exposed, I cannot but think of that detection with the liveliest gratitude, as the special blessing of Providence, who, by confounding the machinations of my enemies, has enabled me to find, in the very excess and extravagance of their malice, in the very weapons which they fabricated and sharpened for my destruction, the sufficient guard to my innocence, and the effectual means of my justification and defence.

I trust, therefore, sire, that I may now close this long letter, in confidence that many days will not elapse before I shall receive from your majesty, that assurance that my just requests may be so completely granted, as may render it possible for me (which nothing else can) to avoid the painful disclosure to the world of all the circumstances of that injustice, and of those unmerited sufferings, which these

proceedings, in the manner in which they have been conducted, have brought upon me.

I remain, sire, &c.

(Signed) C. P.

As these observations apply not only to the official communication through the lord chancellor, of the 28th ult., but also to the private letter of your majesty, of the 12th inst., I have thought it most respectful to your majesty and your majesty's servants, to send this letter in duplicate, one part through Colonel Taylor, and the other through the lord chancellor, to your majesty.

To the king. (Signed) C. P.

Montague-house, March 5, 1807.

Sire,—When I last troubled your majesty upon my unfortunate business, I had raised my mind to hope, that I should have the happiness of hearing from your majesty, and receiving your gracious commands, to pay my duty in your royal presence, before the expiration of the last week. And when that hope was disappointed, (eagerly clinging to any idea, which offered me a prospect of being saved from the necessity of having recourse, for the vindication of my character, to the publication of the proceedings upon the enquiry into my conduct,) I thought it just possible, that the reason for my not having received your majesty's commands to that effect, might have been occasioned by the circumstance of your majesty's staying at Windsor through the whole of the week. I, therefore, determined to wait a few days longer, before I took a step, which, when once taken, could not be recalled. Having, however, now assured myself, that your majesty was in town yesterday—as I have received no command to wait upon your majesty, and no intimation of your pleasure—I am reduced to the necessity of abandoning all hope, that your majesty will comply with my humble, my earnest, and anxious requests.

Your majesty, therefore, will not be surprised to find, that the publication of the proceedings alluded to will not be withheld beyond Monday next.

As to any consequences which may arise from such publication, unpleasant or hurtful to my own feelings and interests, I may, perhaps, be properly responsible; and, in any event, have no one to complain of but myself, and those with whose advice I have acted; and whatever those consequences may be, I am fully and unalterably convinced, that they must be incalculably less than those which I should be exposed to from my silence: but as to any other consequences, unpleasant or hurtful to the feelings and interests of others, or of the public, my conscience will certainly acquit me of them;—I am confident that I have not acted impatiently, or precipitately. To avoid coming to this painful extremity, I have taken every step in my power, except that which would be abandoning my character to utter infamy, and my station and life to no uncertain danger, and, possibly, to no very distant destruction.

With every prayer, for the lengthened continuance of your majesty's health and happiness; for every possible blessing, which a gracious God can bestow upon the beloved monarch of a loyal people, and for the continued prosperity of your dominions, under your majesty's propitious reign,

I remain, &c.

To the king. (Signed) C. P.

MINUTE OF COUNCIL, April 22, 1807.

(Present)

Lord Chancellor (ELDON.)
Lord President (CAMDEN.)
Lord Privy Seal (WESTMORELAND.)
The Duke of PORTLAND.
The Earl of CHATHAM.
The Earl of BATHURST.

Viscount CASTLEREAGH.
Lord MULGRAVE.
Mr Secretary CANNING.
Lord HAWKESBURY.

Your majesty's confidential servants have, in obedience to your majesty's commands, most attentively considered the original charges and report, the minutes of evidence, and all the other papers submitted to the consideration of your majesty, on the subject of those charges against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

In the stage in which this business is brought under their consideration, they do not feel themselves called upon to give any opinion as to the proceeding itself, or to the mode of investigation in which it has been thought proper to conduct it. But adverting to the advice which is stated by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to have directed his conduct, your majesty's confidential servants are anxious to impress upon your majesty their conviction that his royal highness could not, under such advice, consistently with his public duty, have done otherwise than lay before your majesty the statement and examinations which were submitted to him upon this subject.

After the most deliberate consideration, however, of the evidence which has been brought before the commissioners, and of the previous examination, as well as of the answer and observations which have been submitted to your majesty upon them, they feel it necessary to declare their decided concurrence in the clear and unanimous opinion of the commissioners, confirmed by that of all your majesty's late confidential servants, that the two main charges alleged against her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, of pregnancy and delivery, are completely disproved; and they further submit to your majesty, their unanimous opinion, that all other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her royal highness, to which the character of criminality can be ascribed, *are satisfactorily contradicted, or rest upon evidence* of such a nature, and which was given under such circumstances, as render it, in the judgment of your majesty's confidential servants, undeserving of credit.

Your majesty's confidential servants, therefore, concurring in that part of the opinion of your late servants, as stated in their minute of the 25th of January, that there is no longer any necessity for your majesty being advised to decline receiving the princess into your royal presence, humbly submit to your majesty, that it is essentially necessary, *in justice to her royal highness, and for the honour and interests of your majesty's illustrious family*, that her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales *should be admitted, with as little delay as possible, into your majesty's royal presence, and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station, in your majesty's court and family.*

Your majesty's confidential servants also beg leave to submit to your majesty, that, considering that it may be necessary that your majesty's government should possess the means of referring to the state of this transaction, it is of the utmost importance that these documents, demonstrating the ground on which your majesty has proceeded, should be preserved in safe custody; and that for that purpose the originals, or authentic copies of all these papers, should be sealed up and deposited in the office of your majesty's principal secretary of state.

January 9, 1813.

Declaration of the Prince Regent on the American War.

The earnest endeavours of the Prince

Regent to preserve the relations of peace and amity with the United States of America having unfortunately failed, his royal highness, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, deems it proper publicly to declare the causes and origin of the war, in which the government of the United States has compelled him to engage.

No desire of conquest, or other motive of aggression, has been, or can be with any colour of reason, in this case, imputed to Great Britain: that her commercial interests were on the side of peace, if war could have been avoided without the sacrifice of her maritime rights, or without an injurious submission to France, is a truth which the American government will not deny.

His royal highness does not, however, mean to rest on the favourable presumption to which he is entitled. He is prepared, by an exposition of the circumstances which have led to the present war, to show that Great Britain has throughout acted towards the United States of America with a spirit of amity, forbearance, and conciliation; and to demonstrate the inadmissible nature of those pretensions which have at length involved the two countries in war.

It is well known to the world, that it has been the invariable object of the Ruler of France to destroy the power and independence of the British empire, as the chief obstacle to the accomplishment of his ambitious designs.

He first contemplated the possibility of assembling such a naval force in the Channel as, combined with a numerous flotilla, should enable him to disembark in England an army sufficient, in his conception, to subjugate this country; and through the conquest of Great Britain he hoped to realize his project of universal empire.

By the adoption of an enlarged and provident system of internal defence, and by the valour of his majesty's fleets and armies, this design was entirely frustrated; and the naval force of France, after the most signal defeats, was compelled to retire from the ocean.

An attempt was then made to effectuate the same purpose by other means; a system was brought forward, by which the Ruler of France hoped to annihilate the commerce of Great Britain, to shake her public credit, and to destroy her revenue; to render useless her maritime superiority, and so to avail himself of his continental ascendency, as to constitute himself, in a great measure, the arbiter of the ocean, notwithstanding the destruction of his fleets.

With this view, by the decree of Berlin, followed by that of Milan, he declared the British territories to be in a state of blockade; and that all commerce, or even correspondence, with Great Britain was prohibited. He decreed that every vessel and cargo, which had entered, or was found proceeding to a British port, or which, under any circumstances, had been visited by a British ship of war, should be a lawful prize: he declared all British goods and produce, wherever found, and however acquired, whether coming from the mother country or from her colonies, subject to confiscation: he further declared to be denationalized, the flag of all neutral ships that should be found offending against these his decrees: and he gave to this project of universal tyranny, the name of the Continental System.

For these attempts to ruin the commerce of Great Britain, by means subversive of the clearest rights of neutral nations, France endeavoured in vain to rest her justification upon the previous conduct of his majesty's government.

Under circumstances of unparalleled provocation, his majesty had abstained from any measure which the

ordinary rules of the law of nations did not fully warrant. Never was the maritime superiority of a belligerent over his enemy more complete and decided. Never was the opposite belligerent so formidably dangerous in his power, and in his policy, to the liberties of all other nations. France had already trampled so openly and systematically on the most sacred rights of neutral powers, as might well have justified the placing her out of the pale of civilized nations. Yet in this extreme case, Great Britain had so used her naval ascendency, that her enemy could find no just cause of complaint: and in order to give to these lawless decrees the appearance of retaliation, the Ruler of France was obliged to advance principles of maritime law unsanctioned by any other authority than his own arbitrary will.

The pretexts for these decrees were, first, that Great Britain had exercised the rights of war against private persons, their ships, and goods; as if the only object of legitimate hostility on the ocean were the public property of a state, or as if the edicts and the courts of France itself had not at all times enforced this right with peculiar rigour; secondly, that the British orders of blockade, instead of being confined to fortified towns, had, as France asserted, been unlawfully extended to commercial towns and ports, and to the mouths of rivers; and thirdly, that they had been applied to places and to coasts, which neither were, nor could be actually blockaded. The last of these charges is not founded on fact; whilst the others, even by the admission of the American government, are utterly groundless in point of law.

Against these decrees his majesty protested and appealed; he called upon the United States to assert their own rights, and to vindicate their independence, thus menaced and attacked; and as France had declared, that she would confiscate every vessel which should touch in Great Britain, or be visited by British ships of war, his majesty having previously issued the order of January, 1807, as an act of mitigated retaliation, was at length compelled, by the persevering violence of the enemy, and the continued acquiescence of neutral powers, to revisit upon France, in a more effectual manner, the measure of her own injustice; by declaring, in an order in council, bearing date the 11th of November, 1807, that no neutral vessel should proceed to France, or to any of the countries from which, in obedience to the dictates of France, British commerce was excluded, without first touching at a port in Great Britain, or her dependencies. At the same time his majesty intimated his readiness to repeal the orders in council, whenever France should rescind her decrees, and return to the accustomed principles of maritime warfare; and at a subsequent period, as a proof of his majesty's sincere desire to accommodate as far as possible his defensive measures to the convenience of neutral powers, the operation of the orders in council was, by an order issued in April, 1809, limited to a blockade of France, and of the countries subjected to her immediate dominion.

Systems of violence, oppression, and tyranny, can never be suppressed, or even checked, if the power against which such injustice is exercised, be debarred from the right of full and adequate retaliation: or, if the measures of the retaliating power are to be considered as matters of just offence to neutral nations, whilst the measures of original aggression and violence are to be tolerated with indifference, submission, or complacency.

The government of the United States did not fail to remonstrate against the orders in council of Great Britain, although they knew that

these orders would be revoked, if the decrees of France, which had occasioned them, were repealed, they resolved at the same moment to resist the conduct of both belligerents, instead of requiring France in the first instance to rescind her decrees. Applying most unjustly the same measure of resentment to the aggressor and to the party aggrieved, they adopted measures of commercial resistance against both—a system of resistance, which, however varied in the successive acts of embargo, non-intercourse, or non-importation, was evidently unequal to its operation, and principally levelled against the superior commerce and maritime power of Great Britain.

The same partiality towards France was observable in their negociations, as in their measures of alleged resistance.

Application was made to both belligerents for a revocation of their respective edicts; but the terms in which they were made were widely different.

Of France was required a revocation only of the Berlin and Milan decrees, although many other edicts, grossly violating the neutral commerce of the United States had been promulgated by that power. No security was demanded that the Berlin and Milan decrees, even if revoked, should not under some other form be re-established: and a direct engagement was offered, that upon such revocation, the American government would take part in the war against Great Britain, if Great Britain did not immediately rescind her orders: whereas no corresponding engagement was offered to Great Britain, of whom it was required, not only that the orders in council should be repealed, but that no others of a similar nature should be issued, and that the blockade of May, 1806, should be also abandoned. This blockade, established and enforced according to the accustomed practice, had not been objected to by the United States at the time it was issued. Its provisions were, on the contrary, represented by the American minister resident in London at the time, to have been so framed, as to afford, in his judgment, a proof of the friendly disposition of the British cabinet towards the United States.

Great Britain was thus called upon to abandon one of her most important maritime rights, by acknowledging the order of blockade in question to be one of the edicts which violated the commerce of the United States, although it had never been so considered in the previous negociations; and although the President of the United States had recently consented to abrogate the non-intercourse act, on the sole condition of the orders in council being revoked; thereby distinctly admitting these orders to be the only edicts which fell within the contemplation of the law under which he acted.

A proposition so hostile to Great Britain could not but be proportionally encouraging to the pretensions of the enemy; as by thus alleging that the blockade of May, 1806, was illegal, the American government virtually justified, so far as depended on them, the French decrees.

After this proposition had been made, the French minister for foreign affairs, if not in concert with that government, at least in conformity with its views, in a dispatch, dated the 5th of August, 1810, and addressed to the American minister resident at Paris, stated that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, and that their operation would cease from the 1st day of November following, provided his majesty would revoke his orders in council, and renounce the new principles of blockade; or that the United States would cause their rights to be respected; meaning thereby, that they

would resist the retaliatory measures of Great Britain.

Although the repeal of the French decrees thus announced was evidently contingent, either on concessions to be made by Great Britain, (concessions to which it was obvious Great Britain could not submit,) or on measures to be adopted by the United States of America, the American President at once considered the repeal as absolute. Under that pretence the non-importation act was strictly enforced against Great Britain, whilst the ships of war and merchant ships of the enemy were received into the harbours of America.

The American government, assuming the repeal of the French decrees to be absolute and effectual, most unjustly required Great Britain, in conformity to her declarations, to revoke her orders in council. The British government denied that the repeal, which was announced in the letter of the French minister for foreign affairs, was such as ought to satisfy Great Britain; and in order to ascertain the true character of the measure adopted by France, the government of the United States was called upon to produce the instrument by which the alleged repeal of the French decrees had been effected. If these decrees were really revoked, such an instrument must exist, and no satisfactory reason could be given for withholding it.

At length, on the 21st of May, 1812, and not before, the American minister in London did produce a copy, or at least what purported to be a copy, of such an instrument.

It professed to bear date the 28th of April, 1811, long subsequent to the dispatch of the French minister of foreign affairs of the 5th of August, 1810, or even the day named therein, viz. the 1st of November following, when the operation of the French decrees was to cease. The instrument expressly declared that these French decrees were repealed in consequence of the American Legislature having, by their act of the 1st of March, 1811, provided, that British ships and merchandise should be excluded from the ports and harbours of the United States.

By this instrument, the only document produced by America as a repeal of the French decrees, it appears beyond a possibility of doubt or cavil, that the French decree was conditional, as Great Britain had asserted; and not absolute or final, as had been maintained by America: that they were not repealed at the time they were stated to be repealed by the American government: that they were not repealed in conformity with a proposition, simultaneously made to both belligerents, but that in consequence of a previous act on the part of the American government, they were repealed in favour of one belligerent, to the prejudice of the other: that the American government having adopted measures restrictive upon the commerce of both belligerents, in consequence of edicts issued by both, rescinded these measures, as they affected that power which was the aggressor, whilst they put them in full operation against the party aggrieved, although the edicts of both powers continued in force; and, lastly, that they excluded the ships of war belonging to one belligerent, whilst they admitted into their ports and harbours the ships of war belonging to the other, in violation of one of the plainest and most essential duties of a neutral nation.

Although the instrument thus produced was by no means that general and unqualified revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees which Great Britain had continually demanded, and had a full right to claim; and although this instrument, under all the circumstances of its appearance at that mo-

ment, for the first time, was open to the strongest suspicions of its authenticity; yet as the minister of the United States produced it, as purporting to be a copy of the instrument of revocation, the government of Great Britain, desirous of reverting, if possible, to the ancient and accustomed principles of maritime war, determined upon revoking conditionally the orders in council. Accordingly in the month of June last, his royal highness the prince regent was pleased to declare in council, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, that the orders in council should be revoked, as far as respected the ships and property of the United States, from the 1st of August following. This revocation was to continue in force, provided the government of the United States should, within a time to be limited, repeal their restrictive laws against British commerce. His majesty's minister in America was expressly ordered to declare to the government of the United States, "that this measure had been adopted by the prince regent, in the earnest wish and hope, either that the government of France, by further relaxations of its system, might render perseverance on the part of Great Britain in retaliatory measures unnecessary, or, if this hope should prove delusive, that his majesty's government might be enabled, in the absence of all irritating and restrictive regulations on either side, to enter with the government of the United States into amicable explanations, for the purpose of ascertaining whether, if the necessity of retaliatory measures should unfortunately continue to operate, the particular measures to be acted upon by Great Britain could be rendered more acceptable to the American government, than those hitherto pursued."

In order to provide for the contingency of a declaration of war on the part of the United States, previous to the arrival in America of the said order of revocation, instructions were sent to his majesty's minister plenipotentiary accredited to the United States (the execution of which instructions, in consequence of the discontinuance of Mr Foster's functions, were at a subsequent period entrusted to Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren), directing him to propose a cessation of hostilities, should they have commenced; and further to offer a simultaneous repeal of the orders in council on the one side, and of the restrictive laws on British ships and commerce on the other.

They were also respectively empowered to acquaint the American government, in reply to any enquiries with respect to the blockade of May, 1806, whilst the British government must continue to maintain its legality, "that in point of fact this particular blockade had been discontinued for a length of time, having been merged in the general retaliatory blockade of the enemy's ports under the orders in council, and that his majesty's government had no intention of recurring to this, or to any other of the blockades of the enemy's ports, founded upon the ordinary and accustomed principles of maritime laws which were in force previous to the orders in council, without a new notice to neutral powers in the usual form."

The American government, before they received intimation of the course adopted by the British government, had, in fact, proceeded to the extreme measure of declaring war, and issuing "letters of marque," notwithstanding they were previously in possession of the report of the French minister for foreign affairs, of the 12th of March 1812, promulgating anew the Berlin and Milan decrees, as fundamental laws of the French empire, under the false and extravagant pretext, that the

monstrous principles therein contained were to be found in the treaty of Utrecht, and were therefore binding upon all states. From the penalties of this code no nation was to be exempt, which did not accept it, not only as the rule of its own conduct, but as a law, the observance of which it was also required to enforce upon Great Britain.

In a manifesto, accompanying their declaration of hostilities, in addition to the former complaints against the orders in council, a long list of grievances was brought forward; some trivial in themselves, others which had been mutually adjusted, but none of them such as were ever before alleged by the American government to be grounds for war.

As if to throw additional obstacles in the way of peace, the American congress at the same time passed a law, prohibiting all intercourse with Great Britain, of such a tenour, as deprived the executive government, according to the president's own construction of that act, of all power of restoring the relations of friendly intercourse between the two states, so far, at least, as concerned their commercial intercourse, until congress should re-assemble.

The president of the United States has, it is true, since proposed to Great Britain an armistice; not, however, on the admission, that the cause of war hitherto relied on was removed; but on condition, that Great Britain, as a preliminary step, should do away a cause of war, now brought forward as such for the first time; namely, that she should abandon the exercise of her undoubted right of search, to take from American merchant vessels British seamen, the natural-born subjects of his majesty; and this concession was required upon a mere assurance that laws would be enacted by the legislature of the United States, to prevent such seamen from entering into their service: but independent of the objection to an exclusive reliance on a foreign state, for the conservation of so vital an interest, no explanation was, or could be afforded by the agent who was charged with this overture, either as to the main principles upon which such laws were to be founded, or as to the provisions which it was proposed they should contain.

This proposition having been objected to, a second proposal was made, again offering an armistice, provided the British government would secretly stipulate to renounce the exercise of this right in a treaty of peace. An immediate and formal abandonment of its exercise, as preliminary to a cessation of hostilities, was not demanded; but his royal highness the prince regent was required, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, secretly to abandon what the former overture had proposed to him publicly to concede.

This most offensive proposition was also rejected, being accompanied, as the former had been, by other demands of the most exceptionable nature, and especially of indemnity for all American vessels detained and condemned under the orders in council, or under what were termed illegal blockades—a compliance with which demands, exclusive of all other objections, would have amounted to an absolute surrender of the rights on which those orders and blockades were founded.

Had the American government been sincere in representing the orders in council as the only subject of difference between Great Britain and the United States calculated to lead to hostilities, it might have been expected, so soon as the revocation of those orders had been officially made known to them, that they would have spontaneously recalled their "letters of marque," and manifested a disposition

immediately to restore the relations of peace and amity between the two powers.

The order in council of the 23d of June being officially communicated in America, the government of the United States saw nothing in the repeal of the orders in council, which should of itself restore peace, unless Great Britain were prepared, in the first instance, substantially to relinquish the right of impressing her own seamen, when found on board American merchant ships.

The proposal of an armistice, and of a simultaneous repeal of the restrictive measures on both sides, subsequently made by the commanding officer of his majesty's naval forces on the American coast, were received in the same hostile spirit by the government of the United States. The suspension of the practice of impressment was insisted upon, in the correspondence which passed on that occasion, as a necessary preliminary to a cessation of hostilities: negociation, it was stated, might take place without any suspension of the exercise of this right, and also without any armistice being concluded; but Great Britain was required previously to agree, without any knowledge of the adequacy of the system which could be substituted, to negociate upon the basis of accepting the legislative regulations of a foreign state, as the sole equivalent for the exercise of a right, which she has felt to be essential to the support of her maritime power.

If America, by demanding this preliminary concession, intends to deny the validity of that right, in that denial Great Britain cannot acquiesce; nor will she give countenance to such a pretension, by acceding to its suspension, much less to its abandonment, as a basis on which to treat. If the American government has devised, or conceives it can devise, regulations, which may safely be accepted by Great Britain, as a substitute for the exercise of the right in question, it is for them to bring forward such a plan for consideration. The British government has never attempted to exclude this question from amongst those on which the two states might have to negociate: it has, on the contrary, uniformly professed its readiness to receive and discuss any proposition on this subject, coming from the American government: it has never asserted any exclusive right, as to the impressment of British seamen from American vessels, which it was not prepared to acknowledge, as appertaining equally to the government of the United States, with respect to American seamen when found on board British merchant ships; but it cannot, by acceding to such a basis in the first instance, either assume, or admit that to be practicable, which, when attempted on former occasions, has always been found to be attended with great difficulties; such difficulties, as the British commissioners in 1806, expressly declared, after an attentive consideration of the suggestions brought forward by the commissioners on the part of America, they were unable to surmount.

Whilst this proposition, transmitted through the British admiral, was pending in America, another communication on the subject of an armistice was unofficially made to the British government in this country. The agent, from whom this proposition was received, acknowledged that he did not consider that he had any authority himself to sign an agreement on the part of his government. It was obvious that any stipulations entered into, in consequence of this overture, would have been binding on the British government, whilst the government of the United States would have been free to refuse or accept them, according to the circumstances of the moment. This

proposition was, therefore, necessarily declined.

After this exposition of the circumstances which preceded, and which have followed the declaration of war by the United States, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, feels himself called upon to declare the leading principles by which the conduct of Great Britain has been regulated in the transactions connected with these discussions.

His royal highness can never acknowledge any blockade whatever to be illegal, which has been duly notified, and is supported by an adequate force, merely upon the ground of its extent, or because the ports or coasts blockaded are not at the same time invested by land.

His royal highness can never admit, that neutral trade with Great Britain can be constituted a public crime, the commission of which can expose the ships of any power whatever to be denationalized.

His royal highness can never admit that Great Britain can be debarred of its right of just and necessary retaliation, through the fear of eventually affecting the interest of a neutral.

His royal highness can never admit that in the exercise of the undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching neutral merchant vessels in time of war, the impressment of British seamen, when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag.—Neither can he admit, that the taking such seamen from on board such vessels, can be considered by any neutral state as a hostile measure, or a justifiable cause of war.

There is no right more clearly established, than the right which a sovereign has to the allegiance of his subjects, more especially in time of war. Their allegiance is no optional duty, which they can decline and resume at pleasure. It is a call which they are bound to obey: it began with their birth, and can only terminate with their existence.

If a similarity of language and manners may make the exercise of this right more liable to partial mistakes, and occasional abuse, when practised towards vessels of the United States, the same circumstances make it also a right, with the exercise of which, in regard to such vessels, it is more difficult to dispense.

But if, to the practice of the United States, to harbour British seamen, be added their assumed right to transfer the allegiance of British subjects, and thus to cancel the jurisdiction of their legitimate sovereign, by acts of naturalization and certificates of citizenship, which they pretend to be as valid out of their own territory as within it, it is obvious that to abandon this ancient right of Great Britain, and to admit these novel pretensions of the United States, would be to expose to danger the very foundation of our maritime strength.

Without entering minutely into the other topics which have been brought forward by the government of the United States, it may be proper to remark, that whatever the declaration of the United States may have asserted, Great Britain never did demand, that they should force British manufactures into France; and she formally declared her willingness entirely to forego, or modify, in concert with the United States, the system, by which a commercial intercourse with the enemy had been allowed under the protection of licences; provided the United States would act towards her, and towards France, with real impartiality.

The government of America, if the differences between states are not interminable, has as little right to notice the affair of the Chesapeake. The aggression, in this instance, on the part

of a British officer was acknowledged, his conduct was disapproved, and a reparation was regularly tendered by Mr Foster on the part of his majesty, and accepted by the government of the United States.

It is not less unwarranted in its allusion to the mission of Mr Henry, a mission undertaken without the authority, or even knowledge of his majesty's government, and which Mr Foster was authorised formally and officially to disavow.

The charge of exciting the Indians to offensive measures against the United States is equally void of foundation. Before the war began, a policy the most opposite had been uniformly pursued, and proof of this was tendered by Mr Foster to the American government.

Such are the causes of war which have been put forward by the government of the United States. But the real origin of the present contest will be found in that spirit, which has long unhappily actuated the councils of the United States: their marked partiality in palliating and assisting the aggressive tyranny of France; their systematic endeavours to inflame their people against the defensive measures of Great Britain; their ungenerous conduct towards Spain, the intimate ally of Great Britain; and their unworthy desertion of the cause of other neutral nations. It is through the prevalence of such councils, that America has been associated in policy with France, and committed in war against Great Britain.

And under what conduct on the part of France has the government of the United States thus lent itself to the enemy? The contemptuous violation of the commercial treaty of the year 1800 between France and the United States; the treacherous seizure of all American vessels and cargoes in every harbour subject to the control of the French arms; the tyrannical principles of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the confiscations under them; the subsequent condemnations under the Rambouillet decree, antedated or concealed to render it the more effectual; the French commercial regulations which render the traffic of the United States with France almost illusory; the burning of their merchant ships at sea, long after the alleged repeal of the French decrees—all these acts of violence on the part of France produce from the government of the United States only such complaints as end in acquiescence and submission, or are accompanied by suggestions for enabling France to give the semblance of a legal form to her usurpations, by converting them into municipal regulations.

This disposition of the government of the United States,—this complete subserviency to the ruler of France,—this hostile temper towards Great Britain, are evident in almost every page of the official correspondence of the American with the French government.

Against this course of conduct, the real cause of the present war, the Prince Regent solemnly protests.—Whilst contending against France, in defence not only of the liberties of Great Britain, but of the world, his royal highness was entitled to look for a far different result. From their common origin,—from their common interest,—from their professed principles of freedom and independence,—the United States were the last power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abetter of French tyranny.

Disappointed in this his just expectation, the Prince Regent will still pursue the policy which the British government has so long and invariably maintained, in repelling injustice, and in supporting the general rights of na-

tions; and, under the favour of Providence, relying on the justice of his cause, and the tried loyalty and firmness of the British nation, his royal highness confidently looks forward to a successful issue of the contest in which he has thus been compelled most reluctantly to engage.

Westminster, Jan. 9, 1813.

Proclamation of the King of Prussia.

His majesty the King of Prussia, having made an offensive and defensive treaty with the Emperor Alexander, has issued the following proclamation:—

To the Public.

It is unnecessary to render an account to my good people of Germany of the motives for the war which is now commencing; they are evident to impartial Europe. Bent under the superior power of France, that peace which deprived me of half my subjects, procured us no blessings; it, on the contrary, hurt us more than war itself. The heart of our country was impoverished. The principal fortresses were occupied by the enemy; agriculture was neglected, as well as the industry of our cities, which had risen to a very high degree. Liberty of trade being interrupted, naturally closed all the sources of ease and prosperity. By the most exact observance of the stipulated treaties, I hoped to obtain an alleviation for my people, and at last to convince the French emperor that it was his own interest to have Prussia independent; but my intentions, my exertions, to attain so desirable an object, proved fruitless. Nothing but haughtiness and treachery was the result. We discovered, but rather late, that the emperor's conventions were more ruinous to us than his open wars. The moment is now arrived in which no illusion respecting our condition can remain. Brandenburghers! Prussians! Silesians! Pomeranians! Lithuanians! you know what you have suffered during the last seven years—you know what a miserable fate awaits you, if you do not honourably finish the now commencing conflict. Remember former times—remember the illustrious elector, the great Frederick—remember the benefits for which our ancestors contended under their direction. The liberty of conscience—honour—independence—trade—industry—and knowledge. Bear in mind the great example of our allies the Russians—think of the Spaniards and Portuguese; small nations have even gone to battle, for similar benefits, against a more powerful enemy, and obtained victory. Remember the Swiss and the Netherlands. Great sacrifices are required from all ranks, because our plan is great, and the number and means of our enemy not less so. You will make them sooner for your country, your king, than for a foreign regent, who, by so many examples, has proved he would take your sons and last strength for designs to which you are strangers. Confidence in God, constancy, courage, and the powerful assistance of our allies, will favour our just cause with glorious victory. But, however great the sacrifices that may be required from individuals, they will not outweigh the sacred interests for which they are given, for which we combat and must conquer, or cease to be Prussians or Germans. We are now engaged in the last decisive contest for our existence, our independence, and our property. There is no medium between an honourable peace or glorious ruin. Even this you would manfully support for your honour, because a Prussian and German cannot live without it. But we dare confidently trust, God and our firm purpose will give our just cause victory,

and with this an uninterrupted peace, and the return of happier times.

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Breslau, March 17.

AMERICA.

Message from President Madison.

Fellow citizens of the senate and of the house of representatives,

At an early day after the last session of congress, an offer was formally communicated from the Emperor of Russia of his mediation, as the common friend of the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace between them. The high character of the Emperor Alexander being a satisfactory pledge for the sincerity and impartiality of his offer, it was immediately accepted; and, as a further proof of the disposition on the part of the United States to meet their adversary in honourable experiments for terminating the war, it was determined to avoid intermediate delay, incident to the distance of the parties, by a definitive provision for the contemplated negociation. Three of our eminent citizens were accordingly commissioned, with the requisite powers, to conclude a treaty of peace, with persons clothed with like powers on the part of Great Britain. They were authorised also to enter into such conventional regulations of the commerce between the two countries as may be mutually advantageous. The two envoys, who were in the United States at the time of their appointment, have proceeded to join their colleagues already at St Petersburgh.

The envoys have received another commission, authorising them to conclude with Russia a treaty of commerce, with a view to strengthen the amicable relations, and improve the beneficial intercourse between the two countries.

The issue of this friendly intercourse of the Russian emperor, and this pacific manifestation on the part of the United States, time only can decide. That the sentiments of Great Britain towards that sovereign will have produced an acceptance of his offered mediation, must be presumed. That no adequate motives exist to prefer a continuance of war with the United States to the terms on which they are willing to close it, is certain.

The British cabinet also must be sensible, that with respect to the important question of impressment, on which the war so essentially turns, a search for or seizure of British persons or property on board neutral vessels on the high seas, is not a belligerent right derived from the law of nations; and it is obvious, that no visit or search, or use of force, for any purpose, on board the vessel of one independent power on the high seas, can, in war or peace, be sanctioned by the laws or authority of another power. It is equally obvious, that for the purpose of preserving to each state its sea-faring members, by excluding them from the vessels of the other, the mode heretofore proposed by the United States, and now enacted by them, as an article of municipal policy, cannot for a moment be compared with the mode practised by Great Britain without a conviction of its title to preference, inasmuch as the latter leaves the discrimination between the mariners of the two nations to officers exposed to unavoidable bias, as well as, by a defect of evidence, to a wrong decision under circumstances precluding, for the most part, the enforcement of controlling penalties, and where a wrong decision, besides the irreparable violation of the sacred rights of persons, might frustrate the plans and profits of entire

voyages; whereas the mode assumed by the United States guards with studied fairness and efficacy against errors in such cases, and avoids the effect of casual errors on the safety of navigation and the success of mercantile expeditions.

If the reasonableness of expectations, drawn from these considerations, could guarantee their fulfilment, a just peace would not be distant. But it becomes the wisdom of the national legislature to keep in mind the true policy, or rather the indispensable obligation of adapting its measures to the supposition that the only course to that happy event is in the vigorous employment of the resources of war. And, painful as the reflection is, this duty is particularly enforced by the spirit and manner in which the war continues to be waged by the enemy, who, uninfluenced by the unvaried examples of humanity set them, are adding to the savage fury of it on one frontier, a system of plunder and conflagration on the other, equally forbidden by respect for national character, and by the established rules of civilized warfare.

As an encouragement to persevering and invigorated exertions to bring the contest to a happy result, I have the satisfaction of being able to appeal to the auspicious progress of our arms both by land and on the water.

In continuation of the brilliant achievements of our infant navy, a signal triumph has been gained by Captain Lawrence and his companions in the Hornet sloop of war, which destroyed a British sloop of war, with a celerity so unexampled, and with a slaughter of the enemy so disproportionate to the loss in the Hornet, as to claim for the conquerors the highest praise, and the full recompense provided by congress in preceding cases. Our public ships of war, in general, as well as the private armed vessels, have continued also their activity and success against the commerce of the enemy, and by their vigilance and address have greatly frustrated the efforts of the hostile squadrons distributed along our coasts, to intercept them in returning into port and resuming their cruises. The augmentation of our naval force, as authorised at the last session of congress, is in progress. On the lakes our superiority is near at hand, were it not already established.

The events of the campaign, so far as they are known to us, furnish matter of congratulation, and shew that, under a wise organization and efficient direction, the army is destined to a glory not less brilliant than that which already encircles the navy. The attack and capture of York is, in that quarter, a presage of future and greater victories—while, on the western frontier, the issue of the late siege of Fort Meigs leaves nothing to regret but a single act of inconsiderate valour.

The sudden death of the distinguished citizen who represented the United States in France, without any special arrangements by him for such a contingency, has left us without the expected sequel to his last communications; nor has the French government taken any measures for bringing the depending negociations to a conclusion through its representative in the United States. This failure adds to delays before so unusually spun out. A successor to our departed minister has been appointed, and is ready to proceed on his mission. The course which he will pursue in fulfilling it, is that prescribed by a steady regard to the true interests of the United States, which equally avoids an abandonment of their just demands, and a connection of their features with the systems of other powers.

The receipts into the treasury, from the 1st of October to the 31st of March last, including the sums received on ac-

count of treasury notes, and of the loans authorised by the acts of the last and the preceding session of congress, have amounted to 15,412,000 dollars. The expenditures during the same period amounted to 15,920,000, and left in the treasury on the 1st of April 1,857,000 dollars. The loan of 16 millions of dollars, authorised by the act of the 8th of February last, has been contracted for. Of that sum more than a million of dollars had been paid into the treasury, prior to the 1st of April, and formed a part of the receipts as above stated. The remainder of that loan, amounting to near 15 millions of dollars, with the sum of five millions of dollars, authorised to be issued in treasury notes, and the estimated receipts from the customs and the sales of public lands, amounting to 9,000,000 dollars, and making in the whole 29,300,000 dollars, to be received during the last nine months of the present year, will be necessary to meet the expenditures already authorised, and the engagements contracted in relation to the public debt. These engagements amount, during that period, to 10,500,000 dollars, which, with near one million for the civil, miscellaneous, and diplomatic expences, both foreign and domestic, and 17,800,000 for the military and naval expenditures, including the ships of war building, and to be built, will leave a sum in the treasury at the end of the present year equal to that of the 1st of April last. A part of this sum may be considered as a resource for defraying any extraordinary expences already authorised by law, beyond the sums above mentioned; and a further resource for any emergency may be found in the sum of one million of dollars, the loan of which to the United States has been authorised by the state of Pennsylvania, but which has not yet been brought into effect.

This view of our finances, whilst it shows that due provision has been made for the expences of the current year, shows at the same time, by the limited amount of the actual revenue, and the dependence on loans, the necessity of providing more adequately for the future supplies of the treasury. This can best be done by a well-digested system of internal revenue, in aid of existing sources; which will have the effect both of abridging the amount of necessary loans, and on that account, as well as by placing the public credit on a more satisfactory basis, of improving the terms on which loans may be obtained.

The loan of sixteen millions was not contracted for a less interest than about seven and a half per cent.; and although other causes may have had an agency, it cannot be doubted that, with the advantage of a more extended and less precarious revenue, a lower rate of interest might have sufficed. A longer postponement of the advantage could not fail to have a still greater influence on future loans.

In recommending to the national legislature this resort to additional taxes, I feel great satisfaction in the assurance, that our constituents, who have already displayed so much zeal and firmness in the cause of their country, will cheerfully give other proofs of their patriotism, which it calls for. Happily no people, with local and territorial exceptions never to be wholly avoided, are more able than the people of the United States to spare for the public wants a portion of their private means, whether regard be had to the ordinary profits of industry, or the ordinary price of subsistence in our country, compared with those in any other. And in no case could stronger reasons be felt for the yielding the requisite contributions.

By rendering the public resources certain, and commensurate to the pub-

lic exigencies, the constituted authorities will be able to prosecute the war more rapidly to its proper issue; every hostile hope, founded on a calculated failure of our resources, will be cut off; and by adding to the evidence of bravery and skill, in combats on the ocean and on the land, an alacrity in supplying the treasury necessary to give them their fullest effect; and thus demonstrating to the world the public energy which our political institutions combine with the personal liberty distinguishing them, the best security will be provided against future enterprises on the rights or the peace of the nation.

The contest in which the United States are engaged, appeals for its support to every motive that can animate an uncorrupted and enlightened people, to the love of country, to the voice of liberty, to the glorious founders of their independence, to a successful vindication of its violated attributes; to the gratitude and sympathy which demands security from the most degrading wrongs, of a class of citizens who have proved so worthy of the protection of their country by their heroic zeal in its defence; and finally to the sacred obligations of transmitting entire to future generations, that precious patrimony of national rights and independence, which is held in trust by the present from the goodness of Divine Providence.

Being aware of the inconveniences to which a protracted session, at this season, would be liable, I limit the present communication to objects of primary importance. In special messages which may ensue, regard will be had to the same consideration.

JAMES MADISON.

Washington, May 25, 1813.

Convention between his Britannic Majesty and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, signed at Reichenbach, the 15th of June, 1813.

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, have spared no sacrifice, neglected no effort, to put a limit to the destructive projects of the enemy of Europe. It is at a period when Providence has manifestly favoured their arms, that their majesties, animated with the desire of restoring independence, peace, and prosperity to nations, have agreed, with a view of employing all the means in their power for the attainment of this salutary end, to adjust, by a particular convention, the nature and extent of the pecuniary succours, and the assistance which the two crowns shall mutually afford to each other during this war. Accordingly, they have appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, namely, his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, William Shaw, Viscount Cathcart, &c. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; and his majesty the emper of all the Russias, Charles Count de Nesselrode, a privy councillor, secretary of state, &c. who, after having compared and exchanged their full powers, have concluded the following articles:—

Art. I.—His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, being firmly resolved to carry on the present war with the utmost energy, engages to employ throughout, one hundred and sixty thousand effective troops of every description of force, exclusive of the garrisons of the fortresses.

Art. II.—To contribute on his part to the same end, in the most effectual and prompt manner, his majesty the king of Great Britain engages to place

at the disposal of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, for the service of the year 1813, the following sums:

Art. I. One million three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-four pounds sterling, payable in London.

Art. II.—England takes upon herself the maintenance of the Russian fleet, and the crews thereof, now in the ports of Great Britain; an expense estimated at five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Art. III.—The sum of one million three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-four pounds sterling shall be payable from month to month, in such manner as that the whole shall be discharged on the 1st of January, 1814.

Art. IV.—To supply the defficiency of specie, the want of which is daily more felt in the circulation of the continent, to combine in this important contest all the means which may secure its success, the two high contracting parties, in concert with his majesty the king of Prussia, have agreed to issue notes, payable to bearer, under the denomination of federative paper.

1. The amount of this paper-money shall not exceed the sum of five millions sterling, for which the three contracting powers are conjointly guarantees. Two-thirds of this sum are placed at the disposal of Russia, and one-third at that of Prussia.

2. The reimbursement of this sum of five millions sterling is to be made by the three powers in the following proportions, and in such manner that

England shall only take upon herself	- -	three-sixths.
Russia	- -	two-sixths.
Prussia	- -	one-sixth.

3. This reimbursement is not to take effect before the 1st day of July, 1815, or six months after the conclusion of a definitive peace.

4. The sum of five millions sterling of federative paper, so to be issued in the name of the three powers, is in no case to be applied to any other than the expences of the war, and the maintenance of the armies in activity.

5. A commission, named by the three powers, will regulate whatever relates to the distribution of this sum. The payments are to be made progressively from month to month. All that relates, however, to the form, the guarantee, the issue, appropriation, circulation, and reimbursement of this paper, is to be regulated in a still more particular manner by a special convention, the stipulations whereof shall have the same force and validity as if they had been inserted word for word in the present treaty.

Art. V.—The British government having taken upon itself the maintenance of the Russian fleet, for the sum of 500,600l. sterling, as stated in article II. his majesty the emperor of all the Russias consents, on the other hand, to the employment of his Britannic majesty of the said fleet in the European seas, in the manner he may judge the most useful to the operations against the common enemy.

Art. VI.—Although the present convention stipulates only the succours to be supplied by Great Britain during the year 1813, still, as their reciprocal engagments are to be in force as long as the present war shall last, the two high contracting parties formally promise to concert anew on the aid they are to afford each other, if, God forbid, the war should be prolonged beyond the abovementioned period; such fresh agreement being chiefly with the view of giving a greater developement to their efforts.

Art. VII.—The two high contracting parties will act in the most perfect concert with regard to military operations, and will freely communicate to each other whatever relates to their

respective policy. They above all reciprocally engage, not to negociate separately with their common enemies, to sign neither peace, truce, nor any convention whatsoever, otherwise than by mutual agreement.

Art. VIII.—Officers shall be allowed to be accredited to the generals commanding in chief the several armies in active service: they shall be at liberty to correspond with their courts, and keep them constantly informed of the military events which may have taken place, as well as of every thing relative to the operations of those armies.

Art. IX.—The present convention shall be ratified with the least possible delay.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention with their hands, and have thereunto affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at Reichenbach, the third (fifteenth) June, 1813.

(L. S.) CATHCART.

(L. S.) CHARLES COUNT DE NESSELRODE.

(L. S.) JEAN D'ANSTETT.

Convention between his Britannic Majesty and his Majesty the King of Prussia, signed at Reichenbach, the 14th of June, 1813.

Art. I.—The object of the present war being to re-establish the independence of the states oppressed by France, the two high contracting parties bind themselves in consequence to direct all their operations towards that end; and as, in order to accomplish the same, it will be essential to replace Prussia in possession of her relative power, and to prevent France from ever occupying henceforward any of the strong places in the north of Germany, or exercising any sort of influence in that quarter, his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland engages to co-operate effectually to that end. On the other hand, his majesty the king of Prussia, who, in his transactions with Russia, has already expressly reserved the rights of the house of Brunswick Lunenburgh upon Hanover, will co-operate with all his means towards the restoration of their hereditary states to that august house, and to the ducal house of Brunswick.

Art. II.—Prussia engages to maintain in the field an army of eighty thousand men, exclusive of the garrisons in the fortresses.

Art. III.—England engages to place for the year 1813, at the disposal of his Prussian majesty, 666,666 l. in monthly payments. The same engagement for five millions of federative paper as in the Russian treaty.

Arts. IV. V. and VI. as in the Russian treaty.

Art. VII.—The British navy shall co-operate, wherever it is practicable, in the defence of the Prussian states, in support of the military expeditions in aid of the common cause, and in the protection of the commerce of Prussia.

Art. VIII.—This treaty shall forthwith be communicated to Russia, Sweden, and Austria.

Art. IX.—It shall be ratified with the least possible delay.

In witness whereof, &c.

Reichenbach, the 14th June, 1813.

CHARLES STEWART.

C. A. DE HARDENBERG.

Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of all the Russias, signed at Peterswaldaw, 6th of July, 1813.

Art. I.—The vast resources of the Russian empire furnishing to his im-

perial majesty the number of troops which he has determined to employ beyond the frontiers of his empire, and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland having appropriated the greatest part of his own to the defence of Spain, and to the protection of Portugal, his Britannic majesty has consented to take upon himself the expence of the maintenance of the German Legion in the service of his imperial majesty, the strength of which shall be increased to ten thousand men.

Art. II.—So long as Great Britain shall provide for the maintenance of the said legion, the same shall remain at the absolute disposal of his Britannic majesty, to be employed on the continent of Europe. It shall be commanded by general officers of his choice.

His imperial majesty engages to provide for the recruiting of the legion, and to keep it in a state for service, and complete, as far as may be practicable, whilst the replacing the articles furnished for the equipment, arming, and the *mise en campagne* of the said legion, shall appertain to his Britannic majesty.

All the sums paid by Great Britain in virtue of the articles of the present convention, shall be employed solely for the purpose of defraying the expences and the maintenance of the German Legion in the service of his imperial majesty.

Art. III.—The high contracting parties have agreed, that the sums destined for the maintenance of she said corps shall be paid to the order of the government of his imperial majesty, at the rate of ten pounds fifteen shillings sterling per annum for each effective man of the legion, with the express reservation, that its numbers shall not exceed ten thousand men.

His Britannic majesty engages to furnish the arms, ammunition, clothing, and the articles of equipment which shall be wanting at that period when the corps shall be placed at his disposal.

Art. IV.—The subsidy fixed by the third article shall be paid every two months in advance, for the number of officers and soldiers who shall have been returned as effective in the last day of the preceding month.

Art. V.—His majesty the emperor consents to cede to his Britannic majesty, either in his character of king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or in that of the elector of Hanover, the property of the legion, if the circumstances of the war should induce his majesty the king to desire this arrangement; which, however, shall in no way invalidate the capitulations granted by his imperial majesty to the individuals who compose the legion.

Done at Peterswaldaw in Silesia, the 24th June (6th July), 1813.

CATHCART. (L.S.)

D. ALOPEUS. (L.S.)

There were also supplementary conventions by this country and Russia and Prussia, chiefly relating to bills of exchange.

Address of the Speaker of the House of Commons to the Prince Regent, and the Prince Regent's Speech.

House of Lords, Thursday, July 22.

This being the last day of the session, soon after two o'clock the Prince Regent came in state to the House, for the purpose of proroguing the parliament with a speech from the throne.

The arrival of the Prince Regent in the royal chamber, adjoining the House of Lords, was announced by a salute of twenty-one guns from the river. The side benches of the House were

previously occupied by a large assemblage of ladies of the first distinction. The Russian, Spanish, and Portuguese ambassadors, were upon a bench on the right of the throne; and a considerable number of peers and judges were also assembled in their robes.

The Prince Regent then entered, and took his seat on the throne, having the great ministers of state on each side of him, with their different emblems of office. The Earl of Liverpool, as prime minister, bore the sword of state. The Prince Regent himself was in military uniform.

The usher of the black rod then proceeded to summon the attendance of the House of Commons, the members of which, with the Speaker at their head, soon after appeared at the bar, when the Speaker addressed the Prince Regent as follows:—

May it please your Royal Highness,

We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled, have closed the supplies for the service of the present year; and, reflecting upon the various transactions which have come before us, we look back with satisfaction upon those which concern our domestic policy; entertaining also a confident hope in the prosperous issue of those great events which must regulate the settlement of our foreign relations.

Under the pressure of great burdens at home, and the still continuing necessity for great exertions, a plan has been devised and executed, which, by a judicious and skilful arrangement of our finances, will for a considerable period postpone or greatly mitigate the demands for new taxation, and at the same time materially accelerate the final extinction of the national debt.

Our reviving commerce also looks forward to those new fields of enterprise which are opening in the east; and after long and laborious discussions, we presume to hope, that (in conformity with the injunctions delivered to us by your royal highness at the commencement of the present session) such prudent and adequate arrangements have been made for the future government of the British possessions in India as will combine the greatest advantages of commerce and revenue, and provide also for the lasting prosperity and happiness of that vast and populous portion of the British empire.

But, sir, these are not the only subjects to which our attention has been called: other momentous changes have been proposed for our consideration. Adhering, however, to those laws by which the throne, the parliament, and the government of this country, are made fundamentally protestant, we have not consented to allow, that those who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction should be authorised to administer the powers and jurisdictions of this realm; —willing as we are, nevertheless, and willing as, I trust, we ever shall be to allow the largest scope to religious toleration. With respect to the established church, following the munificent example of the last parliament, we have continued the same annual grant for improving the value of its smaller benefices; and we have at the same time endeavoured to provide more effectually for the general discharge of those sacred duties of a church establishment, which by forming the moral and religious character of a brave and intelligent people, have, under the blessing of God, laid the deep foundations of British greatness.

Sir,—by your royal highness's commands, we have also turned our views to the state of our foreign relations. In the north, we rejoice to see, by the treaties laid before us, that a strong barrier is erected against the inordinate

ambition of France; and we presume to hope, that the time may now be arriving which shall set bounds to her remorseless spirit of conquest.

In our contest with America it must always be remembered, that we have not been the aggressors. Slow to take up arms against those who should have been naturally our friends by the original ties of kindred, a common language, and (as might have been hoped) by a joint zeal in the cause of national liberty; we must, nevertheless, put forth our whole strength, and maintain, with our ancient superiority upon the ocean, those maritime rights which we have resolved never to surrender.

But, sir, whatever doubts may cloud the rest of our views and hopes, it is to the peninsula that we look with sentiments of unquestionable delight and triumph: there the world has seen two gallant and independent nations rescued from the mortal grasp of fraud and tyranny by British councils and British valour; and within the space of five short years from the dawn of our successes at Roleia and Vimiera, the same illustrious commander has received the tribute of our admiration and gratitude for the brilliant passage of the Douro,—the hard-fought battles of Talavera,—the day of Busaco,—the deliverance of Portugal,—the Mural crowns won at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz,—the splendid victory of Salamanca,—and the decisive overthrow of the armies of France in their total rout at Vittoria;—deeds which have made all Europe ring with his renown, and have covered the British name with a blaze of unrivalled glory.

Sir,—That the cause of this country, and of the world, may not, at such a crisis, suffer from any want of zeal on our part to strengthen the hands of his majesty's government, we have furnished our supplies with a large and liberal aid, to enable your royal highness to take all such measures as the emergencies of public affairs may require for disappointing or defeating the enterprizes and designs of the enemy.

The bill which I have to present to your royal highness for this purpose, is intituled "An Act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of five millions for the service of Great-Britain, and for applying the sum of 200,000l. for the service of Ireland."

To which bill his majesty's faithful commons, with all humility, entreat his majesty's royal assent."

The royal assent was given in the usual form to this bill; and also to another, for the regulation of penitentiary houses.

The Prince Regent then delivered the following speech from the throne—

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I cannot release you from your attendance in parliament without repeating the expression of my deep regret at the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition.

The attention which you have paid to the public interests in the course of this session demands my warmest acknowledgments.

The splendid and signal success which has attended the commencement of the campaign in the peninsula,—the consummate skill and ability displayed by Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, in the progress of those operations which have led to the great and decisive victory obtained near Vittoria,—and the valour and intrepidity by which his majesty's forces and those of his allies have been distinguished, are as highly gratifying to my feelings as they have been to those of the whole nation. Whilst these operations have added new lustre to the British arms, they afford the best prospect of the deliverance of the peninsula from the tyranny and oppres-

sion of France; and they furnish the most decisive proof of the wisdom of that policy which has induced you, under every vicissitude of fortune, to persevere in the support of this glorious contest.

The entire failure of the French ruler in his designs against the Russian empire, and the destruction of the French army employed on that service, were followed by the advance of the Russian forces, since joined by those of Prussia, to the banks of the Elbe; and though upon the renewal of the contest the allied armies have found themselves obliged to retreat before the superior numbers collected by the enemy, their conduct during a series of severe and sanguinary conflicts has nobly upheld their military character, and commanded the admiration of Europe.

I have great satisfaction in acquainting you, that there exists between me and the courts of St Petersburgh, Berlin, and Stockholm, the most cordial union and concert: and I trust that I shall be enabled, by the aids which you have so liberally afforded, to render this union effectual for the accomplishment of the great purpose for which it has been established.

I regret the continuance of the war with the United States of America.

My desire to re-establish between the two countries those friendly relations so important to their mutual interests, continues unabated; but I cannot consent to purchase the restoration of peace by any sacrifice of the maritime rights of the British empire.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—I thank you for the liberal provision you have made for the service o the present year.

It is a great satisfaction to me to reflect that, by the regulations you have adopted for the redemption of the national debt, you have established a system which will not retard its ultimate liquidation, whilst at the same time it provides for the vigorous prosecution of the war, with the least practicable addition to the public burdens.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I entirely approve of the arrangements which you have made for the government of the British territories in India, and for the regulation of the British commerce in that part of the world. They appear to have been wisely framed, with a view to the circumstances which have occurred since this subject was last under the consideration of parliament. By these arrangements you have preserved in its essential parts that system of government which experience has proved to be not less calculated to provide for the happiness of the inhabitants of India, than to promote the interests of Great Britain; and you have judiciously extended to the subjects of the united kingdom in general, a participation in the commerce of countries within the limits of the East India company's charter, which will, I doubt not, have the effect of augmenting the resources of India, and of increasing and improving the trade and navigation of his majesty's dominions.

The tried and affectionate loyalty of his majesty's people, the constancy which they have displayed during this long and arduous war, and the patience with which they have sustained the burthens necessarily imposed upon them, have made an indelible impression on my mind. Such continued and persevering exertions, under so severe a pressure, afford the strongest proof of their attachment to that constitution which it is the first object of my life to maintain.

In the success which has recently attended his majesty's arms, I acknowledge with devout gratitude the hand of Divine Providence. The use I de-

sire to make of these, and of all other advantages, is to promote and secure the welfare of his majesty's people; and I cannot more decidedly evince this disposition, than by employing the powerful means you have placed in my hands in such a manner as may be best calculated to reduce the extravagant pretensions of the enemy, and thereby to facilitate the attainment, in conjunction with my allies, of a secure and honourable peace.

Then the lord chancellor, by the Prince Regent's command, said—

My Lords and Gentlemen,—It is the command of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on behalf of his majesty, that this parliament be prorogued to Monday the 23d day of August next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Monday the 23d day of August next.

Speech of the Prince Regent on opening Parliament, Nov. 4.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—It is with the deepest regret that I am again obliged to announce to you the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition.

The great and splendid success with which it has pleased Divine Providence to bless his majesty's arms and those of his allies, in the course of the present campaign, has been productive of the most important consequences to Europe.

In Spain, the glorious and decisive victory obtained near Vittoria has been followed by the advance of the allied forces to the Pyrenees,—by the repulse of the enemy in every attempt to regain the ground he had been compelled to abandon,—by the reduction of the fortress of Saint Sebastian,—and, finally, by the establishment of the allied army on the frontier of France.

In this series of brilliant operations, you will have observed, with the highest satisfaction, the consummate skill and ability of the great commander, Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington; and the steadiness and unconquerable spirit which have been equally displayed by the troops of the three nations, united under his command.

The termination of the armistice in the north of Europe, and the declaration of war by the Emperor of Austria against France, have been most happily accompanied by a system of cordial union and concert amongst the allied powers.

The effects of this union have even surpassed those expectations which it was calculated to excite.

By the signal victories obtained over the French armies in Silesia, at Culm, and at Denevitz, the efforts of the enemy to penetrate into the heart of the Austrian and Prussian territories were completely frustrated.

These successes have been followed by a course of operations, combined with so much judgment, and executed with such consummate prudence, vigour, and ability, as to have led in their result, not only to the discomfiture of all those projects which the ruler of France had so presumptuously announced on the renewal of the contest, but to the capture and destruction of the greater part of the army under his immediate command.

The annals of Europe afford no examples of victories more splendid and decisive than those which have been recently achieved in Saxony. Whilst the perseverance and gallantry displayed by the allied forces of every description, engaged in this conflict, have exalted to the highest pitch of glory their military character, you will, I

am persuaded, agree with me in rendering the full tribute of applause to those sovereigns and princes, who, in this sacred cause of national independence, have so eminently distinguished themselves as the leaders of the armies of their respective nations.

With such a prospect before you, I am satisfied that I may rely, with the fullest confidence, on your disposition to enable me to afford the necessary assistance in support of a system of alliance, which, originating chiefly in the magnanimous and disinterested views of the Emperor of Russia, and followed up as it has been with corresponding energy by the other allied powers, has produced a change the most momentous in the affairs of the continent.

I shall direct copies of the several conventions which I have concluded with the northern powers to be laid before you, as soon as the ratifications of them shall have been duly exchanged.

I have further to acquaint you, that I have concluded a treaty of alliance and concert with the Emperor of Austria, and that the powerful league already formed has received an important addition of force, by the declaration of Bavaria against France.

I am confident you will view with particular satisfaction the renewal of the ancient connection with the Austrian government; and that, justly appreciating all the value of the accession of that great power to the common cause, you will be prepared, as far as circumstances may permit, to enable me to support his imperial majesty in the vigorous prosecution of the contest.

The war between this country and the United States of America still continues; but I have the satisfaction to inform you, that the measures adopted by the government of the United States, for the conqu[illegible] have been frustrated by [illegible] his majesty's troops, and [illegible] and loyalty of his American [illegible]

Whilst Great Britain, in co[illegible]tion with her allies, is exerting he[illegible] most strength against the comm[illegible] enemy of independent nations, it must be matter of deep regret to find an additional enemy in the government of a country whose real interest in the issue of this great contest must be the same as our own.

It is known to the world, that this country was not the aggressor in this war.

I have not hitherto seen any disposition on the part of the government of the United States to close it, of which I could avail myself consistently with a due attention to the interests of his majesty's subjects.

I am at all times ready to enter into discussion with that government for a conciliatory adjustment of the differences between the two countries upon principles of perfect reciprocity not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law, and with the maritime rights of the British empire.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—I have directed the estimates for the services of the ensuing year to be laid before you.

I regret the necessity of so large an expenditure, which I am confident, however, you will judge to be unavoidable, when the extent and nature of our military exertions are considered.

I entertain no doubt of your readiness to furnish such supplies as the public service may require.

I congratulate you on the improved and flourishing state of our commerce; and I trust, that the abundant harvest which we have received from the bountiful hand of Providence during the present year, will afford material

sty's people, and pro- erable augmentation in nes of the revenue.

rds and Gentlemen,—I con- te you on the decided conviction h now happily prevails through- t so large a portion of Europe, that the war in which the allied powers are engaged against the ruler of France is a war of necessity; and that his views of universal dominion can only be defeated by combined and determined resistance.

The public spirit and national enthusiasm, which have successively accomplished the deliverance of the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, and of the Russian empire, now equally animate the German people; and we may justly entertain the fullest confidence that the same perseverance on their part will ultimately lead to the same glorious result.

I cannot but deplore most deeply the continuance of this extended warfare, and of all those miseries which the insatiable ambition of the ruler of France has so long inflicted upon Europe.

No disposition to require from France sacrifices of any description inconsistent with her honour or just pretensions as a nation, will ever be on my part, or on that of his majesty's allies, an obstacle to peace. The restoration of that great blessing, upon principles of justice and equality, has never ceased to be my anxious wish; but I am fully convinced that it can only be obtained by a continuance of those efforts which have already delivered so large a part of Europe from the power of the enemy.

To the firmness and perseverance of this country these advantages may, in a great degree, be ascribed. Let this consideration animate us to new exertions, and we shall thus, I trust, be enabled to bring this long and arduous contest to a conclusion which will be consistent with the independence of all the nations engaged in it, and with the general security of Europe.

Bavarian Declaration.

Every one knows the relations which for eight years past have bound Bavaria to France, as well as the motives which occasioned them, and the conscientious good faith with which the king has fulfilled their conditions.

Other states gradually joined themselves to the first ally of the French empire. This junction of sovereigns took the form of an union, of such a nature as the German history exhibits more than one example.

The act of confederation, signed at Paris on the 12th of July, 1806, although imperfect, stipulated the mutual conditions which were to exist between the confederated states and his majesty the emperor of the French, as protector of this alliance.

The foundation of this treaty on both sides was the interest of both parties; none other could exist; for otherwise this act of confederation would have been nothing else than an act of unconditional submission. Meanwhile the French government appears to have considered it absolutely in that light, because that, in every act which followed on that solemn contract, it never took retrospect in application of the fundamental points, which rendered the continental war mutual to the several contracting parties, neither the spirit nor the intent which presided in its tenor, but gave to it, at her own pleasure, the most extended explanation; she required at her own will the military forces of the confederates, for wars which were totally foreign to their interests, and the motives for which had not been previously intimated to them.

Bavaria, which considered France

as a main support for her preservation, but whose principles, nevertheless, caused her the most serious apprehensions, reflected on and fulfilled all her obligations to France with the most unbounded zeal and integrity; no sacrifice to her seemed too great to fulfil the wishes of her ally, and to contribute to the restoration of the continental peace, which was stated to be the end of these renewed undertakings.

When the Emperor Napoleon had in the year 1812, determined on the war against Russia, he demanded of Bavaria to come forward with the maximum of her contingent. This war was undeniably entirely foreign to the interests of Bavaria: it was painful to her, in every respect, to suffer her troops to march against a state which had always been her friend, and for a long time past was the guarantee of her independence, and against a sovereign who is allied to the royal family by a double tie of consanguinity. Already had the French ministry expressed themselves in the most alarming terms, and even proclaimed them in diplomatic documents in the face of Europe. These expressions aimed at nothing less than to represent the confederated states in such a light as if they were the vassals of France, and their princes bound, under punishment of felony, to do every thing which his majesty the Emperor Napoleon might think proper to require of them.

Notwithstanding the alarm which the expression of such principles must necessarily cause, Bavaria still resolved, as she had no point of law to support, to let 30,000 men of her troops join the French army. The unexampled misfortunes which distinguished that campaign are too well known to repeat the distressing portrait of it here. The whole Bavarian army, including a reinforcement of 8000 men which joined it in the month of October, was destroyed.

There are but few families that were not put into mourning by that dreadful catastrophe; and what was still more painful to his majesty's paternal heart was, that so much blood had been shed in a cause which was not the cause of the nation.—Meanwhile, preparations were made for a new campaign; and Bavaria, which was only the more stedfast to her ally in proportion to his being unfortunate, made no hesitation in replacing the weak remains of 38,000 Bavarians who had fought under the French standards, by a new division.

At the commencement of the campaign, glorious prospects crowned the so often victorious arms of the Emperor Napoleon. Germany, and all Europe believed that as the emperor now found himself in a condition wherein he might show his moderation without exposing himself to any suspicion of weakness, he would have accepted the mediation which Austria, from the most wise and generous motives, offered for the purpose of procuring peace to the world, or at least to the continent. This hope was destroyed. On the contrary, she saw the number of her enemies increase by the powerful addition of Austria to the coalition already formed against the Emperor Napoleon. From this moment the situation of Bavaria became very critical. The energy of the Bavarian government, and the attachment of a nation which considers no sacrifice heavy when it is necessary to prove their love to an adored sovereign, had already, as by a magic stroke, created a new army, which marched towards the borders on the side of Austria. But the French army, to which the emperor had given the name of "The army of observation of Bavaria." and which was assembling in the vicinity of Wurtzburg and in the surrounding territory, instead of supporting the Bavarian army, suddenly received another destination.

In this critical situation, the empe-

ror did not even deign to bestow on his most faithful ally the least consideration of means for his protection. Nay, more, the second army of observation, which was to assemble under the command of Marshal Augereau, was not formed; and its weak stem, which was still at Wurtzburg, totally disappeared.

Being in this manner totally deserted, his majesty would have infringed on the most sacred of all his duties, had he not yielded to the wishes of his faithful subjects, which were daily more loudly expressed. The sovereigns allied against France did not neglect to inform the Bavarian government of the principles of moderation which animated them, and to assure it of their formal guarantee of the integrity of the kingdom of Bavaria and its full borders as at that time, on condition of the king's joining his warlike powers to theirs, not to carry on a war of ambition or aggrandisement against France, but to secure the independence of the German nation, and of the states of which it consists, and to prevail on the Emperor Napoleon to sign an honourable peace. His majesty could not have given a refusal to such proposals without becoming criminal to his own subjects, and being blind to the sacred principles on which only their welfare can be founded. In full confidence in such open and generous offers, he has therefore resolved to accept them in their full extent, and to conclude an alliance with the three princes against the extensive views which France has shown to entertain, and for the good effects of which his majesty will use his utmost endeavours.

His majesty wishes that a speedy peace may soon restore the relations which he would not now have relinquished, had not the illegal extension of a power which grew every day more insupportable, rendered it his duty to take the steps and form the alliance he has done.

From henceforward, united in interest and sentiments with his high and powerful allies, his royal Bavarian majesty would neglect no means which may contribute to draw closer the ties that bind him to them.

Munich, Oct. 17, 1813.

Proclamation of the Spanish General Giron to the French.

Soldiers,—The war in which you are engaged is not now a national war; it is the result of the mad ambition of your emperor, who wishes to subject all nations.

Spain was in intimate friendship with France; Napoleon wished to conquer her; 400,000 warriors remain interred in her soil, and you now find yourselves, after so many labours, once more on the other side of the Pyrenees.

Prussia was almost subjected; the emperor wished to destroy her; and 100,000 Prussians are now fighting for liberty.

Russia, relying upon the good faith of her treaties, your chief wished to invade; you lost in a single campaign 300,000 soldiers, 40,000 horses, and more than 1000 cannon; and Russia's victorious armies having saved Poland, have collected upon the Elbe, and threaten France herself. See, then, how he despises the blood which you spill, and laughs at your valour.

Soldiers! Europe has determined to be free, and the armies of Napoleon cannot resist her—she fights for the peace and liberty of the world, and Frenchmen should take as much or more interest than we in the good success of this contest, equally terrible as necessary.

Soldiers! It is now requisite to put an end to this war of twenty years,

which would last as long as your emperor's life. Hasten to concur in this grand work; Spaniards invite you, and will receive you as brothers; and every French soldier, as soon as he presents himself, shall receive his daily ration and bread; the cavalry soldier shall likewise be at liberty to sell his horse; you shall be at liberty to go wherever you wish, or to enter into the foreign corps which are in our pay.

Soldiers! In a just and national war no man of honour would abandon his colours; but under existing circumstances it is better to join the cause of the whole world than combat for that of a single man, and contribute to the disgrace of your own country. Who among you can be actuated by greater honour, valour, and love for France than Moreau and Bernadotte? You know them well, and you know that they fight for our cause, which is that of justice and of glory. Haste to imitate them.

To the Inhabitants of the Italian and Illyrian Quarter of the Tyrol.

On the 8th instant there was signed at Ried, by the plenipotentiaries of his imperial and apostolic majesty, and of his majesty the king of Bavaria, a treaty of alliance and amity, by which Bavaria renounces her connection with the confederation of the Rhine, and joins all her forces to those of the allied powers, for the important objects which they have in view. In communicating this great event, which must have consequences so important and so happy, to the knowledge of the inhabitants of the Italian and Illyrian Tyrol, it is unnecessary to add, that every kind of hostility ceases towards that power, our new ally; and that it is the duty of every individual to contribute by all the means in his power to consolidate that union, the object of which must cause it to be regarded as sacred. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria will consider every violation of the Bavarian territory, and all resistance of the authorities established by his high ally, as an act of hostility against Austria, inasmuch as what is done for the one contributes to the advantage of both. There is nothing but a durable peace which can restore the welfare of the Tyrol, the former prosperous state of its commerce, and a regular civil constitution; and that peace can only be brought about by the close union of the allied courts. His imperial majesty promises peace to the inhabitants of the Italian and Illyrian Tyrol, and hopes that every one will await in tranquillity, and with confidence, the particular indemnifications to which he may have claims, and which his majesty will in no case regulate before hand. The fixing of the boundaries of each state will not in future depend on the pleasure of a single sovereign, or on the right of conquest, but on the consent of other powers. Such is the wish of my master,—the object of this war,—the spirit of the peace which must be conquered, and which shall restore their rights to every people in Europe.

(Signed) ROSCHMANNY,
Privy-councillor of his imperial majesty, &c.

Hildensheim, Nov. 6.

In virtue of a convention between his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England and the King of Prussia, the principality of Hildesheim has been re-united to the states of his royal highness in Germany. Count Walmoden has been charged to take possession of it. The ceremony took place on the 3d instant, on which occasion the following proclamation was published:—

George Prince Regent, in the name of his Majesty George Third, etc.

Inhabitants of the principality of Hildesheim!—After numerous vicissitudes, you are placed under my government. This state of things is the most natural, and the most desirable for you. Your country is surrounded on almost all sides by the German provinces of my house; your usages, your ancient constitution, resemble ours; the greater part of your territory was, at a former period, for more than a century under the sway of my ancestors. Vicinity and experience have made you acquainted with the principles upon which the Princes of Brunswick Lunenberg have been accustomed to reign. We make no distinction between our old and our new subjects; we exercise no authority over any of them but for their own good, and never for any object that is foreign to them: to conciliate their attachment and affection, by causing the welfare of all, is the constant object and best reward of our efforts. I expect of you, with entire confidence, the same fidelity which the Hanoverians, amidst the severe trials of these latter times, have constantly displayed towards his majesty in a manner the most affecting. Reckon upon my protection in the exercise of your religion, in the enjoyment of your property, your rights, and on my most zealous cares for your welfare. You also have partaken of the calamities which for many years have weighed heavily on so many of the German states: the fortune of war for some time tore you from the sway of a German monarch to subject you to foreign laws, altogether unsuitable to your country, and for the interests of a sovereign who was still more foreign to you. You have deep wounds to cicatrize; and great sacrifices, generous efforts, will still be demanded of you, in order to conquer a solid peace, and to secure public order and tranquillity, without which the general happiness can never be successfully re-established. Do not lose sight of the necessity; but place your confidence in the aid of the Almighty, who has already granted to me and my high allies victory over the common enemy; who has also delivered you, and who will assuredly bless my constant efforts to restore and augment your prosperity.

By order of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

(Signed) DECKEN.
BREMER.

Swiss Confederation.

We the landamman and the members of the diet of the cantons of the Swiss confederation.

To you, dear confederates, health.

The war which was lately far from our frontier, is approaching our country and our peaceable dwellings.

Under these circumstances it was our duty, as deputies of the confederate cantons, to maturely reflect upon the situation of the country, to address communications to the belligerent powers, and make all the ulterior dispositions which our circumstances demand.

Faithful to the principles of their forefathers, we have, in virtue of the power and orders of our government, declared with unanimous voice and will, the neutrality of the Swiss. We are going to have transmitted and notified in the most proper forms, to the sovereigns at war, the solemn act which we have just passed with this intention.

Thanks to divine protection, the observation of an exact neutrality has, during ages, guaranteed the liberty and repose of our country. Now, as in times of old, this neutrality alone belongs to our position and to our

wants. We therefore wish to establish and make it respected by all the means which are in our power; we wish to ensure the liberty and independence of Switzerland, maintain its present constitution, and preserve our territory from all attempts; such is the only end of all our efforts.

To this effect we address ourselves to you, dear confederates of all the cantons of Switzerland, in immediately giving you information of the declaration which has just been issued. The diet expects of each of you, whoever he may be, that he will act in the same views; that he will contribute by all his means to the common cause; that he will make the efforts and sacrifices which the good of the country and its preservation demand; and that thus the whole nation will shew itself worthy of their forefathers, and of the happiness which they enjoy.

May the sovereign Master of the world be pleased to accept the homage of our profound gratitude for the immense benefits which he has hitherto diffused over our country! and may the preservation, the tranquillity, and the happiness of this state, placed under his protection, be granted to our prayers!

Given at Zurich, Nov. 20.

The landamman of the Swiss, president of the diet,

J. DE REINHARD.

The chancellor of the confederation, MORRISON.

HOLLAND.

Amsterdam, Nov. 19, 1813.

The following has been published here:—

Proclamation.

The provisional government of the city of Amsterdam having experienced how it has pleased the Divine Providence to crown its endeavours for the restoration of the quiet of this great and considerable city with the best effects, so that not only every thing has been speedily, and, according to the constitution, restored to order; but that, ever since, the best founded hopes are increasing, that in future the public order will not again be disturbed. This happy and speedy result is, under God, chiefly to be ascribed to the unexpected efforts, as well of the officers and men of the armed burghers, who have acted with so much discrimination in the performance of this, to them, severe duty, as to the other official persons, who, both on horse and foot, have contributed to the preservation of the public tranquillity. They give due thanks on behalf of the whole burghership, for the services which, with the blessing of God, they have rendered, and which have put a stop to the further progress of irregularities, and thereby prevented it from suffering greater misfortunes, and at the same time obliged all others to go forward with the same ardent zeal, to assist the provisional government in securing the peace and security of all persons and effects; and they likewise admonish all the official persons in this city to refrain from all excesses, but, on the contrary, by all means to assist the activity of the national guards, and others who have joined them, for the restoration of public order; and the government will, so far as lays in its power, use its best endeavours, that the services rendered for the benefit of this city, and of its appointed official persons, shall not be forgotten; and that those who unhappily may have proved themselves guilty of excesses, shall be exemplarily punished, because the government likewise means to put those who do service as substitutes in the national guards on duty, from the moment it falls to them by their contract, in full

confidence that they will always proceed with the same zeal as they have hitherto shewn, in assisting to preserve the peace and good order.

The provisional government aforesaid, J. C. VAN DER HOOP.

Amsterdam, Nov. 18.

In the Name of his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange and Nassau.

The general government of the United Netherlands to the magistrates and governments of the Low Countries.

The general government has with pleasure learnt that peace and order have almost generally been restored in the Low Countries, notwithstanding that in some villages the authorities have absented themselves. It is therefore our pleasure, that there, and in all other places where such may be needful, the most considerable and best informed magistrates shall join hands, and constitute themselves as a provisional government, with a president empowered, in case of need, to proceed immediately in affairs of pressing necessity.

Netherlanders! our cause is safe if we continue unanimous and preserve good order; and that no one shall bring upon himself the charge of cowardice, or coldly consider only his self-preservation, to stamp for ever the Netherlands with shame in the eyes of all the nations of Europe, let none of you forget, that if the event of this combat should be doubtful, every one would nevertheless have to expect the effects of the most dreadful rage from him who envies Holland even the slightest remains of her former welfare!

Let none of us forget that if we fail our sons will by new designs be unmercifully torn from our breasts, and that the blood of our noble Netherland youth must flow to satisfy the ambition of a conqueror, because that you hesitate in rising for the liberty and independence of our dear country.

F. VAN DER D. VAN MAASDAM.
G. K. VAN HOGENDORP.

At the Hague, Nov. 17.

As the want of government for our dear state might cause the most dreadful effects of plunder and bloodshed, should it continue so for a few days, we have therefore deemed it necessary to summon the principal persons and ministers of the old government, such as it consisted of in the year 1794 and 5, to assemble with the utmost speed, and in pursuance thereof, to write to some of them to make it further more known.

The meeting is to be held in the house of M. Gysbert Karel van Hogendorp, on the Kueulerdyk, on Thursday, the 18th November, at twelve o'clock.

F. VAN DER D. VAN MAASDAM.
G. K. VAN HOGENDORP.
O. REPELAER VAN DRIEL.
J. F. VAN HOGENDORP.
F. D. CHANGUION.
F. C. DE JONGE.

PROCLAMATION.

In the Name of his Highness the Prince of Orange, the Governor General of the United Netherlands:—

Inhabitants of the Netherlands!—The moment is arrived for recovering our existence as a nation; the triumph of the allies has laid low the pride of our oppressor, and has broken in pieces his colossal power.

At this important moment every Dutchman feels his courage inflamed to throw off the yoke by which we have been so disgracefully subjugated. "National freedom and independence"

is the watch-word of every one; ORANGE! the general rallying cry of all who are proud of bearing the name of Dutchmen. We only fulfil the wishes of all our fellow-citizens, by this day, in expectation of the arrival of his highness the Prince of Orange, and in his name placing ourselves at the head of the government; we take upon us this task, confiding in the aid of Divine Providence, whose hand has been so conspicuously manifested in the present deliverance of our beloved country, but also confident of the support and assistance of every Dutchman, who, forgetting all that is past, and without distinction of rank, station, or religious persuasion, is with us determined once more to rescue that native country, which, ravaged from the fury of the elements—from Philip and Alva, was so gloriously defended by the valour of our forefathers, though it has long been covered with reproach and dishonour.

From this moment our chains are thrown off; no foreigner shall any more tyrannise over you; every tie of compulsion and slavish submission to the common enemy of Europe, to the disturber of the peace, welfare, and independence of nations, we renounce irrevocably and for ever.

In the name of his highness the Prince of Orange, and as invested for the present with the supreme government of the Netherlands, we release our fellow-citizens throughout the whole extent of the United Provinces from the oath of allegiance and fidelity taken to the emperor of the French; and we declare to be traitors to their country, rebels against the legitimate national government, and liable to all the consequent penalties, such as, under pretence of connection with the French government, or in compliance with its authority, shall obey any orders issued by it, or its agents, or maintain any correspondence with it.

All connections with our oppressors, whose contempt and reproach have kindled a flame in every countenance and heart, are from this day at an end. But this is not enough!

Dutchmen! We call upon you unanimously to rally round the standard which we have this day planted; we call upon you to take up arms like men, and drive from our confines the enemy, who still appears to dare us upon our territory, but already trembles at our union.

Let all of us think of the deeds of our brave forefathers, when, through the immortal William I., Dutch valour broke out into an inextinguishable flame; and let the noble example of the Spanish people, who, by the most persevering exertions, accompanied with infinite loss of property and blood, have broke to pieces the hated yoke, and upon whom the dawn of deliverance and victory now shines—let this example teach us that the issue cannot fail of success.

We have every where intrusted to men of tried military skill the task of a general arming; they will go before you in that danger which can only be of short duration, till the arrival of our allies for our deliverance.

Order and military discipline shall distinguish our troops; they are inseparable from true valour.

We shall take care that those who fight for us want for nothing; that our confidence never fail; that the God of Holland warreth for us!

But as, in order to carry on the operations for the arming and for the defence of the territory, the expenditure of the interior government must be very considerable, we trust that the Dutch will not be deficient in this part of their duty; the revenues of the country shall be expended for the welfare of the country. It becomes the duty of every one, therefore, zealously to discharge his obligations to the

treasury of the state, and he who would act a fraudulent part under the present circumstances, must be regarded as an enemy to his country, and shall not go unpunished.

We order all Dutch magistrates to remain at their posts, and in the discharge of their duties we place them under the protection of all patriotic Dutchmen.

We also confide in that spirit of order which has ever distinguished the Dutch people; that in all the offices of authority, and especially in those of the administration of justice, every one will continue in the faithful and uninterrupted performance of his duty, according to the laws still in force. We command and order all authorities of departments, cities, and towns, to make known and affix the present proclamation, according to the usual forms.

Done at the Hague, this 21st of Nov. 1813.

VAN DER DUIN VAN MAASDAM.
G. K. VAN HOGENDORP.

PROCLAMATION.

Amsterdam Dec. 2.

We, William Frederick, by the grace of God, Prince of Orange and Nassau, sovereign prince of the United Netherlands, &c. to all whom these presents come, greeting.

You invited me, fellow-countrymen, to bring to completion the task so gloriously begun by yourselves. I have taken upon me the maintenance of that independence which your courage restored; and I now promise to deem no difficulty, no labour, no sacrifice, too great on my part, to convince you how much I love that people, of whose affection I have received and am daily receiving such signal proofs.

But what other is our first duty at the present moment, than the complete expulsion of the French from our country, which they have so long tormented by their oppression? A portion of that country is still the prey of the enemy, whose designs and intentions the horrible events at Woerden must make manifest to us all. To arms, then, Netherlands! to arms! to avenge the defenceless victims who fell under the murderous sword of these robbers. To arms! to secure for ever your wives, your children, and your property, against all possible return of these plundering murderers. The old flag is again the point of union, and the old flag shall also again revive the ancient valour. Every moment of lethargy may prove destructive to one or other of your towns, to hundreds of your countrymen; the time is come which must prove for ever decisive of our fate:—lost, irrecoverably lost, is our country, should we slumber upon the success of our first efforts: the country is rescued for ever, when its sons, animated with one spirit, shall every where run to arms, to support the efforts of the allied deliverers of Europe:—the Netherlands united to France were involved in the infamy of France; the Netherlands united to the allies shall participate in the glory of having delivered Europe. Old men! the country and Orange call upon your sons able to bear arms, not to be sacrificed in battle in foreign climes for a foreign yoke, but to protect you and your defenceless children from plundering and murder. Wives! your husbands are summoned to arms, not to fight for a foreign tyranny, which would leave you to perish here in beggary, but to secure you in that tranquillity for which the country will make ample provision.

And you who cannot personally engage in this contest, the noblest that Providence ever opened up to us, support those who fight for you; provide,

by your ample contributions, for their arming, clothing, and subsistences—in short, for all the first necessaries of war.

Plundered treasuries, confusion and discord in the administrations, were all that your oppresors left behind them; but your patriotism shall teach the opposers themselves, that no Netherlander reckons that a sacrifice which may place his country in freedom.

I conjure you in the name of the country,—I conjure you by your past misfortunes,—enquire not what you ought to lay on the altar of your country; ask only what would be your sufferings, should the return of your tyrants, which God avert! be the effect of narrow calculations.

All the nations of Europe, whose magnanimous sacrifices have been crowned with the most glorious results, have their eyes upon you at this moment: our allies expect the putting forth of all our powers, and we must shew them that we are not backward in the noble strife.

Again I conjure you not to delay your voluntary offers for the upport of our efforts towards the deliverance of our beloved country.

Forced loans correspond not with a people who have freely taken upon themselves the direction of their own affairs; and the increase of the debts of the state is one of those extreme measures the adoption of which we must avoid. We would not commence our reign with financial regulations which might tend to shake public credit: that good faith with which our ancestors fulfilled their engagements, and which we still reckon among the virtues of the Netherlands, shall be sacredly observed by us in all measures relating to the finance of the country.

We order our commissaries general of war, finance, and for foreign affairs, to make all the necessary dispositions for forwarding the object of our paternal summons, and to submit to us the necessary regulations respecting the same.

We will and order, that the whole of the sums arising from voluntary contributions, being set apart from the general revenue of the country, shall be wholly appropriated for the purpose of the extraordinary arming; and we require this address to be read from the pulpits of the different churches, on the first ensuing Sunday, and otherwise made known in the most solemn manner.

Done at the Hague, this 6th of December, 1813, and in the first year of our reign.

(Signed) WILLIAM.

By order, VAN DER DUIN.
VAN MASDAAM.

The following is an extract of a proclamation of the Prince of Orange, dated the Hague, Dec. 6.

PROCLAMATION.

We, William Frederick, by the grace of God, Prince of Orange and Nassau, sovereign prince of the United Netherlands, &c.

When on the 2d inst. We accepted at Amsterdam the sovereignty over the United Netherlands, in consequence of the universally expressed wish of the people, we greatly wished to confirm and crown, by a solemn installation, that event, which binds us, our children, and descendants, more strongly than ever to the fate of this nation. But the circumstances in which our country is placed, and the important occupations caused thereby, have made us deem it expedient to reserve for the present the fixing of the time when that ceremony shall take place, in the pleasing expectation that in the course of a few weeks we shall be able to announce to the nation,

and also to submit to our beloved fellow-countrymen, a constitution which, under a monarchical form, which they themselves have chosen, may secure to them their morals, their personal rights and privileges,—in one word, their ancient freedom. In the meantime we cannot longer delay taking the reins of government into our hands, and charging ourselves with the immediate direction of the affairs of the state.

We therefore now declare, that the hitherto subsisting general government of the United Netherlands is this day dissolved, and that hence forward no one can or may make any order or regulation of binding force, but in as far as it has emanated from us, or from magistrates appointed and commissioned by us.

The provisional government of the city of Leyden, to the good citizens of that city.

Citizens and inhabitants of Leyden!—Scarcely had the beloved Prince of the Netherlands again set his foot on his natal soil, when from all sides the wish was expressed that William Frederick, Prince of Orange and Nassau, should stand not only in the same dignity and relation to our country as his illustrious ancestors, but that he should be sovereign prince of the Netherlands.

We heartily wished, with you, to offer his highness this great dignity in the name of all the citizens, and, like the great city of Amsterdam, to salute him as such on the day when our city should be honoured with his high presence.

But though the joyful day is not far off, the inhabitants of Leyden are too impatient to wait for it to fulfil their wish.

Well, then, citizens and inhabitants of Leyden, from this day forward we recognise the illustrious descendant of the house of Orange as sovereign prince, and respect him as such.

The unity of the sovereign power must now be the corner-stone of our political edifice—then shall our civil liberty revive, and be secured by wise laws. Then, under the government of a prince of the blood of Nassau born in our own country, educated in the principles of honour and the religion of our forefathers, who knows our wants and respects our manners, shall the re-establishment of the Netherlands be begun, and under the blessing of God be happily accomplished.

Let every one, then, take his post about our beloved prince, and promote with all his ability, the great work which he has to accomplish for our sakes. The preservation of the Netherlands, our happiness, and that of our posterity, are his sole object, and shall be secured under his government.

No sacrifices can be too great to save, to preserve our country. No foreign constraint, no domination more, no external power, shall longer drag our children to slaughter.

Let William Frederick, Prince of Orange and Nassau, sovereign of the Netherlands, be then the rallying point of all brave Netherlanders. Be he the shield against which all discord and party spirit is broken, and strengthen the bond by which union gives power; and honour and prosperity may again abide among us. The God of the Netherlands, the God of our fathers, bless, strengthen, help, and support him!

Done and resolved by the provisional government of the city of Leyden, the 8th of December 1813; and after ringing the bells, published to the people from the tower of the town-house, on the following day, by the

heads of the provisional government of the city of Leyden, Anthony Gustay, Baron of Boetzelaer; Mr Girardus Martinus Von Bommel, Johan Gael, Mr Daniel Michael Gysbers Heldewier, and Mr William Peter Kleist.

This proclamation was received with unanimous acclamations by the assembled crowds, with the cry of Long live William Frederick, Prince of Orange, sovereign prince of the Netherlands!

[A similar proclamation to the above was adopted by the citizens of Dort.]

Concordat between Napoleon and the Pope.

His majesty the emperor and king and his holiness being inclined to put an end to the differences which have arisen between them, and to provide against the difficulties that have taken place in several affairs concerning the church, have agreed upon the following articles, which are to serve as a basis for a definitive arrangement:—

Art. 1. His holiness shall exercise the pontificate in France, and in the kingdom of Italy, in the same manner, and with the same forms, as his predecessors.

2. The ambassadors, ministers, chargés d'affaires of foreign powers to the holy father, and the ambassadors, ministers, or chargés d'affaires, whom the pope may have with foreign powers, shall enjoy such immunities and privileges as are enjoyed by the members of the diplomatic body.

3. The domains which were possessed by the holy father, and, that have not been alienated, shall be exempted from all kinds of imposts, and shall be administered by his agents, or chargés d'affaires. Those which were alienated, shall be replaced, as far as to the amount of two millions of francs in revenue.

4. Within the space of six months following the notification of the usage of the nomination by the emperor to the archbishopricks and bishopricks of the empire and the kingdom of Italy, the pope shall give the canonical investiture in conformity with the concordat, and by virtue of this indulto. The preliminary information shall be given by the metropolitan. The six months being expired without the pope having accorded the investiture, the metropolitan, or in default of him, where a metropolitan is in question, the oldest bishop of the province, shall proceed to the investiture of the new bishop in such manner that a see shall never be vacant longer than one year.

5. The pope shall nominate to ten bishopricks, either in France or in Italy, which shall finally be designated by mutual consent.

6. The six suburban bishopricks shall be re-established. They shall be at the nomination of the pope. The property actually existing shall be restored, and measures shall be taken for recovering what has been sold. At the death of the bishops of Anagni and of Rieti, their dioceses shall be united to the six bishopricks before-mentioned, conformably to the agreement which will take place between his majesty and the holy father.

7. With regard to the bishops of the Roman states, who are, through circumstances, absent from their dioceses, the holy father may exercise his right of giving bishopricks *in partibus* in their favour. A pension shall be given to them equal to the revenue before enjoyed by them, and they may be replaced in the vacant sees, either in the empire or in the kingdom of Italy.

8. His majesty and his holiness will, at a proper time, concert with each other on the reduction to be made,

if it should take place, in the bishopricks of Tuscany and the country of Genoa, as likewise for the bishopricks to be established in Holland and in the Hanseatic departments.

9 The *propoganda*, the penitentiary, and the archives, shall be established in the place of the holy father's residence.

10 His majesty restores his good favour to those cardinals, bishops, priests, and lay-brethren, who have incurred his displeasure in consequence of actual events.

The holy father agrees to the above dispositions, in consideration of the actual state of the church, and in the confidence with which his majesty has inspired him, that he will grant his powerful protection to the numerous wants which religion suffers in the times we live in.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.
PIUS, P. P. VII.

Fontainbleau, Jan. 25, 1813.

Address to the People of France.

Louis XVIII, &c. &c.

The moment is at length arrived when Divine Providence appears ready to break in pieces the instrument of its wrath. The usurper of the throne of St Louis, the devastator of Europe, experiences reverses in his turn. Shall they have no other effect but that of aggravating the calamities of France; and will she not dare to overturn an odious power, no longer protected by the illusions of victory? What prejudices, or what fears, can now prevent her from throwing herself into the arms of her king, and from recognising, in the establishmant of his legitimate authority, the only pledge of union, peace, and happiness, which his promises have so often guaranteed to his oppressed subjects?

Being neither able nor inclined to obtain but by their efforts that throne which his rights and their affection can alone confirm, what wishes should be adverse to those which he has invariably entertained? what doubt can be started with regard to his paternal intentions?

The king has said in his preceding declarations, and he reiterates the assurance, that the administrative and judicial bodies shall be maintained in the plenitude of their powers; that he will preserve their places to those who at present hold them, and who shall take the oath of fidelity to him; that the tribunals, depositaries of the law, shall prohibit all prosecutions bearing relation to those unhappy times of which his return will have for ever sealed the oblivion; that, in fine, the code polluted by the name of Napoleon, but which, for the most part, contains only the ancient ordinances and customs of the realm, shall remain in force, with the exception of enactments contrary to the doctrines of religion, which, as well as the liberty of the people, has long been subjected to the caprice of the tyrant.

The senate, in which are seated some men so justly distinguished for their talents, and whom so many services may render illustrious in the eyes of France, and of posterity,—that corps whose utility and importance can never be duly appreciated till after the restoration,—can it fail to perceive the glorious destiny which summons it to become the first instrument of that great benefaction which will prove the most solid, as well as the most honourable guarantee of its existence and its prerogatives?

On the subject of property, the king, who has already announced his intention to employ the most proper means for conciliating the interests of all, perceives in the numerous settlements which have taken place between the old and the new land-holders the means of rendering those cares almost

superfluous. He engages, however, to interdict all proceedings by the tribunals, contrary to such settlements, to encourage voluntary arrangements, and, on the part of himself and his family, to set the example of all those sacrifices which may contribute to the repose of France, and the sincere union of all Frenchmen.

The king has guaranteed to the army the maintenance of the ranks, employments, pay, and appointments, which it at present enjoys. He promises also to the generals, officers, and soldiers, who shall signalize themselves in support of his cause, rewards more substantial, distinctions more honourable, than any they can receive from an usurper, always ready to disown, or even to dread their services. The king binds himself anew to abolish that pernicious conscription, which destroys the happiness of families and the hope of the country.

Such always have been, such still are, the intentions of the king. His re-establishment on the throne of his ancestors will be for France only the happy transition from the calamities of a war which tyranny perpetuates to the blessings of a solid peace, for which foreign powers can never find any security but in the word of the legitimate sovereign.

Hartwell, Feb. 1, 1813.

Copy of the Treaty of Peace concluded between Portugal and Algiers.

In the name of God, gracious and merciful!

Treaty of peace and friendship between the High and Mighty Prince, the Prince Regent of Portugal, and of the Algarves, &c. and the Right Honourable and Noble Sid Hage Aly, Bashaw of Algiers, agreed upon between the said Bashaw, with his Divan and the chief men of his states, and Jose Joaquim da Rosa Coellio, captain in the royal navy, and Fr. Jose de Santo Antonio Moura, interpreter of Arabic, and belonging to the office of secretary of state for the affairs of marine, duly authorised to conclude the said treaty in which his Britannic majesty interposed as mediator, and for that purpose Mr Wm. A'-Court, envoy extraordinary from the court of London, presented himself with the necessary powers.

Art. I.—There shall be firm, stable, and perpetual peace, between the two high contracting parties and their respective subjects; and all vessels, whether of war or commerce, may freely navigate, and with full security, according to their convenience, carrying with them for that purpose the necessary passports.

II.—All ships and subjects of Portugal may enter, depart, remain, trade, and provide themselves with every necessary in the dominions of Algiers without being placed under any embarrassment, or having any violence done them. The subjects and vessels of Algiers shall be treated in the same manner in the dominions of Portugal.

III.—The ships of war belonging to the crown of Portugal may provide themselves with stores, or any thing they stand in need of in the ports of Algiers, and at the current price, without being obliged to pay any thing additional for that privilege.

IV.—No Algerine corsair shall cruize within the distance of six miles from the coast of Portugal and its isles, or remain in those waters for the purpose of giving chase to, or visiting Portuguese ships, or those of any other nation, the enemy of Algiers, visiting the said ports for commercial purposes. Portuguese ships of war on the Algerine coast shall follow the same regulation.

V.—When any Portuguese merchant vessel is met by an Algerine cor-

sair, and the latter demands to visit her, he may do so, but not more than two persons are to go on board the said vessel to examine her papers and passports.

VI.—Foreigners of any nation, and merchandise of foreign ownership found on board any Portuguese vessel, even though belonging to a nation hostile to the regency of Algiers, shall not be seized under any pretext whatever. The same rule shall be observed by the Portuguese, in regard to the property found by them on board any Algerine vessel.

In like manner the subjects and goods belonging to either of the contracting parties found on board the vessel of an enemy of either of the said parties, shall be respected and set at liberty by both. But they are not to commence their voyage without a proper passport; and if that should happen to be mislaid, such persons shall not on that account be accounted slaves; but on the contrary, upon its being certified that they are subjects of the contracting parties, they shall be immediately set at liberty.

VII.–Should any Portuguese vessel, chased by an enemy, take refuge in any port of the dominions of Algiers, or under its fortifications, the inhabitants shall defend the said vessel, and shall not assent to its receiving any damage. In like manner, should any Portuguese vessel fall in with an enemy's ship in a port of Algiers, and wish to depart on her destination, her enemy shall not be permitted to sail from the port till twenty-four hours after her departure.—The same shall take place with regard to Algerine vessels in the harbours of Portugal.

VIII.—Should any Portuguese vessel be shipwrecked or stranded on the Algerine coast, the governor and inhabitants of the district shall treat the crew with due humanity, doing them no harm, nor permitting them to be robbed: on the contrary, they shall afford them all possible assistance in saving the said ship and cargo; the crew not being bound to pay any thing to such salvors but their salary or day's wages. The same shall hold with regard to any Algerine vessel wrecked on the Portuguese coast.

IX.—The subjects of Portugal may trade in the Algerine ports in the same manner, paying the same duties, and enjoying the same privileges as those stipulated for the English. Algerine subjects shall pay in Portugal the same duties as those paid by the English.

X.—The Portuguese consul, established in the dominions of Algiers, shall be accounted and treated like the British consul; and he, as well as his servants, and all others who may wish to practise it, shall enjoy the free exercise of his religion in his own house. The same consul may decide all controversies and disputes arising among Portuguese subjects, without the judges of the country, or any other authority, being entitled to interfere; except where a controversy arises between a Portuguese and a Moor, in which case the governor of the country may decide it in the presence of the said consul.

XI.—The said consul and his agents shall not be bound to pay any debt contracted by Portuguese subjects, unless where he has bound himself by writing under his hand and seal.

XII.—When any Portuguese dies in the dominions of Algiers, all his property shall be delivered to the Portuguese consul, in order to be remitted to the heirs of the deceased.

XIII.—Should there happen any infraction of the present treaty on the part of the subjects of Portugal, or those of Algiers, it shall not on that account be considered as dissolved; but the origin of such circumstance shall be examined into, and proper satisfaction given to the injured party.

XIV.—In case of war being declared between the two high contracting parties (which God avert), hostilities shall not be committed on either side till the expiration of six months after the said declaration. During that interval the Portuguese consul, and all subjects of that kingdom, may retire with all their property, without receiving the least hindrance; and Algerine subjects in Portugal shall do the same.

XV.—Whatever is not specified in the above articles shall be regulated by the articles of peace established between his Britannic majesty and the regency of Algiers.

XVI.—And that this treaty may be firm and durable, the two high contracting parties accept as mediator and guarantee of its observance, the King of Great Britain; in testimony of which this treaty is signed by Mr A'Court, envoy extraordinary from the court of London, jointly with the above-mentioned envoys of Portugal; and two copies of the same shall be extracted, one for the sovereign of Portugal, and the other to remain in the possession of the resident consul at Algiers.

Done at Algiers, this 14th of July, 1813, corresponding to the 15th of Jomadi Tani, in the year 1228 of the Hegira.

(Signed) Jose Joaquim da Rosa Coelho,
Wm. A'Court,
Fr. Jose de St Antonio Moura.

[Here follows the ratification of the above treaty by the lords governors of Portugal.]

Manifesto of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

The Austrian monarch has been compelled by its situation, by its various connections with the other powers, and its importance in the confederacy of European states, to engage in most of those wars which have ravaged Europe for upwards of twenty years. Throughout the progress of these arduous struggles, the same political principle has invariably directed his imperial majesty. A lover of peace from a sense of duty, from his own natural feelings, and from attachment to his people; free from all ambitious thoughts of conquest and aggrandisement; his majesty has only taken up arms when called by the urgent necessity of self-preservation, by an anxiety for the fate of contiguous states inseparable from his own, or by the danger of beholding the entire social system of Europe a prey to a lawless and absolute power. To promote justice and order has been the object of his majesty's life and reign: for these alone have Austria contended. If in these frequently unsuccessful contests deep wounds have been inflicted on the monarchy, still his majesty had the consolation to reflect, that the fate of his empire had not been hazarded upon needless and violent enterprises; that all his decisions were justifiable before God, his people, his contemporaries, and posterity.

Notwithstanding the most ample preparations, the war in 1809 would have brought the state to ruin, had not the ever-memorable bravery of the army, and the spirit of true patriotism which animated all parts of the monarchy, overbalanced every adverse occurrence. The honour of the nation, and its ancient renown in arms, were happily upheld during all the mischances of this war; but valuable provinces were lost; and Austria, by the cession of the countries bordering upon the Adriatic, was deprived of all share in maritime commerce, one of the most efficient means of promoting

her industry; a blow which would have been still more sensibly felt, had not at the same time the whole continent been closed by a general and destructive system, preventing all commercial intercourse, and almost suspending all communication amongst nations.

The progress and result of this war fully satisfied his majesty, that in the obvious impossibility of an immediate and thorough improvement of the political condition of Europe, shaken as it was to its very foundation, the exertions of individual states in their own defence, instead of setting bounds to the general distress, would only tend to destroy the little strength they still retained, would hasten the fall of the whole, and even destroy all hopes of future and better times. Under this conviction, his majesty foresaw the important advantage that would result from a peace, which, if secured for some years, might check this overgrown and hitherto irresistible power,—might allow his monarchy that repose which was indispensable to the restoration of his finances and his army, and at the same time procure to the neighbouring states a period of relaxation, which, if improved with prudence and activity, might prepare the way to more fortunate times. Such a peace, under the existing circumstances of danger, was only to be obtained by an extraordinary effort. The emperor was sensible of it, and made this effort. For the preservation of the empire, for the most sacred interests of mankind,—as a security against immeasureable evils, as a pledge of a better order of things,—his majesty sacrificed what was dearest to his heart. With this view, exalted above all common scruples, armed against every misconstruction of the moment, an alliance was formed which was intended, by a sense of some security, to reanimate the weaker and more suffering party after the miseries of an unsuccessful struggle, to incline the stronger and victorious one to a course of moderation and justice, without which the community of states can only be considered as a community of misery.

His majesty was the more justified in these expectations, because at the time of the consummation of this union, the Emperor Napoleon had attained that point of his career, when the preservation of his conquests was a more natural and desirable object than a restless struggle after new possessions. Any farther extension of his dominions, long since outstretching their proper limits, was attended with evident danger, not only to France, already sinking under the burthen of his conquests, but even to his own real personal interest. What his authority gained in extent, it necessarily lost in point of security. By an union with the most ancient imperial family in Christendom, the edifice of his greatness acquired, in the eyes of the French nation, and of the world, such an addition of strength and perfection, that any ulterior scheme of aggrandisement must only weaken and destroy its stability. What France, what Europe, what so many oppressed and despairing nations earnestly demanded of Heaven, a sound policy prescribed to the triumphant ruler as a law of self-preservation—and it was allowed to hope that so many great and united motives would prevail over the ambition of an individual.

If these flattering prospects were destroyed, it is not to be imputed to Austria. After many years' fruitless exertions, after boundless sacrifices of every description, there existed sufficient motives for the attempt to procure a better order of things by confidence and concession, when streams of blood had hitherto produced ne-

thing but misery and destruction; nor can his majesty ever regret that he has been induced to attempt it.

The year 1810 was not yet closed,—the war still raged in Spain,—the people in Germany had scarce been allowed a sufficient time to recover from the devastations of the two former wars, when, in an evil hour, the Emperor Napoleon resolved to unite a considerable portion of the north of Germany with the mass of countries which bore the name of the French empire, and to rob the ancient free commercial cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck, first of their political, and shortly after of their commercial existence, and, with that, of their means of subsistence. This violent step was adopted, without any even plausible pretensions, in contempt of every decent form, without any previous declaration, or communication with any other cabinet, under the arbitrary and futile pretext that the war with England required it.

This cruel system, which was intended to destroy the commerce of the world, at the expense of the independence, the prosperity, the rights and dignity, and in utter ruin of the public and private property of all the continental powers, was pursued with unrelenting severity, in the vain expectation of forcing a result, which, had it not fortunately proved unattainable, would have plunged Europe for a long time to come into a state of poverty, impotence, and barbarity.

The decree by which a new French dominion was established on the German coasts, under the title of a thirty-second Military Division, was in itself sufficiently calculated to raise the suspicions of the adjoining states, and it was the more alarming to them as the fore-runner of future and greater dangers. By this decree it became evident, that the system which had been created in France (although previously transgressed, yet still proclaimed to be in existence),—the system of the pretended natural limits of the French empire,—was, without any farther justification or explanation, overthrown, and even the emperor's arbitrary acts were in the same arbitrary manner annihilated. Neither the princes of the Rhenish confederacy, nor the kingdom of Westphalia, no territory, great or small, was spared, in the accomplishment of this dreadful usurpation. The boundary, drawn apparently by blind caprice, without either rule or plan, without any consideration of ancient or more recent political relations, intersected rivers and countries, cut off the middle and southern states of Germany from all connection with the German sea, passed the Elbe, separated Denmark from Germany, laid its pretensions even to the Baltic, and seemed to be rapidly approaching the line of Prussian fortresses still occupied on the Oder; and so little did this act of usurpation (however powerfully it affected all rights and possessions, all geographic, political, and military lines of demarkation) carry with it a character of determinate and complete accession of territory, that it was impossible to view it in any other light than as a forerunner of still greater usurpations, by which one half of Germany was to become a French province, and the Emperor Napoleon the absolute ruler of the continent.

To Russia and Prussia this unnatural extension of the French territory could not fail of producing the most serious alarm. The latter, surrounded on all sides, no longer capable of free action, deprived of every means of obtaining fresh strength, appeared hastening to its dissolution. Russia, already in fear for her western frontier, by the conversion of the city of Dantzic, declared a free city by the treaty of Tilsit, into a French military port,

and of a great part of Poland into a French province, could not but see, in the advance of the French dominion along the sea coast, and in the new chains prepared for Prussia, the imminent danger of her German and Polish possessions. From this moment, therefore, the rupture between France and Russia was as good as decided.

Not without deep and just anxiety did Austria observe the storm which was gathering. The scene of hostilities would in every case be contiguous to her provinces, which, owing to the necessary reform in the financial system which had cramped the restoration of her military means, were in a very defenceless state. In a higher point of view, the struggle which awaited Russia appeared still more doubtful, as it commenced under the same unfavourable conjuncture of affairs, with the same want of co-operation on the part of other powers, and with the same disproportion in their relative means, consequently was just as hopeless as all former struggles of the same nature. His majesty the emperor made every effort in his power by friendly mediation with both parties to avert the impending storm. No human judgment could at that time foresee that the period was so near at hand, when the failure of those friendly attempts should prove more injurious to the Emperor Napoleon than to his opponents. Thus, however, it was resolved by the wisdom of Providence.

When the commencement of hostilities was no longer doubtful, his majesty was compelled to have recourse to measures which, in so unnatural and dangerous a conjuncture, might combine his own security with just considerations for the real interests of neighbouring states. The system of unarmed inaction, the only neutrality which the Emperor Napoleon, according to his own declarations, would have permitted, was by every sound maxim of policy wholly inadmissible, and would at last have proved only a vain endeavour to shrink from the approaching trial. A power so important as Austria could not renounce all participation in the interests of Europe, nor could she place herself in a situation in which, equally ineffective in peace or war, she would lose her voice and influence in all great negociations, without acquiring any guarantee for the security of her own frontier. To prepare for war against France would have been, under the existing circumstances, as little consonant with equity as with prudence. The Emperor Napoleon had given his majesty no personal ground for hostile proceedings; and the prospect of attaining many beneficial results by a skilful employment of the established friendly relations, by confidential representations, and by conciliatory councils, had not yet been abandoned as hopeless. And with regard to the immediate interest of the state, such a revolution would inevitably have been attended with this consequence—that the Austrian territory would have become the first and principal seat of war, which, with its well-known deficiency of means of defence, would, in a short time, have overthrown the monarchy.

In this painful situation his majesty had no other resource than to take the field on the side of France. To take up arms for France, in the real sense of the word, would have been a measure not only in contradiction with the duties and principles of the emperor, but even with the repeated declarations of his cabinet, which had, without any reserve, disapproved of this war. On the signature of the treaty of the 12th of March, 1812, his majesty proceeded upon two distinct principles: the first, as is proved by the

words of the treaty, was to leave no means untried which might sooner or later obtain a peace; the other was to place himself internally and externally in a position, which, if it should prove impossible to effect a peace, or in case the turn of the war should render decisive measures in this part necessary, would enable Austria to act with independence, and in either of these cases to adopt the measures which a just and wise policy should prescribe. Upon this principle it was that only a fixed and comparatively small part of the army was destined to co-operate in the war; the other military resources, at that time in a state of readiness, or that still remained to be prepared, were not called for the prosecution of this war. By a kind of tacit agreement between the belligerents, the Austrian territory was even treated as neutral. The real end and views of the system adopted by his majesty, could not escape the notice of France, Russia, or any intelligent observer.

The campaign of 1812 furnished a memorable example of the failure of an undertaking supported by gigantic powers, conducted by a captain of the first rank, when, in the confidence of great military talents, he despises the rules of prudence, and outsteps the bounds of nature. The illusion of glory carried the Emperor Napoleon into the heart of the Russian empire; and a false political view of things induced him to imagine that he should dictate a peace in Moscow, should cripple the Russian power for half a century, and then return victorious. When the magnanimous constancy of the Emperor of Russia, the glorious deeds of his warriors, and the unshaken fidelity of his people, put an end to this dream, it was too late to repent it with impunity. The whole French army was scattered and destroyed: in less than four months we have seen the theatre of war transferred from the Dnieper and the Dwina to the Oder and the Elbe.

This rapid and extraordinary change of fortune was the forerunner of an important revolution in all the political relations of Europe. The confederacy of Russia, Great Britain, and Sweden, presented a point of union to all neighbouring states. Prussia, whom report had long declared determined to risk all, to prefer even the danger of immediate political destruction to the lingering sufferings of continued oppression, seized the favourable moment, and threw herself into the arms of the allies. Many greater and smaller princes of Germany were ready to do the same. Every where the ardent desires of the people anticipated the regular proceedings of their governments. Their impatience to live in independence, and under their own laws, the sentiment of wounded national honour, and the hatred of a foreign dominion, broke out in bright flames on all sides.

His majesty the emperor, too intelligent not to consider this change of affairs as the natural and necessary consequence of a previous violent convulsion, and too just to view it in anger, was solely bent upon securing, by deep-digested and well-combined measures, the real and permanent interest of the European commonwealth. Already, in the beginning of December, considerable steps had been taken on the part of the Austrian cabinet, in order to dispose the Emperor Napoleon to quiet and peaceable policy, on grounds which equally interested the world and his own welfare. These steps were from time to time renewed and enforced. Hopes had been entertained that the impression of last year's campaign,—the recollection of the fruitless sacrifice of an immense army, the severe measures of every description that would be necessary to replace

that loss,—the decided disinclination of France, and of all those nations connected with her, to a war which, without any prospect of future indemnification, exhausted and ruined her internal strength,—that, lastly, even a calm reflection on the doubtful issue of this new and highly imminent crisis would move the emperor to listen to the representations of Austria. The tone of these representations was carefully adapted to the circumstances of the times, serious as the greatness of the object, moderate as the desire of a favourable issue, and as the existing friendly relations required.

That overtures flowing from so pure a motive should be decidedly rejected, could not certainly be foreseen: but the manner in which they were received, and still more, the striking contrast between the sentiments entertained by Austria, and the whole conduct of the Emperor Napoleon, to the period of these unsuccessful endeavours for peace, soon destroyed the best hopes that were entertained. Instead of endeavouring by a moderate language to improve at least our view of the future, and to lessen the general despondency, it was on every occasion solemnly declared before the highest authorities in France, that the emperor would hear of no proposition for peace that should violate the integrity of the French empire, in the French sense of the word, or that should make any pretension to the arbitrarily incorporated provinces.

At the same time, eventual conditions, with which this self-created boundary did not even appear to have any relation, were spoken of; at one time menacing indignation, at another with bitter contempt; as if it had not been possible to declare in terms sufficiently distinct, the resolution of the Emperor Napoleon *not to make to the repose of the world even one single nominal sacrifice.*

These hostile demonstrations were attended with this particular mortification to Austria, that they placed even the invitations to peace which this cabinet, with the knowledge and apparent consent of France, made to other courts, in a false and highly disadvantageous light. The sovereigns united against France, instead of any answer to Austria's proposition for negociation, and her offers of mediation, laid before her the public declarations of the French emperor. And when, in the month of March, his majesty sent a minister to London, to invite England to share in a negociation for peace, the British ministry replied, "that they could not believe Austria still entertained any hopes of peace, when the Emperor Napoleon had in the mean time expressed sentiments which could only tend to the perpetuation of war;" a declaration, which was the more painful to his majesty, the more it was just and well founded.

Austria, however, did not, upon this account, cease to impress in more forcible and distinct terms, the necessity of peace upon the mind of the Emperor of France; directed in all her measures by this principle, that as all order and balance of power in Europe had been destroyed by the boundless superiority of France, no real peace was to be expected, unless that superiority were diminished. His majesty in the mean time adopted every necessary measure to strengthen and concentrate his armies; sensible that Austria must be prepared for war, if her mediation were not to be entirely unavailing. His imperial majesty had, moreover, been long since persuaded, that the probability of an immediate share in the war would no longer be excluded from his calculations. The actual state of things could not be continued; of this the emperor was convinced; this conviction was the main-

spring of his actions, and was naturally strengthened by the failure of any attempt to procure a peace. The result was apparent. By one means or the other, either by negociation or by force of arms, a new state of things must be effected.

The Emperor Napoleon was not only aware of the Austrian preparations for war, but even acknowledged them as necessary, and justified them in more than one instance. He had sufficient reason to believe that his majesty the emperor at so decisive a period for the fate of the whole world, would lay aside all personal and momentary feelings, would alone consult the lasting welfare of Austria, and of the countries by which she is surrounded, and would resolve nothing but what this great motive should impose as a duty upon him. The Austrian cabinet had never expressed itself in terms that would warrant any other construction; and yet the French did not only acknowledge that the Austrian mediation could only be an armed mediation, but declared, upon more than one occasion, that Austria, under existing circumstances, ought no longer to confine herself to act a secondary part, but should appear in force upon the stage, and decide as a great and independent power. Whatever the French government could either hope or fear from Austria, this acknowledgment was of itself a previous justification of the whole intended and hitherto adopted measures of his imperial majesty.

Thus far were circumstances developed, when the Emperor Napoleon left Paris, in order to make head against the progress of the allied armies. Even their enemies have done homage to the valour of the Russian and Prussian troops in the sanguinary actions of the month of May. That, however, the result of this first period of the campaign was not more favourable to them, was owing partly to the great numerical superiority of the French force, and to the universally acknowledged military talents of their leader, and partly to the political combinations by which the allied sovereigns were guided in all their undertakings. They acted under the just supposition, that a cause like the one in which they were engaged could not possibly be confined to themselves; that sooner or later, whether successful or unfortunate, every state which still preserved a shadow of independence must join their confederacy, every independent army must act with them. They, therefore, did not allow further scope to the bravery of their troops than the moment required, and preserved a considerable part of their strength for a period, when, with more extended means, they might look to the attainment of greater objects. For the same cause, and with a view to the developement of events, they consented to the armistice.

In the mean time, the retreat of the allies had for the moment given an appearance to the war, which daily became more interesting to the emperor, from the impossibility, if it should proceed, of his remaining an inactive spectator of it. The fate of the Prussian monarchy was a point which peculiarly attracted the attention of his majesty, feeling, as the emperor did, that the restoration of the Prussian monarchy was the first step towards that of the whole political system of Europe; and he viewed the danger in which she now stood as equally affecting himself. Already, in the month of April, had the Emperor Napoleon suggested to the Austrian cabinet, that he considered the dissolution of the Prussian monarchy as a natural consequence of her defection from France, and of the continuation of the war; and that it now only depended upon Austria to add the most important and most flou-

rishing of her provinces to its own state; a suggestion which shewed distinctly enough, that no means could properly be neglected to save that power. If this great object could not be obtained by a just peace, it was necessary to support Russia and Prussia by a powerful co-operation. From this natural view of things, upon which even France could no longer deceive herself, his majesty continued his preparations with unwearied activity. He quitted, in the early part of July, his residence, and proceeded to the vicinity of the scene of action, in order the more effectually to labour at the negociation for peace, which still continued to be the object of his most ardent desires; and partly to be able the more effectually to conduct the preparations for war, if no other choice should remain for Austria.

A short time before, the Emperor Napoleon had declared, "that he had proposed a congress, to be held at Prague, where plenipotentiaries from France, the United States of North America, Denmark, the King of Spain, and the other allied princes on the one hand; and on the other, plenipotentiaries of England, Russia, Prussia, the Spanish insurgents, and the other allies of this hostile mass, should meet, and lay the ground-work of a durable peace." To whom this proposition was addressed, in what manner, in what diplomatic form, through whose organ it could have been done, was perfectly unknown to the Austrian cabinet, which only was made acquainted with the circumstance through the medium of the public prints. How, too, such a project could be brought to bear—how, from the combination of such dissimilar elements, without any generally acknowledged principle, without any previously regulated plan, a negociation for peace was to be set on foot, was so little to be comprehended, that it was very allowable to consider the whole proposition rather as a play of the imagination, than as a serious invitation to the adoption of a great political measure.

Perfectly acquainted with all the obstacles to a general peace, Austria had long considered whether this distant and difficult object was not rather to be obtained progressively; and in this opinion, had expressed herself both to France, and to Russia and Prussia, upon the subject of a continental peace. Not that the Austrian court had misconceived, even for a moment, the necessity and importance of an universal peace among all the great powers of Europe, and without which there was no hope of either safety or happiness, or had imagined that the continent could exist, if the separation of England were not invariably considered as a most deadly evil! The negociation which Austria proposed, after the alarming declaration of France had nearly destroyed all hopes of England uniting her endeavours in the attempt to procure a general peace, was an essential part of the great approaching negociation, for a general and effective congress for peace: it was intended as preparatory to this, to draw up the preliminary articles of the future treaty, to pave the way by a long continental armistice to a more extended and durable negociation. Had the principle upon which Austria advanced been other than this, neither Russia nor Prussia, bound by the strongest ties to England, would certainly ever have listened to the proposals of the Austrian cabinet.

After the Russian and Prussian courts, animated by a confidence in his majesty highly flattering to the emperor, had already declared their concurrence in the proposed congress under the mediation of Austria, it became necessary to obtain the formal assent of the Emperor Napoleon, and to determine upon what principles the ne-

gociations for peace were to be carried on. For this purpose, his imperial majesty resolved towards the end of the month of June, to send his minister for foreign affairs to Dresden.—The result of the mission was, a convention concluded upon the 30th of June, accepting the mediation of his imperial majesty in the negociation of a general, and if that could not be effected, of a preliminary continental peace. The city of Prague was fixed upon for the meeting of the congress, and the 5th of July for its opening. In order to obtain a sufficient time for the negociation, it was determined by the same convention that the Emperor Napoleon should not give notice of the rupture of the armistice which was to terminate on the 20th of July, at that time existing between himself and Russia, till the 10th of August; and his majesty the emperor took upon himself to obtain a similar declaration from the Russian and Prussian courts.

The points which had been determined in Dresden, were hereupon imparted to the two courts. Although the continuation of the armistice was attended with many objections, and with much serious inconvenience to them, the desire of giving to his imperial majesty another proof of their confidence, and at the same time to satisfy the world that they would not reject any prospect of peace, however confined it might be, that they would not refuse any attempt which might prepare the way to it, overcame every consideration. The only alteration made in the convention of the 30th of June was, that the term of the opening the congress, since the final regulations could not so soon be determined, should be deferred until the 12th of July.

In the mean time his majesty, who would not as yet abandon all hopes of completely terminating, by a general peace, the sufferings of mankind, and the convulsions of the political world, had also resolved upon a new attempt with the British government. The Emperor Napoleon not only received the proposal with apparent approbation, but even voluntarily offered to expedite the business by allowing the persons to be dispatched for that purpose to England, a passage through France. When it was to be carried into effect, unexpected difficulties arose, the passports were delayed from time to time, under trifling pretexts, and at length entirely refused. This proceeding afforded a fresh and important ground for entertaining just doubts as to the sincerity of the assurances which the Emperor Napoleon had more than once publicly expressed of his disposition to peace, although several of his expressions at that particular period afforded just reason to believe that a maritime peace was the object of his most anxious solicitude.

During that interval, their majesties the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia had nominated their plenipotentiaries to the congress, and had furnished them with very decisive instructions. On the 12th of July they both arrived at Prague, as well as his majesty's minister, charged with the concerns of the mediation.

The negociations were not to be protracted beyond the 10th of August, except in the event of their assuming such a character as to induce a confident hope of a favourable result. To that day the armistice had been extended through the mediation of Austria: the political and military situation of the allied sovereigns, the condition of the countries they occupied, and their anxious wish to terminate an irksome period of uncertainty, prevented any further extension of it. With all these circumstances the Emperor Napoleon was acquainted: he well knew that the period of the negociations was necessarily defined by that

of the armistice; and he could not, moreover, conceal from himself how much his own determinations would influence the happy abridgment and successful result of the pending negociations.

It was therefore with real sorrow that his majesty soon perceived, not only that no serious step was taken by France to accelerate this great work; but, on the contrary, it appeared as if a procrastination of the negociations, and evasion of a favourable issue, had been decidedly intended. There was, indeed, a French minister at the place of congress, but without any orders to proceed to business, until the appearance of the first plenipotentiary.

The arrival of that plenipotentiary was in vain expected from day to day. Nor was it until the 21st of July that it was ascertained, that a demur which took place on settling the renewal of the armistice between the French and Russian and Prussian commissioners; an obstruction of very subordinate importance, having no influence whatever upon the congress, and which might have been very easily and speedily removed by the interference of Austria, —was made use of as the justification of this extraordinary delay. And when this last pretext was removed, it was not until the 28th of July, sixteen days after that appointed for the opening of the congress, that the first French plenipotentiary arrived.

Even in the very first days after this minister's arrival, no doubt remained as to the fate of the congress. The form in which the full powers were to be delivered, and the mutual explanations should be conducted, a point which had already been treated by all parties, became the object of a discussion which rendered all the endeavours of the mediating power abortive. The apparent insufficiency of the powers intrusted to the French negociator occasioned a silence of several days. Nor was it until the 6th of August that the minister gave in a new declaration, by which the difficulties with respect to forms were by no means removed, nor the negociation by one step brought nearer to its object. After an useless exchange of notes upon every preliminary question, the 10th of August arrived. The Prussian and Russian negociators could not exceed this term: the congress was at an end, and the resolution which Austria had to form was previously determined by the progress of this negociation, by the actual conviction of the impossibility of peace, by the no longer doubtful point of view in which his majesty examined the great question in dispute, by the principles and intentions of the allies, wherein the emperor recognised his own, and, finally, by the former positive declarations, which left no room for misconception.

Not without sincere affliction, and alone consoled by the certainty that every means to avoid the war had been exhausted, does the emperor now find himself compelled to action. For three years has his majesty laboured with unceasing perseverance to effect, by mild and conciliatory measures, real and durable peace for Austria and for Europe. All his endeavours have failed: there is now no remedy, no recourse to be had but to arms. The emperor takes them up without any personal animosity, from a painful necessity, from an irresistible duty, upon grounds which any faithful citizen of his realm, which the world, which the Emperor Napoleon himself, in a moment of tranquillity and reason, will acknowledge and justify. The necessity of the war is engraven in the heart of every Austrian, of every European, under whatsoever dominion he may live, in such legible characters, that no art is necessary to distinguish them. The nation and the army will do their duty. An union established by com-

mon necessity, and by the mutual interest of every power that is in arms for its independence, will give due weight to our exertions, and the result, with the assistance of Heaven, will be such as must fulfil the just expectations of every friend of order and of peace.

Treaty of Amity, and of Defensive Alliance, between the Courts of Vienna and St Petersburgh, concluded at Toeplitz, the 9th of Sept. (August 28), 1813.

We, Francis I. by Divine Clemency, Emperor of Austria; King of Jerusalem, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Gallicia, and Lodomiria; Archduke of Austria; Duke of Lorraine, Wurtzburg, and Franconia; Great Prince of Transylvania; Margrave of Moravia; Duke of Styria, Carinthia, Upper and Lower Silesia; Count of Hapsburg, &c.

Make known to all and singular who are interrested therein, by these presents;

That since nothing is more anxiously desired by us, and the most Serene and Potent Emperor of all the Russias, than to promote by a stable peace the welfare of Europe, so long overwhelmed by the calamities of war, and towards that object have mutually joined our counsels to provide for that wished-for order of things, which, we firmly trust, will arise from our reciprocal efforts to attain the end; a treaty, of which the following is the tenour, has been entered into by each of the contracting parties:—

In the name of the most holy and undivided trinity:—

His majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, equally animated by a desire to put an end to the calamities of Europe, and to secure its future repose by the establishment of a just equilibrium between the powers, have resolved to prosecute the war in which they are engaged for that salutary object, with the whole of the forces which Providence has placed at their disposal. Wishing, at the same time, to extend the effects of a concert so beneficial, to the period when the present war, having obtained its full success, their mutual interest shall imperiously require the maintenance of the order of things which shall be the happy result thereof, they have appointed to draw up the articles of a treaty of amity and defensive alliance, the following plenipotentiaries furnished with their instructions:

His majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Sieur Clement Wenceslas Lothaire, Count de Metternich Winnebourg-Ochsenhansen, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of St Stephen, Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour, Grand Cross of the Order of St Joseph of Wurtzburg, Knight of St John of Jerusalem, Chancellor of the Military Order of Maria Theresa, Curator of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts; Chamberlain, Privy Counsellor, Minister of State, of Conferences, and of Foreign Affairs, of his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty:

And his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Charles Robert, Count de Nesselrode, Privy Counsellor, Secretary of State, Chamberlain, and Knight of the Order of St Wolodimir of the Third Class; who, having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. I.—There shall be amity, sincere and constant union, between his majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and

his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, their heirs and successors. The high contracting parties shall, in consequence, pay the greatest attention to the maintaining between them reciprocal amity and correspondence, by avoiding every thing that might subvert the union and good understanding happily subsisting between them.

Art. II.—His majesty the Emperor of Austria guarantees to his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias the possession of all his states, provinces, and dominions.

On the other hand, his imperial majesty of all the Russias, guarantees to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, the possession of the states, provinces, and dominions, belonging to his imperial, royal, and apostolic majesty.

Art. III.—As a consequence of this reciprocal guarantee, the high contracting parties will constantly labour in concert on the measures which shall appear to them most proper for the maintenance of peace in Europe; and in case the states of either of them shall be menaced by an invasion, they will employ their most effectual good offices for the prevention thereof.

Art. IV.—As the good offices, however, which they promise each other, may not have the desired effect, their imperial majesties bind themselves henceforward to assist each other with a corps of 60,000 men, in the event of either of them being attacked.

Art. V.—This army shall be composed of 50,000 infantry, and 10,000 cavalry. It shall be provided with a corps of field-artillery, with ammunition, and every other necessary; the whole proportioned to the number of troops above stipulated. The auxiliary army shall arrive at the frontiers of the power who shall be attacked or menaced by an invasion of his possessions, two months at the farthest after the requisition has been made.

Art. VI.—The auxiliary army shall be under the immediate command of the general-in-chief of the army of the power requiring it; it shall be conducted by a general of its own, and employed in all the military operations according to the rules of war.

The pay of the auxiliary army shall be at the charge of the power required; the rations and portions of provisions, forage, &c. as well as the quarters, shall be furnished by the power requiring, as soon as the auxiliary army shall have passed its own frontiers, and that on the same footing as the latter supplies or shall supply its own troops in the field and in quarters.

Art. VII.—The order and internal military economy of these troops shall solely depend on their own proper chief. The trophies and the booty which shall be taken from the enemy, shall belong to the troops which shall have taken them.

Art. VIII.—In the event that the stipulated succour shall be insufficient for that one of the two high contracting parties who shall have been attacked, his majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, reserve to themselves, to come to a mutual understanding, without loss of time, on the furnishing of more considerable aids, according to the exigency of the case.

Art. IX.—The high contracting parties reciprocally promise each other, that in the event that either of the two shall be compelled to take up arms, he will not conclude either peace or truce, without therein including his ally, in order that the latter may not himself be attacked in resentment of the succour which he shall have furnished.

Art. X.—Orders shall be transmit-

ted to the ambassadors and ministers of the high contracting parties at foreign courts, to afford each other reciprocally their good offices, and to act in perfect concert in all occurrences in which the interests of their masters shall be involved.

Art. XI.—As the two high contracting parties, in forming this treaty of amity and alliance purely defensive, have no other object but that of reciprocally guaranteeing to each other their possessions, and of securing, as far as depends upon them, the general tranquillity, they not only do not mean thereby to invalidate in the least the prior and particular engagements, alike defensive, which they have contracted with their respective allies, but they even mutually reserve to themselves the liberty of concluding, in future, other treaties with other powers, which, far from causing by their union any detriment or hinderance to the present, may communicate thereto still more force and effect; promising, however, at the same time, not to contract any engagements contrary to the present treaty, and wishing rather, by common consent, to invite, and admit into it, other courts which shall have the same sentiments.

Art. XII.—The present treaty shall be ratified by his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, and by his imperial majesty of all the Russias; and the ratifications shall be exchanged within the space of a fortnight, reckoning from the day of the signature, or sooner, if possible.

In testimony whereof, we the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed, in virtue of our full powers, the present treaty of amity and defensive alliance, and have caused to be affixed thereto the seal of our arms.

Done at Toeplitz, Sept. 9, (the 28th of August) in the year of our Lord 1813.

CLEMENT WENCESLAS LOTHAIRE, Count of METTERNICH WINNEBURG OCHSENHAUSEN, (L. S.)
CHARLES ROBERT, Count NESSELRODE, (L. S.)

We, therefore, having attentively weighed all and singular the articles of this treaty, have ratified and held them agreeable in all respects; and by these presents do declare and profess them to be ratified and agreeable, promising and engaging on our royal Cæsarean word, that we will faithfully perform all that is therein contained, in testimony whereof we have signed the present letters of ratification with our own hands, and caused our royal Cæsarean seal to be appended to the same.

Given at Toeplitz, in Bohemia, this 20th of September, and 22d year of our reign.

(Signed) FRANCIS.
(Countersigned)
CLEM. WENC. LOTHAIRE,
Count METTERNICH.
By order,
JOSEPH DE HUDELIST.

At Toeplitz, on the 9th of September, a treaty was also concluded between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, with precisely the same stipulations as the above. Count Metternich and Baron Hardenberg were the plenipotentiaries.

His Swedish Majesty's Declaration o War against the King of Denmark, given at the Palace of Haga, Sept. 15, 1813.

Stockholm, Sept. 15.

We, Charles, by the grace of God, King of Sweden, and of the Goths and Vandals, &c. &c. heir to Norway, Duke of Sleswick, Holstein, &c. do hereby make known, that the King of Denmark, after a long continuance of unfriendly conduct, whereby, notwithstanding the treaty of peace of the

year 1809, the Swedish commerce was continually disturbed by Danish privateers, having at length proceeded to actual hostilities, by giving directions to his subjects, that all Swedes who shall be found on board ships captured, or which may hereafter be captured, are to be treated as prisoners of war;—we have found it necessary to repel force by force, and do herewith declare, that as a state of war with Denmark has now commenced, we shall take all the necessary means and steps to insure the security of our subjects and kingdom, and to obtain for ourselves a reasonable redress; and we do accordingly herewith order and command, that all navigation, trade, and communication by post, and all other exchange of letters to all ports, towns, and places in Denmark and Norway, or in the provinces appertaining to them, shall, on pain of law, entirely cease from this day forward. And for such cause, it is herewith our most gracious will and command to our field-marshals, chief governors, commanding generals, admirals, governors of districts, and all others our commanders by land and sea, that they, and all persons serving under them, shall not only, each in his place, take all necessary precautions to have this our gracious will and duty immediately made public, but likewise seriously take care that it be carried fully into effect, and strictly observed. According whereto, all whom it may concern have to regulate themselves. And, in further consideration whereof, we have signed these presents with our own hand, and caused them to be confirmed under our royal seal.

Given at the palace of Haga, the 15th Sept. 1813.

(Signed) CHARLES, L. S.
(Countersigned) A. G. MORNER.

Proclamation addressed to the Hanoverians.

The victorious arms of powers allied against France have, under the manifest protection of Divine Providence, nearly completed the deliverance of the country from her ten years sufferings. The valiant army of the north is already approaching; it is led by his Royal Highness the Illustrious Crown Prince of Sweden, whose love of justice and heroism have both disposed and qualified him to become the deliverer of the Germans. The troops of our king attached to this army have already occupied the capital and great part of the country.

All faithful Hanoverians will gratefully venerate, in this consolatory change of affairs, those wise measures which his majesty, our beloved king, has ever steadily pursued during the most untoward circumstances, and which his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, who is no less warmly interested in the welfare of the hereditary German states of his house, has, with equal constancy, continued and completed. Instead of groaning under the yoke of foreign rulers, to whom the annihilation of our constitution and language, the destruction of our property, and the shedding of the blood of our children, were only a pretext for the gratification of an idle ambition, we are now once more blessed by the paternal government of native princes, who are accustomed to seek their glory and happiness in accomplishing our own. A son of our highly revered monarch, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, who, ever since his earlier residence among the Hanoverians, has conceived the most lively attachment to them, is himself on the spot, and has most generously resolved to contribute towards effecting the

welfare of the ancient inheritance of his illustrious ancestors.

In this joyful change of circumstances we have not hesitated, in the name of the lawful sovereign, to resume the government of the electoral dominions. We had flattered ourselves to have had the satisfaction, even in this early notification, of communicating to the faithful German subjects of his majesty the first expressions which his royal highness the prince, our present regent, has been pleased, so early as the 5th of last October, to address to them, in order to assure them of his gracious intentions, and of his indefatigable endeavours for their happiness. Accidental circumstances have as yet prevented us from receiving the most condescending proclamation of his royal highness. We must therefore content ourselves for the present with the assurance, that his royal highness is particularly solicitous to restore, as speedily as possible, his subjects to the enjoyment of their former happy constitution.

To execute this high intention will be our most pleasing duty. But every thing has been too much overturned, to allow of this object being attained at once. We therefore preliminarily confirm the provisional commissions of government which have been appointed by the military authority, and which, under our superintendance, will henceforward provide for the several provinces, whatever in each may be of the first and most pressing necessity, not doubting but that, supported by the tried loyalty and attachment of Hanoverians, we shall quickly witness among us the revival of our former happiness, and of our earlier comforts, provided that a lasting peace secures what has hitherto been gained. But if we would obtain this, it is not yet time to lay aside our arms. The enemy is defeated; he is humbled beyond any former period; but he may, he will rise again, should the Germans prematurely imagine that they may take rest. It ought not to be concealed, that for a time to come, ample sacrifices, as well as further efforts of our long-tried valour, are indispensable. The public spirit and ancient military glory of the Hanoverians, are pledges that they are willing and ready to make them; and that, after so many successes, they will not shrink from any call, manfully to sustain the last struggle. Concord, courage, confidence, and patriotism, infallibly insure success.

The privy counsellors of the King of Great Britain, appointed to the electoral ministry of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, for the state and cabinet,

DECKEN. BREMER.

Hanover, Nov. 4, 1813.

Proclamation from Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington to the French people.

December 1*st*, 1813.

Upon entering your country, learn that I have given the most positive orders (a translation of which is subjoined to this) to prevent those evils which are the ordinary consequences of invasion, which you know is the result of that which your government made into Spain, and of the triumphs of the allied army under my command.

You may be certain that I will carry these orders into execution, and I request of you to cause to be arrested, and conveyed to my head-quarters, all those who, contrary to these dispositions, do you any injury.

But it is requisite you should remain in your houses, and take no part whatever in the operations of the war of which your country is going to become the theatre.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FOR THE YEAR 1813.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS OF GREAT BRITAIN,

For the Year ending 5th January, 1818.

An Account of the ORDINARY REVENUES, *and* EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES *constituting the* PUBLIC INCOME *of* GREAT BRITAIN.

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Receipt: Total sum to be accounted for.			Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, &c. paid out of the Gross Revenue.			Net Produce, applicable to National Objects, and to Payments into the Exchequer.		
ORDINARY REVENUES:									
Permanent and Annual Taxes.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Customs	10,453,958	8	10½	2,157,668	9	3¼	8,296,289	19	7
Excise	19,848,423	10	3¼	2,048,175	5	2	17,800,248	5	1¼
Stamps	5,628,267	9	1¼	314,281	8	5½	5,313,986	0	7¾
Land and Assessed Taxes	7,677,204	5	0	304,046	19	1¼	7,373,157	5	10¾
Post Office	2,012,525	19	2¾	77,917	18	2	1,534,608	1	0¾
Pensions and Salaries } 1s. in the L.	23,179	3	3	379	5	6¼	22,799	17	8¾
Pensions and Salaries } 6d. in the L.	23,195	11	10¾	410	7	1½	22,785	4	9¼
Hackney Coaches	28,269	6	7½	3,419	17	4¼	24,849	9	3
Hawkers and Pedlers	23,161	11	8	2,992	0	6	20,169	11	2
Total Permanent and Annual Duties	45,718,185	5	11	5,309,291	10	9	40,408,893	15	2
Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue,									
Alienation Fines	10,677	5	5	1,147	8	0	9,529	17	5
Post Fines	6,685	6	0½	140	2	8	6,495	3	4½
Seizures	5,741	14	3	-		-	5,741	14	3
Compositions and Proffers	632	3	4	-		-	632	3	[illegible]
Crown Lands	86,683	9	0¼	2,419	16	7½	84,263	12	4¾

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Receipt: Total sum to be accounted for.			Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, &c. paid out of the Gross Revenue.			Net produce applicable to National Objects, and to Payments into the Exchequer.		
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.									
War Taxes.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Customs	3,262,360	9	11¾	314,030	5	10	2,948,330	4	1¼
Excise	5,310,398	0	8½	105,643	15	10½	5,204,754	4	9¼
Property Tax	13,628,453	11	0¾	268,046	10	4¼	13,360,407	0	8½
Arrears of Income Duty, &c.	8,273	18	9½	74	11	2¾	8,199	7	6¼
Lottery, Net Profit (of which one third part is for the service of Ireland)	374,500	0	0	24,354	7	8	350,145	12	4
Monies paid on Account of the Interest of Loans raised for the service of Ireland	793,313	3	9	-	-		2,793,313	3	9
On Account of the Commissioners appointed by Act 35 Geo. 3. cap. 127, and 37 Geo. 3, cap. 27, for issuing Exchequer Bills for Grenada, &c.	49,000	0	0	-	-		49,000	0	0
On Account of the East India Company, in payment of L.1,500,000 by Act 50 Geo. 3, cap. 114	88,000	0	0	-			88,000	0	0
On Account of the Commissioners for issuing Exchequer Bills, by Act 51 Geo. 3	910,470	0	9	-	-		910,470	0	9
On Account of the Interest, &c. of a Loan granted to the Prince Regent of Portugal	57,170	3	0	-	-		57,170	3	0
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices	84,558	4	5¼	-	-		84,558	4	5¼
Imprest Money repaid by sundry Public Accountants, &c. including Interest	36,556	16	4½	-	-		36,556	16	4½
Other Monies paid to the Public	37,647	11	8¾	-	-		37,647	11	8¾
Total, independent of Loans	72,469,257	4	6½	6,025,148	9	0	66,444,108	15	6½
Loans paid into the Exchequer, of which the sum of 4,350,000l. is for the service of Ireland, and 2,500,000l. for the East India Company	2968,58 616		8	-	-		29,268,586	16	8
GRAND TOTAL	101,737,844	1	2½	6,025,148	9	0	95,712,695	12	2½

CONSOLIDATED FUND AND PERMANENT TAXES.—INCOME AND CHARGE, 1813.

INCOME.	L. s. d.	CHARGE.	Annual Payment out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1813 L. s. d.	Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund, as it stood on 5th Jan. 1813. L. s. d
CUSTOMS. Consolidated after reserving 62,500l. per quarter from 5th July 1803, as directed per Act 43 Geo. 3, cap. 68, to be carried to Duties pro Anno 1803, and the further sum of 105,000l. per Annum per Act 49 Geo. 3, to be carried to Duties pro Anno 1809, L.3,207 567 7 8¾		Total Charge for Debt created prior to 5th Jan. 1803, as it stood on 5th Jan. 1813 - - - -	24,120,682 4 10¼	24,100,740 3 2¾
		CIVIL LIST.		
		His Majesty's Household, per Act 17 Geo 8 - - - -	898,000 0 0	898,000 0 0
		Ditto - - - 44	60,000 0 0	60,000 0 0
		Ditto - - - 52	61,538 9 3	70,000 0 0
		Total - - -	1,019,538 9 3	1,028,000 0 0
Isle of Man Customs 6,973 3 1½		COURTS OF JUSTICE.		
Quarantine Duty 9,568 1 7½				
Canal & Dock Duty 29,608 15 2	3,253,717 7 7¾	Judges of England and Wales, in Augmentation of their Salaries - -	13,050 0 0	13,050 0 0
EXCISE. Consolidated after reserving the several Sums carried per Acts 45 and 46 Geo. 3, cap. 44 and 31, to Duties pro Anno 1805 and 1806 - - -	18,676,128 8 6	Deficiencies of Judges Salaries in England - - - - -	13,368 8 5½	Uncertain.
		Additional Salaries to Judges in Wales - - - -	3,200 0 0	3,200 0 0
STAMPS. Reserved out of Consolidated Stamp Duties, per Act 48 Geo. 3, cap. 149 L.2,910,536 12 4½		Aaron Graham, Esq. Inspector of temporary Places of Confinement for Felons - - - -	350 0 0	350 0 0
Licences for selling Lottery Tickets 3,166 19 0	2,913,703 11 4½	William Baldwin, Esq. Receiver of the Seven Police Offices - - -	18,779 8 3½	Uncertain.
INCIDENTS - - - -	5,627,718 11 7	Patrick Colquhoun, Esq. Ditto, Thames Ditto - - - -	6,511 1 1½	

INCOME.	L.	s.	d.
Fines of Leases - - -	6,399	0	0
Surplus of Sugar, Malt, and Tobacco, annually granted - -	920,794	12	6
——— Do. . . . 6d. and 1s. per lb. on Pensions and Salaries -	1,493	5	0½
Duties on Annual Malt, 1809, 1810 1811 - - - -	368,799	0	0
Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates 1799 to 1811 - - -	95,567	5	4¼
Land Taxes, 1799 to 1812 -	1,091,706	2	6¾
Income Duty, 1799 to 1801 -	7,296	0	8¾
Arrears of Assessed Taxes, 1798 -	903	7	3
Money reserved on Account of Nominees appointed by the Lords of the Treasury, in Tontine, 1789 -	23,643	15	4½
Monies paid by divers persons -	1,132,282	8	11¼
Total Income, applicable towards Debt created before 5th January, 1803	29,120,152	11	5¼
DUTIES pro Anno 1803.			
Reserved out of Consolidated Customs	250,000	0	0
Brought from Consolidated Duties on Stamps - - -	59,695	15	3
On Assessed Taxes - - -	240,375	13	5
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland -	136,030	11	6
Total - - -	686,372	0	2

CHARGE.	Annual Payment out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1813. L.	s.	d.	Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund, as it stood on 5th Jan. 1813. L.	s.	d.
VICE ADMIRALTY JUDGES:—						
J. W. Compton, Esq. Vice-Admiral, Judge at Barbadoes - - -	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Henry Moreton Dyer, Esq. Ditto, Bahamas - - - -	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Alexander Croke, Esq. Ditto, Nova Scotia - - - -	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
John Sewell, Esq. Ditto, Malta - -	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Henry John Hinchliffe, Esq. Ditto, Jamaica - - - - -	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
William Territ, Esq. Ditto, Bermuda	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Sheriffs of England and Wales - -	4,000	0	0	4,000	0	0
Clerk of the Hanaper in Chancery -	2,500	0	0	Uncertain.		
MINT.						
Masters of his Majesty's Mint in England - - - - -	10,350	0	0	Uncertain.		
Ditto, Scotland - - - .	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Deficiency of Mint Fees - - .	3,220	1	6	Uncertain.		
SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES.						
Marquis of Bute, late one of the Auditors of Imprest - - -	7,000	0	0	7,000	0	0
Philip Deare, Esq. late Deputy to do.	300	0	0	300	0	0
Edward Roberts, Esq. an annual sum, formerly paid to the Auditor - -	650	0	0	650	0	[illegible]

	£.	s.	d.
Duties pro Anno 1804.			
Brought from Consolidated Stamps -	960,346	18	11
Interests, &c. on Loan for Ireland -	330,060	17	6
Total - -	1,290,407	16	5
Duties pro Anno 1805.			
Brought from Consolidated Customs	262,353	5	0
Ditto, Ditto, Stamps -	52,313	16	8½
Taken from Consolidated Letter Money - - -	296,027	5	7
Reserved out of Consolidated Duties on Assessed Taxes, Duty on Horses	149,151	18	9¼
Duties taken from Consolidated Excise, Salt, Auctions, Bricks and Tiles, Cyder and Perry, Glass, Vinegar, Wire - - - -	657,052	0	0
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	276,903	19	1
Total - -	1,693,802	5	1¼
Duties pro Anno 1806.			
Wine, 1803, 1804, and Tea -	381,653	0	0
British Spirits, 1806 -	311,300	0	0
Reserved out of Consolidated Duties on Assessed Taxes	540,076	6	6
Brought from Consolidated Stamp Duties	6,917	1	4
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland -	133,845	10	8
Total - -	1,373,791	18	6

	£.	s.	d.			
George Pepler, Esq. Inspector of Tontine Certificates - - -	600	0	0	Uncertain.		
Chief Cashier of the Bank, for Fees at sundry Public Offices - -	1,010	17	0			
Commissioners of Public Accounts.						
William Mackworth Præd, Esq. Chairman - - -	1,500	0	0	1,500	0	0
Sir Charles William Rouse Boughton, Bart. - - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Francis Perceval Eliot, Esq. -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Richard Dawkins, Esq. - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
John Anstey, Esq. - - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
John Whishaw, Esq. - - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Philip Deare, Esq. - - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
John Sargent, Esq. - - -	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Salaries and Contingencies in the Office of the ditto - - -	36,802	1	11	Uncertain.		
Commissioners of West-India Accounts.						
John Halket, Esq. - - -	1,500	0	0	1,500	0	0
James Chapman, Esq. - - -	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
John Wilson, Esq. - - -	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
Salaries and Contingencies in the Office of ditto - - - -	6,048	1	4	Uncertain.		
Pensions - - - -	336,498	16	7¼	Nearly the same.		
Miscellaneous - - -	122,224	5	4¼	Nearly the same.		
Total of Incidental Charges upon the Consolidated Fund, as they stood on the 5th of January, 1813 - -	1,635,601	10	10	1,423,600	18	0

INCOME.	L.	s.	d.
DUTIES pro Anno 1807.			
Brought from War Taxes to pay the Charge of Loan	1,200,000	0	0
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	222,838	17	1
Total	1,422,838	17	1
DUTIES pro Anno 1808.			
Surplus of Consolidated Duties on Assessed Taxes	130,627	10	6
Surplus of Consolidated Stamp Duties	150,000	0	0
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	148,685	8	6
Total	429,312	19	0
DUTIES pro Anno 1809.			
Brought from Consolidated Customs	105,000	0	0
Ditto from War Taxes, to pay the Charge of Loan	1,040,000	0	0
Charges of Loan for the Prince Regent of Portugal	57,170	3	0
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland	177,249	15	5
Total	1,379,419	18	5

CHARGE.	Annual Payments out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th Jan. 1813. L.	s.	d.	Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund, as it stood on 5th Jan. 1813. L.	s.	d.
Debt incurred in respect of 12,000,000l. raised for the Service of the year 1803	817,120	10	6¼	813,856	10	7
Debt incurred in respect of 14,500,000l. raised for the Service of the year 1804	1,174,168	18	0	1,173,470	7	10
Debt incurred in respect of 22,500,000l. raised for the Service of the year 1805	1,716,992	0	4	1,716,992	0	4
Debt incurred in respect of 20,000,000l. raised for the Service of the year 1806	1,339,288	0	0	1,339,288	0	0
Debt incurred in respect of 12,000,000l. part of 14,200,000l. raised for the Service of the year 1807	1,434,155	6	5¾	1,433,381	0	4¼
Debt incurred in respect of 4,000,000l. Exchequer Bills, funded for the Service of the year 1808	878,055	2	4¼	878,055	3	0¼
Debt incurred in respect of 7,932,100l. Exchequer Bills, funded for the Service of the year 1809	1,377,990	17	11	1,377,953	13	6¼
Debt incurred in respect of 8,311,000l. Exchequer Bills funded for the Service of the year 1810	1,276,179	9	10½	1,276,382	10	2¼
Debt incurred in respect of 7,018,700l. Exchequer Bills, funded for the Service of the year 1811	1,677,203	2	11¼	1,495,772	6	5¾

Duties pro Anno 1810.	
Brought from Consolidated Stamps	935,590 0 4
Interest, &c. on Loan for Ireland -	305,706 11 6
Total - -	1,241,296 11 10
Duties pro Anno 1811.	
Interest, &c. on Loan - -	529,809 4 11¾
British Spirits, 1811, L.444,172 0 0	
Foreign ditto - 21,929 0 0	466,101 0 0
Total - -	995,910 4 11¾
Duties pro Anno 1812.	
Stone Bottles, Glass Hides, and Skins, Tobacco and Snuff, per Acts 52 Geo. 3 - - -	96,400 0 0
Estimated Amount of the additional Duty on the Postage of Letters	100,306 1 1
Interest &c. on Loan for Ireland	148,504 10 5
Additional Duties upon sundry Assessed Taxes imposed per Act 52 Geo. 3, on Male Servants, Carriages, Horses for Riding, Ditto and Mules, Dogs.	129,030 0 5
Total - -	474,240 11 11
Total Income of Consolidated Fund in the Year ended 5th January, 1813 - - -	40,107,545 14 11

Debt incurred in respect of 5,431,700l. Exchequer Bills, funded for the Year 1812 - - - -	1,442,779 14 5	2,214,578 17 8¼
RECAPITULATION.		
Total charge for Debt incurred prior to 1803 - - -	24,120,682 4 10¼	24,100,740 3 2¼
Total of Incidental Charges - -	1,635,601 10 10	1,423,600 18 0
Total Charge for Debt incurred in 1803 - - - -	817,120 10 6¾	813,856 10 7
Ditto - Ditto - 1804 - -	1,174,168 18 0	1,173,470 7 10
Ditto - Ditto - 1805 - -	1,716,992 0 4	1,716,992 0 4
Ditto - Ditto - 1806 - -	1,339,288 0 0	1,339,288 0 0
Ditto - Ditto - 1807 - -	1,434,155 6 5¼	1,433,981 0 4¼
Ditto - Ditto - 1808 - -	878,055 2 4¼	878,055 3 0¼
Ditto - Ditto - 1809 - -	1,377,990 17 11	1,377,953 13 6¼
Ditto - Ditto - 1810 - -	1,276,179 9 10½	1,276,382 10 2¼
Ditto - Ditto - 1811 - -	1,677,203 2 11½	1,495,772 6 5¼
Ditto - Ditto - 1812 - -	1,442,779 14 5	2,214,578 17 8¼
Total Charge upon the Consolidated Fund in the Year ended 5th January, 1813 - - -	38,890,216 18 7	39,244,071 11 3

An Account of the Net Produce of all the PERMANENT TAXES *of* GREAT BRITAIN : *ken for Two Years, ending respectively 5th January,* 1812, *and th January,* 1813.

	In the Year ended 5th Jan. 1812.			In the Year ended 5th Jan. 1813.		
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
CONSOLIDATED CUSTOMS.	3,974,732	1	10¾	3,824,920	12	8¾
Ditto - Ditto (Isle of Man,)	8,335	4	9½	6,973	3	1½
Ditto - EXCISE	15,768,167	12	4	14,811,238	3	6
Ditto - STAMPS	5,086,782	11	2	5,075,670	4	11
LAND TAXES	999,782	1	5¾	1,095,766	19	6½
INCIDENTS.						
Letter Money	1,275,000	0	0	1,321,000	0	0
Hawkers and Pedlars	20,251	3	5	18,700	0	0
Seizures	26,044	6	10½	5,741	14	3
Proffers	593	1	7	629	6	8
Compositions	2	3	4	2	16	8
Fines and Forfeitures	873	10	0	2,727	5	4
Rent of a Light-House	6	13	4	6	13	4
Ditto Alum Mines	864	0	0	864	0	0
Alienation Duty	4,040	2	0	4,807	8	8
Lottery Licences	3,696	0	1	3,166	19	0
Quarantine Duty	12,679	0	0	9,568	1	7½
Canal and Dock Duty	32,907	10	5½	35,608	15	2
6*d.* per lb. on Pensions - 1721	-	-		163	0	10
1*s.* ditto on Salaries - - 1758	-	-		323	14	10
Houses and Windows - 1766	300	0	0	-		
Hackney Coaches and Chairs 1711 and 1784	23,877	0	0	24,979	0	0
Horses for Riding - 1785	200	0	0	-	-	
Male Servants	300	0	0	-	-	
4-wheeled Carriages	50	0	0	7	0	0
2 - Ditto	150	0	0	-	-	
Hair-Powder Certificates 1795	902	2	0	-	-	
Horse-Dealers Licences 1796	200	0	0	-	-	
*L.*20 per Cent. - 1797	300	0	0	1	8	0
Houses	200	0	0	-	-	
Horses	200	0	0	-	-	
Clocks and Watches	-	-		100	0	0
Dogs	100	0	0	-	-	
Additional Assessed Taxes 1798	121	10	0¼	-	-	
Houses and Windows	1,299	6	0	100	0	0
Inhabited Houses	220	9	4	100	0	0
Horses for Riding	741	2	0	-	-	
Ditto - Husbandry	1,235	14	0	-	-	
Male Servants	20	11	0	-	-	
4-wheel Carriages	1,034	16	0	-	-	
2 - Ditto	1,027	12	0	-	-	
Dogs	1,012	6	0	-	-	
Armorial Bearings	501	11	6	100	0	0
Arrears of Taxes	-	-		1,389	18	0
Horses for Husbandry - 1801	23	16	0	-	-	
Ditto - Riding	17	10	0	-	-	
Houses and Windows - 1802	2,628	2	5	291	6	7
Inhabited Houses	1,300	0	0	1,300	8	0

		Ditto, 5th Jan. 1812.			Ditto, 5th Jan. 1813.		
		L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Horses for Riding		576	8	4	518	12	0
Ditto for Husbandry		420	5	6	700	0	0
Male Servants		21	6	1	308	14	10
4-wheeled Carriages		92	16	0	100	0	0
2 - Ditto		500	0	0	200	0	0
Dogs		503	6	0	100	0	0
Houses and Windows, 1804		10,361	15	6	4,921	0	$9\frac{1}{2}$
Inhabited Houses		4,930	19	3	1,742	3	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Horses for Riding		4,803	14	$9\frac{3}{4}$	604	5	1
Ditto and Mules		6,421	9	$6\frac{1}{4}$	1,784	15	3
Male Servants		2,000	10	7	496	11	6
Carriages		4,111	16	$10\frac{1}{2}$	617	9	2
Dogs		4,739	17	8	549	13	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Hair-Powder Certificates		3,131	11	4	4	14	6
Horse-Dealers Licences		734	7	0	115	0	3
Armorial Bearings		1,875	1	5	504	4	0
British Spirits, 1806		505,015	0	0	311,300	0	0
Foreign Spirits		20,055	0	0	-	-	
L.10 per Cent.		8,870	0	$5\frac{1}{4}$	991	16	9
Consolidated Assessed Taxes, 1808		5,667,881	13	$1\frac{1}{2}$	5,775,563	1	$6\frac{3}{4}$
6d. per lib. on Pensions, 1809		3,650	0	0	5,049	8	4
1s. ditto on Salaries		6,550	0	0	4,208	16	0
6d. ditto on Pensions, 1810		9,200	0	0	3,500	0	0
1s. ditto on Salaries		12,800	0	0	2,500	0	0
6d. ditto on Pensions, 1811		1,100	0	0	9,900	0	0
1s. ditto on Salaries		1,700	0	0	12,500	0	0
British Spirits		-	-		444,172	0	0
Foreign Spirits		-	-		21,929	0	0
6d. per lib. on Pensions, 1812		-	-		1,000	0	0
1s. ditto on Salaries		-	-		2,000	0	0
Surplus Duties annually granted, after discharging three millions Exchequer Bills charged thereon	Sugar and Malt	230,927	11	0	145,258	19	2
	Additional Malts	834,072	0	0	672,016	0	0
	Annual Malt	553,923	0	0	368,799	0	0
	Tobacco	119,878	0	0	103,519	13	4
	Land Tax on Offices, &c.	129,497	9	$7\frac{1}{2}$	95,567	5	$4\frac{1}{2}$
	6d. per *L.* on Pensions	1,422	1	9	1,380	12	$2\frac{1}{4}$
	1s. ditto - Salaries	1,285	6	8	112	12	$10\frac{1}{4}$
		35,404,781	19	6	34,240,276	10	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Duties annually granted to discharge three millions Exchequer Bills charged thereon	Sugar and Malt	2,134,981	18	$1\frac{1}{4}$	2,785,224	6	3
	Additional Malts	282,528	0	0	139,106	0	0
	Tobacco	406,276	0	0	430,928	6	8
	Land Tax on Offices, &c.	4,000	0	0	1,500	0	0
		38,232,567	17	7	37,597,035	3	$3\frac{1}{2}$

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
I. For Interest, &c. on the Permanent Debt of Great Britain, unredeemed, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years, &c.	-	-		-	-		36,635,483	3	10¼
II. The Interest on Exchequer Bills	-	-		-	-		1,835,369	2	3
III. The Civil List	-	-		1,019,538	9	3			
IV. Other Charges On the Consolidated Fund, viz. Courts of Justice	-	-		73,758	17	10½			
Mint	-	-		14,770	0	16			
Allowance to Royal Family	-	-		336,498	16	7¼			
Salaries and Allowances	-	-		65,811	0	9			
Bounties	-	-		125,224	5	4¼			
							1,635,601	10	10
V. Civil Government of Scotland	-	-		-	-		112,748	2	7
VI. Other Payments in Anticipation of the Exchequer Receipts; viz.									
Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.	-	-		389,483	10	2¼			
Pensions on the Hereditary Revenue	-	-		27,700	0	0			
Militia and Deserters Warrants	-	-		165,541	18	6			
							582,675	8	8¾
VII. Navy	-	-		11,005,529	2	5			
The Victualling Department	-	-		5,702,181	9	6			
Transport ditto, for Transports, Prisoners of War, and Sick and Wounded Seamen	3,358,628	15	1						
Miscellaneous Services	434,000	0	0						
				3,792,628	15	1			
							20,500,339	7	0

	L. s. d.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.
VIII. Ordnance	- - -	- - -	4,252,409 15 11
IX. Army	- - -	15,382,049 15 4	
Extraordinary Services and Subsidies	- - -	14,920,841 0 0	
		30,302,890 15 4	
Deduct the Amount of Remittances and Advances to other Countries	- - -	5,315,528 3 $7\frac{3}{4}$	
			24,987,362 11 $8\frac{1}{4}$
X. Loans, Remittances, and Advances to other countries (l), viz.			
Ireland	- - -	2,888,500 0 0	
Sicily	400,000 0 0		
Portugal	2,228 276 9 10		
Spain	2,092 325 16 $6\frac{1}{4}$		
Sweden	306,736 4 5		
Russia	286,257 10 3		
Morocco	1,952 2 7		
		5,315,528 3 $7\frac{3}{4}$	
			8,204,028 3 $7\frac{3}{4}$
XI. Miscellaneous Services			
At Home	1,485,124 1 $11\frac{1}{4}$		
Abroad	293,965 1 10		
		1,779,089 3 $9\frac{1}{4}$	
Loan to the East India Company	- - -	2,498,000 0 0	
Principal, Interest, &c. of Commercial Exchequer Bills	- - -	1,375,141 16 7	
			3,652,231 0 $4\frac{1}{4}$
			104,398,248 6 $10\frac{1}{4}$
Deduct Sums, which, although included in this Account, form no part of the Expenditure of Great Britain, viz.			
Loan, for Ireland		2,888,500 0 0	
Interest, and L. 1. per cent. on Portuguese Loan		57,170 3 0	
Principal, Interest, and Management of Commercial Exchequer Bills		1,375 141 16 7	
Loan to the East India Company		2,500,000 0 0	
Sinking Fund on Ditto		27,705 0 0	
			6,848,516 19 7
This includes the sum of £.421,692 1 10 for Interest, &c. paid on Imperial Loans,			97,549,731 7 $3\frac{1}{4}$

PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT OF GREAT BRITAIN, *as the same stood on the* 1st *of February*, 1813.

TOTAL DEBT UNREDEEMED.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
At 3 per Cent.						
Bank of England and Annuities, 1726	12,686,800	0	0			
South Sea Old and New Annuities, 1751	16,125,684	13	$11\frac{1}{2}$			
Consolidated Annuities	347,841,115	6	$6\frac{1}{4}$			
Reduced Annuities	103,323,505	18	8			
At 4 per Cent.						
Consolidated Annuities	66,115,296	2	2			
At 5 per Cent						
Consolidated Annuities	92,632,254	13	$7\frac{1}{2}$			
Annuities, 1797 and 1802	1,622,994	14	9			
Total CAPITALS				640,347,651	9	$8\frac{1}{4}$
Annual Interest	21,755,987	10	4			
Annuities for Lives or for Term of Years	1,540,257	19	$1\frac{1}{4}$			
Charges of Management	238,952	15	$0\frac{1}{4}$			
Annuities fallen in, or dead: grants by Parliament, and Annuities of 1 per Cent. on part of Capitals created since 5th January 1793	14,258,207	6	7			
Total CHARGE for DEBT payable in GREAT BRITAIN				37,793,405	11	1

UNFUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT *and* DEMANDS OUTSTANDING *on the 5th Day of January*, 1813.

	Amount Outstanding.					
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
EXCHEQUER BILLS.						
Exchequer Bills provided for	25,406,400	0	0			
Ditto - unprovided for	20,000,000	0	0	45,406,400	0	0
TREASURY:						
Miscellaneous Services	414,532	14	11¾			
Warrants for Army Services	313,895	18	5			
Treasury Bills	1,245,609	0	0	1,974,037	13	4¾
ARMY				1,507,580	12	5
Barracks				246,218	3	8
Ordnance				900,360	8	10
Navy				7,748,872	9	1
Civil List Advances				55,232	1	5¼
				57,838,696	8	10

PRICE OF STOCKS FOR EACH MONTH IN 1813—*Lowest and Highest.*

1813.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct. cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	Long. Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	Exch. Bills. (3½)	S. Sea Stock.	Irish 5 p. cent.	Omnium.	New Omnium.
Jan.	220½ 224¾	59⅝ 60⅝	59¾ 60⅛	75⅞ 77	89 90¼	15⅜ 15½	163 164½	9 dis. 1 dis.	5 pr. 14 pr.	63½ 63¼	89¼	7⅝ pr. 9¼ pr.	
Feb.	219½ 222	58¾ 59⅝	58⅞ 59⅛	75 76⅛	88¼ 89	15⅛ 15⅜	160¾ 163	9 dis. 5 dis.	5 pr. 10 pr.	62⅜ 63⅝	88¾ 88⅞	6½ pr. 7¾ pr.	
March.	219 219½	58¾ 59½	58¼ 59⅜	75¼ 75⅝	88⅛ 89½	15¼	161 161¼	7 dis. 2 dis.	5 pr. 6 pr.	61¼ 62¾		6½ pr. 7⅞ pr.	
April.	216 217¼	57¾ 59⅛	58⅝ 60⅛	73 73½	87¼ 89⅜	14⅝ 15	163¼ 164¼	9 dis. 1 dis.	5 pr. 12 pr.	62$\frac{9}{8}$			
May.	214½ 217½	57⅛ 58⅞	58⅛ 59¼	71½ 73	87½ 88¼	14½ 14⅞	168 169	3 dis. 1 dis.	5 pr. 10 pr.		86 86⅛		
June.	211½ 215	55½ 57⅜	58 58⅜	70½ 71¼	88	14⅛ 14⅜	169½	8 dis. 3 dis.	par. 5 pr.	62⅛	85	3⅛ pr. 5 pr.	
July.	214½ 219	56¾ 57⅛	56⅜ 56⅞	71⅜ 72⅝	85¾ 86⅝	14¼ 14⅜	167 168½	4 dis par.	1 dis. 5 pr.	60		4⅝ pr. 5⅝ pr.	
Aug.	218¼ 220	57¾ 58⅛	57¼ 57⅞	72⅝ 73½	87⅛ 87⅝	14½ 15⅝	163½ 169¼	9 dis. par.	1 pr. 3 pr.	61¾	88	6 pr. 7¼ pr.	
Sept.	217	57$\frac{6}{8}$ 57⅞	57⅛ 58¼	72⅛ 72¼	87 88⅝	14⅝ 14¼	165½ 173	3 dis. par.	1 pr. 4 pr.	60⅝ 61½		5⅝ pr. 7⅞ pr.	
Oct.	216 219½	56½ 57⅜	57¾ 59	71⅜ 72	88 88⅞	14⅛ 14¼	172½ 173½	2 dis. par.	1 dis. 5 pr.	61½	85½ 85¾	6¼ pr. 8¾ pr.	
Nov.	219 228	56¾ 60⅝	58 61¼	71⅝ 76¼	88½ 93½	14⅛ 15	171 182	3 dis. par.	5 pr. 6 pr.	62½ 64¾	86½ 89¾	6 pr. 12½ pr.	4⅞ pr. 10 pr.
Dec.	228½ 242	60 65½	61¼ 61⅝	75⅝ 80	92¼ 92⅝	14¾ 16⅛		3 dis. par.	5 pr. 6 pr.	60⅛ 63½		11¼ pr. 20¼ pr.	8¾ pr. 17¾ pr.

PATENTS GRANTED IN 1813.

Mr George Alexander, for an improved mode of suspended the card of the mariner's compass.

Mr John Barton, for improvements in steam-engines.

Mr Ball, for an improved cooking stove.

Mr Charles Augustin Busby, for a method to save lockage water on canals, &c.

Mr Joseph Bramah, for improvements in main and other pipes, and applying the water to other useful purposes.

Mr Jacob Brazill, for a machine for working capstans and pumps on board ships.

Mr William Broughton, for a method of making a peculiar species of canvass.

Mr Robertson Buchanan, for improvements in the means of propelling vessels, boats, barges, and rafts, &c.

Mr William Bange, for improvements in the construction of fire-places.

Mr James Brunsall, for improvements in rope-making.

Messrs R. M. Bacon and B. Donkin, for improvements in the implements employed in printing, from types, blocks, or plates.

Mr James Bodmer, for a method of loading fire-arms, cannon, &c. at the breech, a touch-hole, and a moveable sight.

Mr Edw. Briggs, for a method of working stamps by a steam-engine, water, or horse power.

Mr Charles Random de Berenger, for certain methods of producing a valuable oil; also soap and barilla, and a black pigment.

Mr Frederick Cherry, for improvements in the construction of various articles of a field-officer's equipage.

Mr Benjamin Merriman Coomb, for a new cooking apparatus.

Colonel William Congreve, for constructing the locks and sluices of canals, basins, or works.

Mr William Caslon, for an improved printing type.

Mr Louis Honore Henry Germain Constant, for a method of refining sugar.

Mr Jerome Donovan, for saponaceous compounds for deterging in sea-water, hard-water, and soft-water.

Mr Francis Deakins, for a new method of making sheaths for knives, scissars, &c.

Mr Joseph C. Dyer, for a method of spinning hemp, flax, &c.

Mr John Duncombe, for an improvement to mathematical or astronomical instruments.

Mr Robert Dickinson, for a process for sweetening water and other liquids.

Messrs Eschauzier and Jennings, for a life-preserving bed for seafaring people.

Messrs Fox and Lean, for improvements in steam-engines.

Mrs Sarah Guppy, for urns for cooking eggs, &c.

Mr William Gilpin, for an improved method of making augers.

Edward Charles Howard, Esq., for improvements in preparing and refining of sugars.

Mr Thomas Hardacre, for a composition to prevent the effects of friction.

Mr Handford, for a travelling trunk.

Mr Hanbury, for flush carpeting.

Messrs Thomas Hubball and W. R. W. King, for a method of ornamenting articles of paper, wood, or any metallic substance, either japanned, painted, or sized; also leather, oil-cloths, &c.

Mr Samuel James, for a sofa for the ease of invalids.

The Rev. Henry Liston, for improvements upon the plough.

Mr Joseph Manton, for improvements in guns.

Mr Felton Matthew, for an improvement in the manufacture of yeast.

Mr James Needham, for a portable apparatus for brewing beer and ale.

Mr James Needham, for additions to, and improvements on, his portable brewing apparatus.

Mr Henry Osborn, for a method of making tools for tapering of cylinders and bars of iron and other metals.

Mr Frank Parkinson, for a still and boiler for preventing accidents by fire.

Mr William Pope, for an instrument for ascertaining a ship's way.

Mr John Roberts, for a method of concentrating such parts of malt and hops as are requisite in making ale and beer.

Mr Thomas Ryland, for a fender on a new construction.

Mr Joseph Ragnor, for improved machinery for roving and spinning cotton, silk, flax, and wool.

Mr John Ruthven, for a press for printing from types, blocks, or other surfaces.

Mr Thomas Rogers, for a new flour for bread, pastry, &c.

Mr William Summers, for a method of raising hot water from a lower to an upper level, for baths, manufactories, &c.

Mr Benjamin Sanders, for an improved method of making buttons.

Mr Samuel Smith, for an improved escapement for watches.

Mr T. Sheldrake, for a portable crane.

Mr John Sutherland, for an improvement in the construction of copper stills.

Mr Charles Augustus Schmalcalder, for improvements in mathematical instruments.

Mr Richard Jones Tomlinson, for improvements in the methods of making the coverings of roofs.

Mr John Trotter, for improvements in the application of steam.

Mr John Trotter, for an improvement of musical instruments.

Mr Timmins, for an improved method of making and erecting hot-houses.

Mr John Westwood, for a method of embossing ivory by pressure.

Charles Wilks, Esq. for a method of constructing four-wheeled carriages to produce greater facility in turning.

Mr John White, for a machine for cooking without coal or wood.

[*A respectable correspondent has favoured us with the following curious document, which is undoubtedly genuine.*]

STATEMENT BY THE EMPEROR KEA KING,

Received in Canton, Nov. 8, 1813.

IMPERIAL NOTICE.

A REVOLUTION has occurred for which I blame myself—I, whose virtues are of an inferior class, received with much veneration the empire from my imperial father eighteen years ago—I have not dared to indulge myself in sloth. When I ascended the throne the sect of the *Pee Lien* threw into rebellion four provinces, and the people suffered what I cannot bear to express. I ordered my generals to go against them, and after eight years conflict reduced them to subjection; I hoped that henceforward I should have enjoyed perpetual pleasure and peace with my children the people. Unexpectedly on the 6th of the 8th moon, the sect of *Tien Le*, (*i. e.* celestial reason illuminate) a banditti of vagabonds, created disturbance and caused much injury from the district of *Chang yuen*, in the province of *Pe-che-le*, to the district of ——— in *Shang-tung*. I hastened to order Wan, the viceroy of Pekin, to lead forth an army to exterminate them and to restore peace. This affair was yet at the distance of 1000 *lee* (a lee is one-fifth of an English mile), but suddenly, on the 5th of the ninth month, rebellion arose under my own arm—the misery has arisen in my own house—a banditti of 70 persons and more of the sect of the *Tien Le* violated the prohibited gate and entered withinside. They wounded the guard and entered the inner palace—four rebels were seized and bound—three others ascended the wall with a flag—my imperial second son seized a musket and shot two of the rebels—my nephew killed the third—after this they retired and the palace was restored to tranquillity—for this I am indebted to the energies of my imperial second son—the princes and chief officers of the *Lung Tsung* gate led forth the troops, and after two days and one night's utmost exertion, completely routed the rebels. My family, *Fatsing*, has continued to rule the empire 170 years—my grand-father and my imperial father in the most affectionate manner loved the people as children—I am unable to express

their virtues and benevolence. Though I cannot pretend to have equalled their good government and love of the people, yet I have not oppressed and ill-used my people. This sudden change I am unable to account for—it must arise from the low state of my virtues and my accumulated imperfections—I can only reproach myself—though this rebellion has burst forth in a moment, the misery has been long collecting. Four words, carelessness, indulgence, sloth, and contempt, express the source whence this great crime has arisen—hence *withinside* and *withoutside* are in the same state. Though I have again and a third time given warning till my tongue is blunted and my lips parched with frequent repetition, yet none of my ministers have been able to comprehend it: they have governed carelessly and caused the present occurrence. Nothing like it occurred during the dynasty of *Hang*, of *Tang*, of *Jung*, or of *Ming*. The attempt at assassination in the close of the dynasty of *Ming* does not equal the present by more than ten degrees. When I think of it I cannot bear to mention it. I would examine myself, reform, and rectify my heart, to correspond with the gracious conduct of heaven above me, and to do away with the resentments of my people who are placed below me. All my ministers who would be faithful to the dynasty of *Satening*, must exert themselves for the benefit of the country, and do their utmost to make amends for my defects, as well as to reform the manners of the people. Those who can be contented to be mean, may hang their caps against the wall, and go home and end their days, and not sit inactive as dead bodies in their places to secure their incomes, and thereby increase my crimes. The tears fall as my pencil writes. I dispatch this to inform the whole empire.

Received in Canton on the 12th of the 10th Moon.

ORIGINAL POETRY.

THE

DANCE OF DEATH.

I.

Night and morning were at meeting
    Over Waterloo;
Cocks had sung their earliest greeting,
    Faint and low they crew,
For no paly beam yet shone
On the heights of Mount Saint John;
Tempest-clouds prolong'd the sway
Of timeless darkness over day;
Whirlwind, thunder-clap, and shower,
Mark'd it a predestined hour.
Broad and frequent through the night
Flash'd the sheets of levin-light;
Musquets, glancing lightnings back,
Shew'd the dreary bivouack
    Where the soldier lay,
Chill and stiff, and drench'd with rain,
Wishing dawn of morn again
    Though death should come with day.

II.

'Tis at such a tide and hour,
Wizard, witch, and fiend have power,
And ghastly forms through mist and shower
    Gleam on the gifted ken;

And then the affrighted prophet's ear
Drinks whispers strange of fate and fear,
Presaging death and ruin near
Among the sons of men ;—
Apart from Albyn's war-array,
'Twas then grey Allan sleepless lay ;
Grey Allan, who, for many a day,
Had follow'd stout and stern
Where, through battle's rout and reel,
Storm of shot and hedge of steel,
Led the grandson of Lochiel,
Valiant Fassiefern.
Through steel and shot he leads no more,
Low-laid 'mid friends' and foemens' gore—
But long his native lake's wild shore,
And Sunart rough, and high Ardgower,
And Morvern long shall tell,
And proud Bennevis hear with awe,
How, upon bloody Quatre-Bras,
Brave Cameron heard the wild hurra
Of conquest as he fell.

III.

'Lone on the outskirts of the host,
The weary sentinel held post,
And heard, through darkness far aloof,
The frequent clang of courser's hoof,
Where held the cloak'd patrole their course,
And spurr'd 'gainst storm the swerving horse ;
But there are sounds in Allan's ear,
Patrole nor sentinel may hear,
And sights before his eye aghast
Invisible to them have pass'd,
When down the destined plain
'Twixt Britain and the bands of France,
Wild as marsh-borne meteors glance,
Strange phantoms wheel'd a revel dance,
And doom'd the future slain.—
Such forms were seen, such sounds were heard,
When Scotland's James his march prepared
For Flodden's fatal plain ;
Such, when he drew his ruthless sword,
As Chusers of the Slain, adored
The yet unchristen'd Dane.
An indistinct and phantom band,
They wheel'd their ring-dance hand in hand,
With gesture wild and dread ;
The Seer, who watch'd them ride the storm,
Saw through their faint and shadowy form
The lightning's flash more red ;

And still their ghastly roundelay
Was of the coming battle-fray
And of the destined dead.

IV.

Song.

Wheel the wild dance
While lightnings glance,
And thunders rattle loud,
And call the brave
To bloody grave,
To sleep without a shroud.

Our airy feet,
So light and fleet,
They do not bend the rye
That sinks its head when whirlwinds rave,
And swells again in eddying wave,
As each wild gust blows by;
But still the corn,
At dawn of morn,
Our fatal steps that bore,
At eve lies waste
A trampled paste
Of blackening mud and gore.

V.

Wheel the wild dance
While lightnings glance,
And thunders rattle loud,
And call the brave
To bloody grave,
To sleep without a shroud.

Wheel the wild dance!
Brave sons of France,
For you our ring makes room;
Makes space full wide
For martial pride,
For banner, spear, and plume.
Approach, draw near,
Proud cuirassier!
Room for the men of steel!
Through crest and plate
The broad-sword's weight
Both head and heart shall feel.

VI.

Wheel the wild dance
While lightnings glance,
And thunders rattle loud,
And call the brave
To bloody grave,
To sleep without a shroud.

Sons of the spear!
You feel us near
In many a ghastly dream;
With fancy's eye
Our forms you spy,
And hear our fatal scream.
With clearer sight
Ere falls the night,
Just when to weal or woe
Your disembodied souls take flight
On trembling wing—each startled sprite
Our choir of death shall know.

VII.

Wheel the wild dance
While lightnings glance,
And thunders rattle loud,
And call the brave
To bloody grave,
To sleep without a shroud.

Burst, ye clouds, in tempest showers,
Redder rain shall soon be ours—
See the east grows wan—
Yield we place to sterner game,
Ere deadlier bolts and drearer flame
Shall the welkin's thunders shame;
Elemental rage is tame
To the wrath of man."

VIII.

At morn, grey Allan's mates with awe
Heard of the vision'd sights he saw,
The legend heard him say;
But the seer's gifted eye was dim,
Deafen'd his ear, and stark his limb,
Ere closed that bloody day—
He sleeps far from his highland heath,—
But often of the Dance of Death
His comrades tell the tale

On picquet-post, when ebbs the night,
And waning watch-fires glow less bright,
And dawn is glimmering pale.

Abbotsford, October 1, 1815.

ROMANCE OF DUNOIS.

FROM THE FRENCH.

The original of this little Romance makes part of a manuscript collection of French songs, probably compiled by some young officer, which was found on the Field of Waterloo, so much stained with clay and with blood, as sufficiently to indicate what had been the fate of its late owner. The song is popular in France, and is rather a good specimen of the style of composition to which it belongs.—The translation is strictly literal.

It was Dunois, the young and brave, was bound for Palestine,
But first he made his orisons before Saint Mary's shrine:
" And grant, immortal Queen of Heaven," was still the Soldier's prayer,
" That I may prove the bravest knight, and love the fairest fair."

His oath of honour on the shrine he graved it with his sword,
And follow'd to the Holy Land the banner of his Lord;
Where, faithful to his noble vow, his war-cry fill'd the air,
" Be honour'd aye the bravest knight, beloved the fairest fair."

They owed the conquest to his arm, and then his liege lord said,
" The heart that has for honour beat by bliss must be repaid,—
My daughter Isabel and thou shall be a wedded pair,
For thou art bravest of the brave, she fairest of the fair."

And then they bound the holy knot before Saint Mary's shrine,
That makes a paradise on earth if hearts and hands combine;
And every lord and lady bright that were in chapel there,
Cried, " Honour'd be the bravest knight, beloved the fairest fair."

SONG,

FOR THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE PITT CLUB OF SCOTLAND.

By Walter Scott, Esq.

O dread was the time, and more dreadful the omen,
When the brave on Marengo lay slaughter'd in vain,
And, beholding broad Europe bowed down by her foemen
Pitt closed in his anguish the map of her reign!
Not the fate of broad Europe could bend his brave spirit
To accept for his country the safety of shame;
O then in her triumph remember his merit,
And hallow the goblet that flows to his name.

Round the husbandman's head, while he traces the furrow,
The mists of the winter may mingle with rain,
He may plough it with labour, and sow it in sorrow,
And sigh while he fears he has sowed it in vain;
He may die ere his children shall reap in their gladness,
But the blithe harvest-home shall remember his claim;
And their jubilee-shout shall be soften'd with sadness,
While they hallow the goblet that flows to his name.

Though anxious and timeless his life was expended,
In toils for our country preserved by his care,
Though he died ere one ray o'er the nations ascended,
To light the long darkness of doubt and despair;
The storms he endured in our Britain's December,
The perils his wisdom foresaw and o'ercame,
In her glory's rich Harvest shall Britain remember,
And hallow the goblet that flows to his name.

Nor forget His grey head, who, all dark in affliction,
Is deaf to the tale of our victories won,
And to sounds the most dear to paternal affection,
The shout of his people applauding his Son;
By his firmness unmoved in success or disaster,
By his long reign of virtue, remember his claim!
With our tribute to Pitt join the praise of his Master,
Though a tear stain the goblet that flows to his name.

Yet again fill the wine-cup, and change the sad measure,
The rites of our grief and our gratitude paid,
To our Prince, to our Heroes devote the bright treasure,
The wisdom that plann'd, and the zeal that obey'd!
Fill Wellington's cup till it beam like his glory,
Forget not our own brave Dalhousie and Græme;
A thousand years hence hearts shall bound at their story,
And hallow the goblet that flows to their fame.

THE

ETTRICKE GARLAND;

BEING TWO EXCELLENT NEW SONGS ON THE LIFTING OF THE BANNER OF THE HOUSE OF BUCCLEUCH, AT A GREAT FOOT-BALL MATCH ON CARTERHAUGH.

THE LIFTING OF THE BANNER.

From the brown crest of Newark its summons extending,
Our signal is waving in smoke and in flame;
And each forester blithe from his mountain descending,
Bounds light o'er the heather to join in the game.

CHORUS.

Then up with the Banner, let forest winds fan her,
She has blazed over Ettricke eight ages and more;
In sport we'll attend her, in battle defend her,
With heart and with hand, like our fathers before.

When the Southern invader spread waste and disorder,
At the glance of her crescents he paused and withdrew,
For around them were marshall'd the pride of the Border,
The Flowers of the Forest, the Bands of Buccleuch.
Then up with the Banner, &c.

A stripling's weak hand to our revel has borne her,
No mail-glove has grasp'd her, no spearmen surround;
But ere a bold foeman should scathe or should scorn her,
A thousand true hearts would be cold on the ground.
Then up with Banner, &c.

We forget each contention of civil dissension,
And hail, like our brethren, Home, Douglas, and Car;
And Elliot and Pringle in pastime shall mingle,
As welcome in peace as their fathers in war.
Then up with the Banner, &c.

Then strip, lads, and to it, though sharp be the weather,
  And if, by mischance, you should happen to fall,
There are worse things in life than a tumble on heather,
  And life is itself but a game at foot-ball.
    Then up with the Banner, &c.

And when it is over, we'll drink a blithe measure
  To each laird and each lady that witness'd our fun,
And to every blithe heart that took part in our pleasure,
  To the lads that have lost and the lads that have won.
    Then up with the Banner, &c.

May the Forest still flourish, both Borough and Landward,
  From the hall of the Peer to the herd's ingle-nook;
And huzza! my brave hearts, for BUCCLEUCH and his standard,
  For the King and the Country, the Clan and the Duke.

Then up with the Banner, let forest winds fan her,
She has blazed over Ettricke eight ages and more;
In sport we'll attend her, in battle defend her,
With heart and with hand, like our fathers before.

Quoth the Sheriff of the Forest,

Abbotsford, Dec. 1, 1815.

TO THE

ANCIENT BANNER OF THE HOUSE OF BUCCLEUCH.

AND hast thou here, like hermit grey,
  Thy mystic characters unroll'd,
O'er peaceful revellers to play,
  Thou Emblem of the days of old;
Or comest thou with the veteran's smile,
  Who deems his days of conquest fled,
Yet loves to view the bloodless toil
  Of sons whose sires he often led?

Not such thy peaceable intent,
  When over border-waste and wood,
On foray and achievement bent,
  Like eagle on thy path of blood.
Symbol to ancient valour dear,
  Much has been dared and done for thee;—
I almost weep to see thee here,
  And deem thee raised in mockery.

But no—familiar to the brave,
'Twas thine, thy gleaming moon and star,
Above their manly sports to wave,
As free as in the field of war.
To thee the faithful clans-man's shout,
In revel as in rage was dear;
The more beloved in festal rout,
The better fenced when foes were near.

I love thee for the olden day,
The iron age of hardihood;
The rather that thou led'st the way
To peace and joy, through paths of blood;
For were it not the deeds of weir,
When thou wert foremost in the fray,
We had not been assembled here,
Rejoicing in a father's sway.

And e'en the days ourselves have known,
Alike the moral truth impress,—
Valour and constancy alone
Can purchase peace and happiness.
Then hail, Memorial of the Brave,
The Liegeman's pride, the Border's awe;
May the grey pennon never wave
On sterner field than Carterhaugh,

Quoth the Ettricke Shepherd.

Altrive Lake, Dec. 1, 1815.

HELEN OF KIKKCONNELL.

By John Mayne.

I wish I were where Helen lies,
For night and day on me she cries;
And, like an angel, to the skies
Still seems to beckon me!
For me she lived, for me she sigh'd,
For me she wish'd to be a bride;
For me, in life's sweet morn, she died
On fair Kirkconnel Lee!

Where Kirtle waters gently wind,
As Helen on my arm reclined,
A rival, with a ruthless mind,
Took deadly aim at me;

My love, to disappoint the foe,
Rush'd in between me and the blow,
And now her corse is lying low,
On fair Kirkconnel Lee!

Though HEAVEN forbids my wrath to swell,
I curse the hand by which she fell—
The fiend that made my heaven a hell,
And tore my love from me!
For, if where all the graces shine—
O! if on earth there's aught divine,
My Helen! all these charms were thine,
And center'd all in thee!

Ah! what avails it that, amain,
I clove th' assassin's head in twain!
No peace of mind, my Helen slain—
No resting-place for me!
I see her spirit in the air!
I hear the shriek of wild despair,
When murder laid her bosom bare
On fair Kirkconnell Lee!

O! when I'm sleeping in my grave,
And o'er my head the rank weeds wave,
May HE who life and spirit gave
Unite my love and me!
Then from this world of doubts and sighs
My soul on wings of peace shall rise;
And, joining Helen in the skies,
Forget Kirkconnel Lee!

IMITATION OF HORACE—22D ODE.

(BY ALLAN RAMSAY, Junior.)

Allan Ramsay, junior, son of the pastoral poet, is better known as a painter than a poet; but in the latter capacity he possessed much of his father's humour. After the battle of Prestonpans he wrote an imitation of the Song of Deborah in Scripture, which he put into the mouth of a Jacobite young lady of family, which displayed considerable powers of satire. The following *jeu d'esprit* is a curious union of the Latin rythm with the modern rhyme.

MAN of no base (John) life and conversation,
Needs not to trust in coat of mail or buff skin,
Nor need he vapour with his sword or rapier
Pistol or great gun;

For if he ranges eastward to the Ganges,
Or if he bends his course to the West Indies,
Or sails the sea red, which so many strange odd
Stories are told of.

For but last Monday, walking at noon-day,
Conning a ditty to divert my Betty,
By me that sour Turk—(I not frighted) our kirk-
Treasurer's man past.

And sure more horrid monster in the torrid
Zone cannot be found, sir, though for snakes renown'd, sir,
Nor does great Peter's empire boast such creatures
Of bears the wet nurse, sir.

Should I by hap land on the coast of Lapland,
Where there no fire is, much less pears and cherries,
Where stormy weather, sold by hags whose leather
Faces would fright one.

Place me where tea grows—or where sooty negroes
Sheep's guts round tie them, lest the sun should fry them;
Still while my Betty smiles and looks so pretty
I will adore her.

STANZAS.

ANONYMOUS.

Come, Mary, let us seek the hill
Where blooms the gorse along the lea,
And wander by its wizard rill,
Or sit beneath its greenwood tree;
There mingle converse kind and free,
Or read some bard's inspired strain,
Or, blest in Nature's harmony,
To sweeter silence sink again.

The gleams of joy that gladden life,
Its gathering clouds may soon o'ercast,
But let us snatch from care and strife
The lovelier moments while they last; . . .
The tears that spring from sorrows past
Down Pleasure's bright'ning cheek may flow,
As snows piled by the mountain blast
In fresh'ning floods are felt below.

Then come and brush the vernal dew
By mossy glen and mountain hoar,
And mark the billows trembling blue
Around that lone and lovely shore—
O come, ere youth's gay morn is o'er,
Ere the heart's vivid spring is gone,
And darker cares, unknown before,
Condemn the breast to sigh alone!

Yet sure affection's fervid glow
No "chance or change" shall ever chill,
Nor e'er the soul's ingenuous flow
Be deaden'd by life's darkest ill;—
But come and let us climb the hill,
When blooms the gorse along the lea,
And wander by the wizard rill,
Or sit beneath the greenwood tree.

SONNET.

TO A LADY CARESSING AN INFANT.

ANONYMOUS.

O TAKE not, dearest Anna, from my view
  That lovely child, which in thy fond embrace
  Smiling delighted, lends more winning grace
Unto thy airy form and blooming hue! . . .
'Tis sweet on these young eyes of liquid blue
  To gaze, . . . and in the features of a face,
  Where nought of ill hath stampt unhallow'd trace,
To read, "whate'er is lovely, pure, and true." . . .
My Anna! even thus, when life was new,
  We wont to hang around the old man's chair,
    While he with tremulous hand would pat our cheek,
And tell how youth doth fade like morning dew!
  And teach us how to frame our infant pray'r
    To HIM who heareth those whose hearts are pure and meek.

A General Bill of all the Christenings and Burials within the Bills of Mortality, London, from December 15, 1812, to December 14, 1813.

Christened in the 97 parishes within the walls 1009—Buried 1094.
Christened in the 17 parishes without the walls 4411—Buried 8626.
Christened in the 23 out-parishes in Middlesex and Surry 11,151—Buried 8979.
Christened in the 10 parishes in the city and liberties of Westminster 3957—Buried 3623.

DISEASES AND CASUALTIES.

Abortive and stillborn	630	Dropsy	698	Mortification	205	Water in the chest	27
Abscess	57	Evil	4	Palpitation of the heart	6	Worms	1
Aged	1571	Fevers of all kinds	714	Palsy	144		
Ague	2	Fistula	6	Pleurisy	19	By the explosion of gunpowder	1
Apoplexy and suddenly	292	Flux	7	Piles	1	Bit by a mad dog	1
Asthma	574	French Pox	11	Quinsy	5	Broken limbs	1
Bedridden	5	Gout	34	Rash	1	Burnt	35
Bleeding	3	Gravel, stone, and strangury	11	Rheumatism	8	Drowned	101
Bursten and rupture	19	Grief	5	Scurvy	3	Excessive drinking	4
Cancer	83	Headmoldshot, horshoe-head, & water in the head.	297	Small Pox	898	Executed	12
Canker	1			Sore throat	4	Found dead	9
Childbed	183	Inflammation	741	Sores and ulcers	13	Frighted	4
Colds	16	Inoculation	2	Spasm	24	Killed by falls and several other accidents	80
Colick, gripes, &c	8	Itch	1	St Anthony's fire	4		
Consumption	4736	Jaundice	34	Stoppage in the stomach	25	Killed themselves	35
Convulsions	3239	Jaw-locked	2	Surfeit	2	Murdered	4
Cough, and hooping-coug	389	Leprosy	1	St Vitus's dance	2	Poisoned	3
Cow-Pox	1	Lethargy	1	Swine pox	1	Scalded	3
Cramp	2	Livergrown	45	Teeth	288	Suffocated	5
Croup	85	Lunatic	207	Thrush	44		
Diabetes	3	Measles	550	Tumor	2	Total	298

Christened, Males 10,608—Females 9920—In all 20,528. | Buried, Males 8993—Females 8329—In all 17,322.

Whereof have died,

Under two years of age	5167	Thirty and forty	1501	Seventy and eighty	1211	A hundred and one	1
Between two and five	1733	Forty and fifty	1751	Eighty and ninety	489	A hundred and two	1
Five and ten	604	Fifty and sixty	1606	Ninety and a hundred	61	A hundred and nine	2
Ten and twenty	526	Sixty and seventy	1559	A hundred	1	A hundred and thirteen	1
Twenty and thirty	1108						

Decreased in the burials this year 973.

There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surry, 28; of which number twelve only have been reported to be buried within the bills of mortality.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, DEATHS,

WITHIN THE YEAR 1813.

BIRTHS.

JAN. 1. Lady Mordaunt, a daughter. 3. The lady of Sir G. Bowyer, Bart. a son. 4. The lady of Major Stewart, 9th royal veteran battalion, a daughter. 6. The lady of W. Dickinson, Esq. M.P. a son. 9. At Perth, the lady of Captain Ayton, a daughter. 10. At Cork, the lady of Major-General Graham, a son. 11. Madame Lucien Buonaparte, a son. 17. At London, the Right Hon. Lady Caroline Anne Macdonald, a daughter. 19. At Lathallon Lodge, the lady of Colonel A. Spens, a son. 20. The lady of J. Finch Simpson, Esq., a daughter. —At Edinburgh, Mrs Murray of Polmaise, a son. 22. At Rasay, Mrs Macleod, of Rasay, a son. 25. The wife of Dr Sutherland, a daughter.—Mrs Bunning of twin daughters, who with their mother died in a few days. 26. At Edinburgh, the lady of Archibald Macnab, Esq. of Kinnell, a son. 28. The wife of the Rev. Dr Hall, a son.

FEB. 1. The lady of the Honourable Archibald Macdonald, a son.—The Marchioness of Queensberry, a daughter. 3. At Kilravock Castle, the lady of Hugh Rose, Esq. M.P. a son. 7. At Edinburgh, Mrs John Brougham, a son. 9. At Edinburgh, Mrs Morehead, wife of the Rev. Robert Morehead, a son. 12. Lady Mary Long, a daughter. 13. The lady of Sir G. S. Mackenzie, Bart. a son. 14. Right Hon. Lady Augusta Cotton, a daughter. 15. The lady of Sir William Pole, a daughter. 17. Right Honourable Lady Isabella Anne Brydges, a daughter. 19. At Manchester, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Inglis, of the Edinburgh militia, a daughter. 23. Viscountess Pollington, a daughter. 27. The lady of Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, Esq. M.P. a son. 28. The lady of Sir Joseph Mawbey, a still-born child.—At Stockholm, the lady of Edward Thornton, Esq. his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at that court, a son.

MARCH 1. The lady of Captain J. Haldane Tait, royal navy, a son. 2. Hon. Mrs Blackwood, a daughter. 5. At Edinburgh, Mrs Somerville, wife of Dr Somerville, deputy-inspector of army-hospitals, a daughter. 6. At Musselburgh, Mrs Scott, of Wauchop, a daughter. 8. At Park House, Mrs Dr Mackinnon, a son. —Countess of Northesk, a son. 10. Mrs Fuller Maitland, a son. 16. At Broomhall, the Right Hon. the Countess of Elgin, a son.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Stewart, of Crooks, a son. 18. Mrs Charles Hammersley, a daughter. 19. At Edinburgh, Mrs Dr Gordon, Buccleuch Place, a son. 21. At Edinburgh, Mrs Fergusson, of Bailyouken, a daughter. 23. At Edinburgh, the lady of Thomas Sheridan, Esq. a son.—The wife of George Baring, Esq.

a daughter. 27. The Countess of Chichester, a daughter. 31. Countess Grey of her eighth son and fourteenth child.—Lately, in Ross, the lady of the Rev. Thomas Handcock, of her *twentieth* child.

April 1. At Greenock, Mrs George Forsyth, a son. 3. At Edinburgh, Mrs Walker, the lady of Colonel Walker, of Bowland, a son.—The lady of Sir William Blackett, a son. 4. At Holmbush Lodge, Sussex, the lady of the Honourable D. M. Erskine, a daughter.—Mrs Nicholson, of Tanera, a son.—The lady of Gilbert L. Meason, Esq. of Lindertis, a son.—At Ashgrove, the lady of David Snodgrass Buchanan, of Blantyre Park, a son. 5. The wife of John Bowyer Nichols, Esq. a son. 7. The wife of John Cator, Esq. a son and heir.—Mrs Dr Millar, Brown's Square, a daughter. 9. At Edinburgh, the lady of James L'Amy, younger of Dunkenny, Esq. advocate, a son. 10. Mrs Dennistoun, younger of Colgrain, a daughter. 11. At Southfod, Mrs Stenhouse, jun. a daughter. 13. At Carlinwark House, Mrs M'Culloch, of Torhouskie, a son. 14. At Currie, the lady of Walter Brown, Esq. jun. of Currie, a son.—Mrs Gregory, St Andrew's Square, a son. 15. At Erskine-house, the lady of Lieutenant-Col. the Honourable Patrick Stuart, a son.—Mrs Smith, of Land, a son. 18. Lady Walpole, a son. 19. Lady Catherine Forrester, a son. 21. The wife of T. T. Berney, Esq. a son and heir.—At Relugas, the lady of Thomas Lauder Dick, Esq. younger of Fountainhall, a son. 22. In Leith Walk, the lady of John Beardsworth, Esq. a daughter. 25. In York Place, London, the lady of Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, Bart. and K.B. a son and heir.—Mrs Roy, of Nenthorn, a son. 26. Mrs Boyd, of Broadmeadows, a daughter. 27. At Jedburgh, Mrs Brown, of Rawflatt, a son. 28. The wife of Major Hannerfield, a daughter.

May 2. The lady of John Smith, Esq. a daughter. 4. The Duchess of St Alban's, a still-born child. 5. At Moniack, the lady of R. K. Mackenzie, Esq. of Flowerburn, a daughter. 11. The lady of Major-General Graham Stirling, of Duchray and Auchyle, a daughter, being her fourteenth child. 15. The wife of Mr Alderman Magnay, a son. 16. Lady Louvaine, a daughter. 17. The wife of William Henderson, at Rawburn, in the parish of Cranshaws, Berwickshire, two sons and a daughter, all seeming to do well. 18. At Dryden, Mrs Scott, wife of Alex. J. Scott, Esq. a daughter. 20. Mrs Raitt, of Carphin, a daughter.—At Glasgow, Mrs Cunningham, of Cairncurran, a daughter. 21. At Castle Craig, Lady Gibson Carmichael, a daughter. 24. At Islabank, the lady of Peter Wedderburn, Esq. a daughter. 26. The lady of the Knight of Glin, a son and heir.—Lately, the Countess of Moray, a daughter. 30. Mrs M'Dougall, Caverton Mill, a son.

June 5. The lady of Sir Benj. Hobhouse, a son; since dead.—The lady of the Hon. and Rev. Hugh Percy, a son. 7. The lady of Sir Henry Rivers, Bart. a daughter. 8. Countess Enniskillen, a son. 15. At Gottenburgh, the lady of D. Scott, Esq. Portugueze Consul, a daughter. 16. At Cork, the Right Hon. Lady Forbes, a daughter. 19. Lady Owen, a daughter. 20. At Dumfries, Mrs Maxwell, younger of Carruchan, a daughter. 24. At Mormond House, Mrs Gordon, of Cairnbulg, a daughter. 26. The wife of Sam. Comyn, Esq. a son. 28. Lady Caroline Capel of her third son and twelfth child. 29. At Dunmore House, Mrs Campbell, of Dunmore, a daughter. 30. At Cheeseburn Grange, the wife of Ralph Riddle, Esq. a son.—Lately, Mrs M'Kinven, wife to Arch. M'Kinven, calico-printer, Denny, of twins. This is the third time successively that Mrs M'Kinven has had twins, and all of them sons.

July 3. The lady of Sir John Hope, of Craighall, Bart. a son. 4. At Edinburgh, the lady of Sir John Pringle, Bart. of Stitchel, a daughter.—The lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Knight Erskine, of Pittodrie, a son.—Mrs Forrest, of Comiston, a son. 5. At Orton House, Lady Ann Wharton Duff, a daughter.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Campbell, of Dalserf, a son. 9. At Gilmore Place, Mrs Irvine, of Bonshaw, a son.—At Porchester Barracks, Hants, the lady of Alexander Mackenzie, Esq. of Scotsburn, Captain in the 5th regiment of British militia, a son. 11. At Glengarry House, the lady of Col. Macdonnell, of Glengarry, a son. 13. The Right Hon. Lady Anne Wardlow, a son. 17. The lady of the Hon. J. Thornton Leslie Melville, a daughter.—At Elderslie

House, the Hon. Mrs Speirs, a daughter. —The lady of the Hon. Edw. Harboard, a son and heir.—The lady of Sir Oswald Mosley, a daughter.—Lady Harriet Bagot, a son. 27. Viscountes Hamilton, a son. —Lately, the wife of Mr Skeskarrar, of Donaghmore, of two sons and a daughter, all likely to live. About two years ago she was delivered of two fine boys.—At Martin, near Penrith, the wife of Mr John Barton, three daughters, who are likely to do well.—At St Petersburgh, the Princess Tscherbatoff, lady of Sir R. K. Porter, a son.

Aug. 1. At Windmill Hill, Sussex, the seat of her father, Edward Jeremiah Curteis, Esq. the lady of Steuart Boone Inglis, Esq. a daughter.—At Edinburgh the wife of Mr James Crawford, a daughter; it being twenty years since Mrs Crawford was delivered of her last child. 4. Viscountess Fitzharris, a son.—Hon. Mrs Codrington, a son. 8. At Inverness, Mrs Captain Campbell, 71st Highland light infantry, a son. 9. Hon. Mrs Vanneck, a son and heir.—The lady of Sir Robert Graham, a son and heir.—At Carradale House, Mrs Campbell, of Carradale, a son. 10. At Kirkcudbright, the lady of Robert Gordon, Esq. writer, a son. 18. The lady of D. Macleod, Esq. of Talisker, a daughter. 19. At Edinburgh, the lady of Patrick Stirling, Esq. a son. 20. At Cheveley Park, the Duchess of Rutland, a son and heir. 22. At Stenhouse, Mrs Graham Campbell, of Shirvan, a daughter.—The lady of Lieutenant-Col. P. Black, a son. 28. At Duncan House, the Right Hon. Lady Anne Fraser, a still-born daughter.—Lady Arthur Somerset, a son.—Viscountess Grimstone, a son. 29. At Edinburgh, the lady of Captain Clarke, of the Northampton militia, a son and heir.

Sept. 3. At Edinburgh, the lady of Sir A. O. Molesworth, of Pitcarra, Bart. a son and a daughter.—At Urrard, the lady of Major Alston, a son. 8. At Cullen House, the lady of Colonel Grant, M. P. a daughter. 9. The lady of the Hon. J. Bridgeman Simpson, a son. 11. At London, the lady of Viscount Mountjoy, a son and heir. 13. At Granton, Lady Charlotte Hope, a daughter. 14. At Sea Grove, the lady of the Right Honourable the Lord Justice Clerk, a daughter.—At Edinburgh, the lady of Alex. Munro, Esq. of Livingston, a son. 16. The lady of Lieut.-Col. Foulkes, a son and heir.—The Hon. Mrs Ferguson, a son. 19. At Dryden, Viscountess Primrose, a son.—At Ayr, the Hon. Mrs Rollo, a daughter. 25. The lady of Rear-Admiral Scott, a son. 27. The Right Hon. Lady Brownlow, a son. 29. At Clova, the lady of Harry Niven Lumsden, Esq. of Auchindoir, a daughter.—Lately, the wife of Edward Edwards, of Cavendish Street, Liverpool, of her seventeenth son. What makes it the more remarkable is, that she has had seventeen boys out of eighteen children, and is now about 50 years of age.—The wife of Mr John Slightholm, of Scarbro', painter, a daughter, with a complete set of teeth.

Oct. 2. At Edinburgh, the lady of Colonel Robertson, of Hallcraig, a son. 5. The Duchess of Bedford, a son, who lived a few hours only. 7. At Wanstead House, Mrs Long Wellesley, a son and heir. 10. At Edinburgh, the lady of Sir John Heron Maxwell, of Springkell, Bart. a son. 14. The lady of E. J. Littleton, Esq. M. P. a daughter. 17. At High Wycombe, the lady of Sir H. Douglas, Bart. a son. 18. At Craufurdland Castle, the lady of William Howison Craufurd, Esq. a daughter. 19. At Erskine House, Lady Blantyre, a son. 21. At Balnamoon, the lady of James Carnegy, Esq. of Balnanamoon, a daughter. 23. At Langley Farm, Kent, the Honourable Mrs Wedderburn, a son.—At Redbourn Hall, Lincolnshire, the lady of the Right Hon. Lord William Beauclerk, a son. 25. At Hilton, Fifeshire, the lady of Colonel Deas, a son. 29. At Milton, near Peterborough, Lady Viscountess Milton, a daughter. 31. The lady of the Hon. and Rev. Alfred Harris, a son.

Nov. 2. At the Relief Manse, Kelso, Mrs Pitcairn, a son. 3. The wife of the Rev. S. Birch, Rector of St Mary Woolnoth, a son. 9. At Kelton, the lady of William Walker, Esq. of Kelton, a son. 11. Viscountess Bertrand, a daughter. 13. At Drumsheugh, Mrs Major Weir, a daughter. 14. The lady of H. R. Duff, Esq. of Muirton, a daughter. 17. At Edinburgh, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Wardlaw, a daughter.—The lady of Isaac Solly, Esq. a son. 18. The wife of Dr

Yelloly, a son.—The Countess of Rosse, a daughter. 23. At Arbuthnott, the Viscountess of Arbuthnott, a daughter.—At Dumfries, the lady of Douglas Macmurdo, Esq. a daughter. 24. At Ochtertyre, the Right Hon. Lady Mary Murray, a son. 25. At the Retreat, Berwickshire, the Honourable Mrs Montgomorie Stewart, a daughter. 28. At Edinburgh, the lady of John C. Scott, of Sinton, Esq. a son.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Craigie, of Glendoick, a son.

DEC. 1. At New Saughton, Mrs Watson, of Saughton, a son. 3. The lady of General Francis Dundas, a son.—At Edinburgh, Mrs James Ker, younger of Blackshiels, a daughter.—The Duchess of Newcastle, two sons. 4 Viscountess Hawarden, a daughter. 8. The lady of Matthew White, Esq. M. P. a son. 9. The lady of S. Shaen, Esq. a son and heir. 13. Viscountess Joscelyn, a daughter. 14. At St Helen's, the wife of Capt. Southey, R. N. brother of the Poet-Laureate, a son and heir. 15. The lady of Alderman Atkins, M. P. a daughter. 16 The lady of Sir John Thomas Stanley Alderley, a daughter. 18. The lady of Colonel Bunbury, a son.—Lately, The lady of Sir J. Shelley, a son.—The wife of Lieutenant-Colonel W. Napier, a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

JAN. 1. At Gretna Green, Lieut. B. Ronald, to Miss M. Macauley, of Glasgow. 5. P. D. Pauncefort Duncombe, Esq. to Lady Alicia Lambert, youngest daughter of the Earl of Cavan. 9. Lord Viscount Joscelyn, to Maria, daughter of Lord Le Despencer. 11. John H. Tremayne, Esq. M. P. to Caroline Matilda, daughter of Sir William Lemon. 12. Frederick Booth, Esq. to Anna Maria, daughter of the late Robert Bristow, Esq. 14. At Kirkwall, Mr William Watt Bain, procurator-fiscal of Orkney, to Jessie, eldest daughter of Mr James Scarth, merchant, Kirkwall.—At Edinburgh, Mr Peter Arnott, merchant, Leith, to Margaret Ogilvie, daughter of the late David Ogilvie, Esq. merchant, Leith. 15. At Innerleithen, Peebles-shire, Mr James Tait, Cabberston, to Miss Jane Horsburgh, eldest daughter of the late Mr Horsburgh, Yair. 16. At Barroch House, the Rev. William Smith, of Bower, to Miss Ann L. Sinclair, third daughter of John Sinclair of Barroch.—At the Manse of Rayne, William Leslie, Esq. of Warthill, to Jane, youngest daughter of the Rev. Dr Patrick Davidson, minister of Rayne. 19. Rev. T. Whately, to Isabella Sophia, daughter of Sir W. W. Pepys, Bart.—At Dalbeth, Laurence Hill, Esq. to Miss Barbara Hopkirk, third daughter of James Hopkirk, Esq. of Dalbeth.—At Hawick, Mr Andrew Lockie, nurseryman, Kelso, to Miss Brown, of Hawick.—At Eltham, George Robinson, Esq. royal artillery, to Miss Eve.—At Musselburgh, Alexander Vernor, Esq. to Miss Susannah Spalding—At Paisley, the Rev. William Hamilton, Strathblane, to Jane, third daughter of William King, Esq. Lonend. 21. Henry Clifford, Esq. to Anne Theresa, youngest daughter of the late Edward Ferrers, Esq.—At Woodford, Essex, John Paul, Esq. of Leith, to Susannah, youngest daughter of the late J. Hewetson, Esq. London. 22. Thomas Welmer, Esq. to Charlotte Margaret, third daughter of Gerrard Noel Noel, Esq. 23. S. F. Milford, Esq. to Juliana, eldest daughter of the late Wm. Ainge, Esq.—At Aberdeen, Mr Alex. Walker, of the Customs, Leith, to Miss Jean, second daughter of Mr John Sim, of the Customs, Aberdeen. 26. At Parkside, near Hamilton, the Rev. James Hutchison, one of the chaplains to the Hon. East India Company's military establishment at Madras, to Miss Ann Pender, daughter of Robert Pender, Esq. of Parkside.—At Ferney Castle, A. Cahill, Esq. surgeon of the 25th foot, to Miss Logan, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Colonel Logan. 28. Mr A. Vestris, to Miss Bartolozzi, grand daughter of the celebrated engraver.—At Melville Place, Stirling, Major M'Leod, of the Hon. East India Company's service, to Mary, eldest daughter of John Mackenzie of Kincraig, Esq. Ross-shire.—Mr Joseph Bradbury, of Moor Park, near Harrowgate, (the celebrated singer) to Miss Wrigglesworth, of Wakefield, niece of the late Richard Green, Esq. of Leventhorp-house, near Leeds.

Feb. 1. Alexander Kincaid, Esq. of Newlands, to Elizabeth, only daughter of J. Smith, Esq. of Loanhead.—At Glasgow, Mr Alexander Morrison, writer, to Miss Janet, only daughter of Mr William Snell, manufacturer there. 2. Viscount Neville, to Miss Mary Anne Bruce Elcock. 6. Viscount Powerscourt, to Lady Frances Joscelyn, eldest daughter of the Earl of Roden. 9. At Workington, Mr Jeremiah Jollie, editor of the Carlisle Journal, to Miss Isabella Peil, niece of the Rev. S. Peil, of the former place.—At Glasgow, the Rev. John Robertson, Cambuslang, to Miss Sarah Shaw, eldest daughter of the late Mr William Shaw, bookseller, Glasgow. 12. At London, J. Macquerier, Esq. to Mrs R. Scott, widow of the late Professor Scott, King's College, Aberdeen. 15. David Scott, Esq. to Mary, the eldest daughter of the late William Seddon, Esq.—At Glasgow, G. Dods, Esq. captain, Royal Scots, to Douglas, youngest daughter of the late Mr Benjamin Pattison, Glasgow.—At Stirling, William Macintosh, Esq. banker, there, to Ann, eldest daughter of John Sutherland, Esq. chief magistrate of Stirling. 16. At Braes-house, W. Stirling Glas, Esq. to Miss Forrester, of Craigannet. 20. At Edinburgh, Lord Blantyre, to Fanny, second daughter of the Hon. J. Rodney.—At Edinburgh, Thomas Hamilton, Esq. merchant, Glasgow, to Maria Helena, youngest daughter of the deceased Sir George Colquhoun, of Tillyquhoun, Bart. 24. Thomas Somers Cocks, Esq. to Agnetta, fifth daughter of the Right Hon. Pole Carew. Lately, Captain Hancock, of the royal navy, to Miss Kinnear, daughter of the late Rear-Admiral Kinnear.

March 4. W. H. Lyttleton, Esq. M. P. to Lady Sarah, eldest daughter of Earl Spencer. 8. Viscount Gage, to Miss Poley, eldest daughter of the late Hon. E. F. P. 9. At Cannobie Manse, Mr Cruthers, Reyhills, Cannobie, to Ann, eldest daughter of the Rev. Mr Russel, minister of that parish. 11. Edward Ferrers, Esq. to Lady Harriet Anne Ferrers Townshend, eldest daughter of the late Marquis Townshend.—At Bath, Collingwood Forster Fenwick, Esq. to Eliza, second daughter of Admiral Christie, of Baberton. 12. At Edinburgh, Capt. Hamilton, aid-de-camp to Major-General Hope, to Jane, eldest daughter of Hugh Crawfurd, Esq. Kilblain, Greenock. 13. Richard Charles Hanson, of Bristol, Esq. to Janet Dickson, youngest daughter of the late James Dunn, of Edinburgh, Esq. 16. J. Goss, Esq. to Lady Harrington, widow of the late Sir Edward Harrington. 22. At Edinburgh, George Grey, Esq. of Millfield-hill, Northumberland, to Jane, second daughter of John Gregson, Esq. of Belchester. 25. Lieut.-Col. D. Rattray, to Marian, only daughter of Lieut.-General Hamilton.—At Selkirk, the Rev. William B. Shaw, minister of Langholm, to Eliza, youngest daughter of Mr Henry Scott, Deloraine. 29. At Greenhead, John Donaldson, Esq. W. S. to Margaret, only daughter of John Ure, Esq. 30. Captain Fellows, to the eldest daughter of the late R. Benyon, Esq. 31. At Edinburgh, R. Hunter, Esq. of the Honourable East India Company's Bengal civil service, to Margaret, youngest daughter of Alexander Walker, Esq. Queen Street.

April 2. Sir Morris Ximenes, to Mrs Cotsford, relict of the late E. Cotsford, Esq.—At Edinburgh, Mr John Anderson, bookseller, to Miss Christina Tawse, only daughter of John Tawse, Esq. 5. C. P. Meyer, Esq. to Louisa, third daughter of the late Rawson Hart Boddam, Esq. 5. At Edinburgh, G. Napier, Esq. younger of Dales, to Miss Maxton, eldest daughter of Mr Josiah Maxton, saddler. 7. Murdoch Maclaine, Esq. of Lochbuy, to Christian, eldest daughter of D. Maclean, Esq. W. S. 8. At Dundas Castle, Robert Cunynghame, Esq. to Miss Maria Dundas, second daughter of the late Geo. Dundas, Esq. of Dundas.—Rev. J. B. Jenkinson, to Frances Augusta, third daughter of Augusta Pechell, Esq.—At Edinburgh, John Halliday Martin, Esq. late of the 16th dragoons, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Colonel William Kelso, of Dankeith. 10. Sir William Scott, to the Marchioness of Sligo.—At Edinburgh, Roderick Macleod, Esq. younger of Cadboll, to Miss Isa. Cunninghame, daughter of the late William Cunninghame, Esq. of Langshaw. 12. William Geddes, Esq. of Verreville glassworks, to Catharine, youngest daughter of William Kidston, Esq. merchant in Glasgow. 13. James Wm. Croft, Esq. to Anne Eliza, daughter

of the Hon. Sir Edw. Hyde East. 19. At Sandyford, the Rev. Alexander Gray, minister of Kincardine, to Ann, youngest daughter of the late David Gray, Esq. of Millbrae.—At Inveresk, Arch. Cochran, Esq. of Ashkirk, lieutenant-colonel first Mid Lothian local militia, to Miss Margaret Campbell Porves, daughter of the late Sir Alexander Purves of Purves, Bart. 20. A. Pell, Esq. to the Hon. Margaret Letitia Matilda St John. 26. R. Morris, Esq. to Sophia Catharine, second daughter of the late Dr James. 27. The Rev. Robert Lundie, minister of Kelso, to Mary, youngest daughter of the late George Grey, Esq. of Sandy House, Northumberland. 28. At Nairn, James Augustus Grant, Esq. of Viewfield, and late of the civil service of the East India Company, to Miss Eliza, the eldest daughter of Col. Mackintosh, of Millbank. 30. At Aberdeen, Hugh Lumsden, of Pitcaple, Esq. advocate, to Frances, second daughter of Alexander Brebner of Lairnie, Esq.

May 4. The Hon. and Rev. Henry D. Erskine, second son of Lord Erskine, to Lady Harriet Dawson, sister to the Earl of Portarlington. 6. Rev. Richard Budd, to Harriet Anne, second daughter of the Rev. Jeremiah Trist.—At Bath, Captain Frederick William Rooke, of the royal navy, to Miss Wallace, daughter of the deceased Alexander Wallace, Esq. banker. 10. At Cuffness, Captain Dudgeon, 58th regiment, to Miss Yule, daughter of James Yule, Esq. of Gibslees. 14. Rev. Wm. Wood, to Charlotte, second daughter of the late Jos. Attersoll, Esq. 17. Rev. Frederick Ricketts, to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of the late Chas. Street, Esq.—At Dumfries, Dr Alex. Melville, to Miss Grace Babington, daughter of the Rev. Dr William Babington, Dumfries. 18. At Inverness, Captain Gordon, 2d, or Queen's royal regiment, to Katharine, relict of the late Lieutant-Colonel Ross, 57th regiment.—At Beckley, Sussex, the Hon. and Rev. James Douglas, to W. Mina Murray, second daughter of the Honourable Mrs Murray, widow of the late General Murray. 22. Sir Joseph Yorke, Knt. to the Marchioness of Clanricade. 26. At London, the Rev. Thos. Randolph, eldest son of the Lord Bishop of London, to Caroline Diana Macdonald, youngest daughter of the Lord Chief Baron.

June 1. Right Hon. W. Dundas, to Miss Stuart Wortley, daughter of the Hon. Stuart Wortley Mackenzie.—At Edinburgh, Alexander Gillespie, Esq. to Eliza Mary, eldest daughter of the late Lieut.-Col. William Shirreff, of the East India Company's service. 4. At Murrays, George Imlach, Esq. W. S. to Miss Agnes Wight, daughter of the late Robt. Wight, Esq. Murrays. 5. Sir L. Worsley Holmes, Bart. M. P. to Anne, daughter of J. Delgarno, Esq. 9. Henry Partington, Esq. to Frances, eldest daughter of George Tate, Esq. 16. At Musselburgh, Mr C. Stewart, younger of Sweethope, to Agnes, daughter of Captain James Boyle, of Tilibody. 20. At Knole, in Kent, the Earl of Delaware, to Lady Elizabeth Sackville, youngest daughter of the late, and sister to the present Duke of Dorset.—At Glasgow, the Rev. Dr William Muir, one of the ministers of that city, to Miss Hannah Black, eldest daughter of Jas. Black, Esq. merchant. 24. Henry S. H. Wollaston, Esq. to Frances, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr Buchanan. 26. At London, the Right Honourable Lord Frederick Beauclerk, to Miss Charlotte Dillon, daughter of the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Dillon. 29. Lord William Geo. Henry Somerset, brother to the Duke of Beaufort, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Major-General Molyneux.

July 2. At Edinburgh, Sir D. Hunter Blair, of Brownhill, Bart. to Miss Dorothy Hay Mackenzie, second daughter of Edward Hay Mackenzie, of Newhall and Cromarty, Esq.—At Edinburgh, David Monro Binning, Esq. of Softlaw, to Miss Isabella Blair, second daughter of the late Right Honourable Robert Blair, of Avonton, Lord President of the College of Justice.—At Kirtown Manse, the Rev. William Brown, of Greenlees, minister of Bedrule, to Miss Janet Henderson, eldest daughter of Mr Archibald Henderson, Mackside. 5. At St Andrews, the Rev. Dr John Lee, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St Mary's College, to Miss Rose Mason, daughter of the late Rev. Dr T. Mason, minister of Dunnichen.—Rev. Mr Roberts of Uppingham, to the daughter of the Rev. Mr Pochin. 10. Hart Davis

Esq. M. P. to Charlotte, fourth daughter of the late Gen. Dundas. 13. Major M'Gregor, of the 70th regiment, to Miss Mercer, daughter of the late Capt. Mercer. 15. Rev. L. Hird, Prebendary of York, to the eldest daughter of the late Rev. L. S. Lascelles. 19. Rev. F. B. Astley, to Mary Anne, youngest daughter of J. N. Ludford, Esq. 20. James Dundas, Esq. of Dundas, to the Hon. Mary Tufton Duncan, daughter of the late Lord Viscount Duncan.—Rev. T. Bedford, to Barbara, youngest daughter of Lord St John. 22. Sir Charles Colville, to Miss Bonnell. 28. George Corry, Esq. to Elizabeth Mary, daughter of John Aldridge, Esq.—John Cunninghame, Esq. advocate, to Miss Trotter, eldest daughter of Lieutenant-General Trotter. 29. Francis Forrester, Esq. to Lady Louisa Vane, eldest daughter of the Earl of Darlington. Lately, at London, Captain E. Knox, to Miss Hope, sister of James Hope Weir, Esq. of Craigiehall.

AUG. 2. Captain Carrol, R. N. to Martha Milligen, eldest daughter of Captain Dacres.—At Woodside, J. Boyes, Esq. of Wellhall, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late John Dykes, Esq. of Woodside. 5. George Cocks, Esq. R. N. to Mrs Robertson, daughter of the late Admiral Sir William Parker, Bart.—Hon. Edw. Stourton, to Maria, only daughter of James Lane Fox, Esq. 11. Rev. John King Martyn, to Emma, fourth daughter of the late Alderman Macaulay, of London. 12. W. T. Gordon, Esq. to Miss W. Wood, having been married ten years before at Gretna Green. 18. Right Hon. James Hay, to the daughter of James Forbes, Esq. of Seaton. 19. J. D. Norton, Esq. to Helen, daughter of Major-Gen. Bruce. 21. Edward Wigan, Esq. to Elizabeth, only child of James Costar, Esq. 23. At Glasgow-Field, Thos. C. Haggart, younger of Bantaskine, to Elizabeth, only daughter of Thomas Stewart, Esq. of Westforth. 24. Sir Charles Knightly, Bart. to the daughter of the late Felton Hervey, Esq.—At Edinburgh, James Greenhill, Esq. of Gordon, to Anne, third daughter of the late Reverend William Duncan, minister of Abernethy. 25. At Leith, James Robertson, Esq. of Balgarvie, to Jessie, fourth daughter of the late John Archibald, Esq. merchant in Leith. 26. J. Monson, Esq. to Elizabeth Anne, second daughter of the Rev. Christ. Wyvill. 30. Molyneux Hyde Nepean, Esq. to Miss C. Tilghman.

SEPT. 2. Chas. Sneyd Edgeworth, Esq. to Miss Broadhurst, sister of J. B. Esq. M. P. 6. Lord Nugent, to the daughter of the Hon. General Paulett. 7. Hon. R. Quin, to Emily, sister of Sir John Wyldbore Smith, Bart.—J. J. H. Vere, Esq. to Lady Elizabeth Hay, fourth daughter of the Marquis of Tweeddale. 10. Rev. J. Spencer Knox, eldest son of the Bishop of Derry, to Clara, youngest daughter of the late Right Hon. J. Beresford. 14. Morton Kelly, Esq. son of the late Admiral Kelly, to Anne Lindsey de Cardonnel. 21. R. W. Newman, Esq. M. P. to Mary Jane, daughter of Richard Denne, Esq. 23. Horace Mann, Esq. to Louisa, eldest daughter of the Rev. Walter Trevelyan. 28. George Cobb, Esq. to Sophia, only daughter of John Wheatley, Esq.—Rev. B. Collyer, D. D. to Miss Mary Hawkes.

OCT. 5. G. G. Graves, Esq. to Elizabeth, the only daughter of the Rev. Dr Graves. 11. John Ward, Esq. to Frances, daughter of the late Hon. John Leveson Gower. 14. Dr Powell, to Mrs Garnett. 19. J. H. Butterworth, Esq. to Mary Anne, only child of T. Stock, Esq. 20. Captain Clifford, R. N. to Elizabeth, second daughter of Lord John Townshend. 26. The Right Hon. Rear-Admiral Lord Henry Paulet, to Maria, youngest daughter of E. Ravenscroft, Esq. 28. James Wedderburn, Esq. advocate, to Isabella, daughter of the late James Clerk, Esq. 30. Henry Karslake, Esq. to E. M. Preston, eldest daughter of R. Preston, Esq. M. P.

Nov. 1. R. R. Ternan, Esq. to Helena, eldest daughter of the late Col. Alexander Read. 5. Rev. W. Penny, to Sophia, youngest daughter of the Bishop of Carlisle. 9. Rich. Mee Raikes, Esq. to Jane, third daughter of S. Thornton, Esq. 10. At Edinburgh, the Rev. John M'Quir, minister of Urr, to Miss Jane Frazer, second daughter of Mr Alexander Frazer, solicitor, supreme court. 11. Rev. Henry Plimley, to the daughter of the late Admiral Buckner. 13. The Right Hon. Edward Lord Thurlow, to Mary Catherine, eldest daughter of James Bolton, Esq. 16. William Forlong, jun. Esq. Glasgow, to Craufurd, daughter of Lieutenant-Ge-

neral Gordon Cuming, of Pitlurg. 23. Lord Berriedale, to the youngest daughter and co-heiress of the late Rev. W. Leigh.—At London, Alexander Don, Esq. son of Sir Alexander Don, Bart. to Miss Montgomerie, second daughter of the late George Montgomerie, Esq. 24. John Macqueen, Esq. to Jane Anne, second daughter of Sir James Nasmyth.

DEC. 4. Rev. Wm. Chaley, D.D. master of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor of that University, to Mary, youngest daughter and co-heiress of the late John Westwood, Esq. 6. Geo. Ick, Esq. to Frances Sophia Badcock, grand-daughter of the late Richard Cumberland, Esq. 7. Rev. Francis Fox, to the daughter of the late Rev. Jemmet Browne. 9. T. D. Aubrey, Esq. to Miss Wright. 11. Hon. Edw. Law, M. P. to Lady Octavia Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Londonderry.—The Marquis of Huntley, to the only daughter of A. Brodie, Esq. 14. H. Unwin Heathcote, Esq. to Eleanor, third daughter of Sir Robert Wigram, Bart. 21. Major Drake, to the eldest daughter of J. Fane, Esq. M. P. 28. Lieut.-Col. J. P. Hamilton, to Charlotte, second daughter of J. Fane, Esq. M. P. 29. Robert Spankie, Esq. to the daughter of J. Inglis, Esq.

DEATHS.

JAN. 1. William Goodhew, Esq. a deputy-lieutenant of the county of Kent. 3. Mr John Marshall, called Crutchy Jack. Though only 36 inches high, he was the father of 8 children. 5. Sir Philip Gibbes, Bart. aged 85.—Hon. A Frazer Tytler, Lord Woodhouslee, a judge of the Court of Session. 7. Trevor Hull, Esq. gentleman usher of the privy chamber, aged 79. He had greatly distinguished himself in the army, in all the great battles of the seven years war.—At Bath, Major-General Patrick Alexander Agnew. 8. The Countess of Aylesbury, in her 60th year. —John Byng, Viscount Torrington.—At Edinburgh, Capt. Archibald Dow, R. N. 13. John Bell, Esq. an eminent solicitor of Gray's Inn.—In his 96th year, W. Brereton, Esq. formerly master of the ceremonies at Bath. 14. In his 22d year, the Rev. Joseph Gregory, Vicar of St Martin's, and All Saints, Leicester. 20. Isaac Schomberg, Esq. an able naval commander, and author of an excellent work connected with his profession.—Ann Eliza, Duchess of Chandos, mother to the present Marchioness of Buckingham.—Rev. R. Nicoll, D.D. aged 80, Rector of Drayton, and Chancellor of Wells. 24. Miss Cornwallis, daughter of the Bishop of Litchfield. 26. In his 63d year, Francis-Augustus Elliot, Lord Heathfield, Baron of Gibraltar.—William Hussey, Esq. aged 87. 28. Henry Redhead Yorke, one of the most violent of all politicians, first on the side of liberty, and afterwards against it. 29. In his 84th year, Viscount Molesworth.—The Countess of Portarlington, sister to the Marquis of Bute.

FEB. 1. In his 72d year, The Rev. W. Wyatt, rector of Framlinghamcum-Saxsted.—At Edinburgh, Mrs Jacobina Hamilton, relict of Major Charles Hamilton, of Fairholm. 3. William Hoskins, Esq. Receiver-General of the county of Somerset, and brother-in-law to Viscount Sidmouth.—At London, Lady Helen Stewart, fourth daughter of the Earl of Galloway.—At Edinburgh, Charles Mackenzie, Esq. of Kilcoy. 11. The Right Hon. George Grenville, Marquis of Buckingham. 14. Sir John Wentworth. 17. T. Ramsden, Esq. a very eminent surgeon. 21. Henry Baldwin, Esq. an eminent printer and bookseller.—In her 97th year, Lady Mary Bowlby, grandmother to the Duchess of Buccleuch, Lord Sidney, Countess of Chatham, and Lady Dinevor. —In his 81st year, Mr John Stephen, celebrated for his skill as a chiropodist. 25. James Parkinson, Esq. late proprietor of Sir Ashton Lever's museum.—At the age of 107, M. Bertrand de Lille, who had been first valet-de-chambre to Louis XV.

MARCH 2. In his 88th year, Thomas Lord Viscount and Baron Cremorne. 5. The Right Hon. Anne, Countess Dowager of Chichester, at the age of 79. 6. William Jervis, Esq. elder brother of the Earl of St Vincent. 7. At Shooter's Hill, the Countess of Carnarvon. 8. Sophia, daughter of the Hon. and Rev. Dr Masham.—At Castle Menzies, Sir Robert Menzies, Bart.—At Tynningham, the Countess of Haddington. 9. At Hoddom Castle, Charles Sharpe, Esq. of Hoddom. 13. Edward Long, Esq. author of the History of Jamaica.—At Dunbar House, La-

dy Charlotte Maitland, youngest daughter of the Earl of Lauderdale. 19. At Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Hope, of Logie, wife of Major-General John Hope. 21. John Pinkerton, Esq. a considerable civil engineer. 23. In her 76th year, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Brunswick, sister to his present majesty. 24. The able, faithful, and zealous Vicar of St Mary's, Leicester, the Rev. Thomas Robinson. 26. Lady Augusta Phipps, daughter of the Earl of Mulgrave. 27. Lady Emma, third daughter of the Earl of Tankerville. 28. Aged 75, the Princess of Condé.

APRIL 1. In his 71st year, And. Marshall, M. D.—In his 107th year, at Falkirk, Daniel M'Kinnon. 7. Jane, widow of the Hon. Frederick Vane, son of the first Earl of Darlington. 10. Rev. Geo. Holbrooke, M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. 15. At Edinburgh, the Rev. Dr Alexander Murray, lately appointed Professor of Oriental Languages in that University. 16. In his 85th year, the Right Honourable Nicholas Barnwell, Baron Trimleston.—In his 67th year, Sir M. White Ridley, of Blagdon, in Northumberland. 21. Henry Clifford, Esq. a celebrated barrister, having been married only three months. 23. S. F. Simmons, M.D. physician extraordinary to the king. —The Right Rev. Claudius Crigan, D.D. Bishop of Sodor and Man. 24 In the 59th year of her age, the Countess of Findlater and Seafield. 25. The Right Honourable Richard Fitzpatrick, younger brother to the Earl of Upper Ossory. 27. His Highness the illustrious Prince Kutusoff Smolensko, who took a distinguished part in driving away Bonaparte from Russia.

MAY 2. William Lord Hotham, Admiral of his Majesty's fleet.—In the battle of Lutzen, his Serene Highness the Prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz, nephew of her majesty the Queen of England. 4. In her 106th year, Elizabeth Bell, of Whitehaven. 6. Thomas Pomeroy, Esq. whose family came over with the Conqueror, and who possessed the spurs and spoon given by William to his ancestor. 11. S. Gambier, Esq. a commissioner of the navy. 16. The Hon. E. E. A. D. De Courcy, at the age of 79. 17. Mr Æneas Gregorson, assistant commissary general to his Britannic Majesty's forces. 20. John Lord Elphinstone. 21. Sir John Anderson, Bart. 22. Dr J. Ossory, Bishop of Ossory. 27. Josiah Tattnall, Esq. one of the council for the Bahama islands. 31. The Right Hon. the Countess of Chesterfield.

JUNE 2. At Edinburgh, Burnet Bruce, Esq. advocate. 4. Hon. John De Courcy, eldest son of Lord Kinsale, while pursuing the French in Spain. 7. Maria Hester, wife of Thomas Park, Esq.—At Edinburgh, Philip Dundas, only son of General Francis Dundas. 12. At the age of 94, Edward Rowland, whose father lived to the age of 97, and grandfather to that of 103. 17. In his 87th year, the Right Hon. Charles Middleton, Baron Barham, for some years an able commander of his majesty's fleets, and first lord of the admiralty. 18. In his 78th year, the Right Hon. George Venables, Lord Vernon.—Sir Charles Pole, Bart. 20. Sir Laurence Palk, aged 47.—At Irnham, Lancashire, the Dowager Lady Arundel. 21. At the memorable battle of Vittoria, Captain Henry Anderson.—At the same time, Lieut.-Col. Fane. He had been severely wounded at Corunna, under Sir John Moore. 27. At Craigleith, D.Ramsay, Esq. of Craigleith, printer in Edinburgh. 28. Rev. William Severn, minister of the Unitarian chapel, Hull.—Arthur Annesly Powell, Esq. who some years ago killed Lord Falkland in a duel. 29. Valentine Greene, Esq. A.R.A. late keeper of the British Institution. 30. The Hon. Henrietta A.M.C.B Pelham, wife of the Honourable Charles A Pelham.

JULY 1. William Huntington, author of the Bank of Faith, and other works, a great enthusiast, or something not so good.—Rev. John Venn, Vicar of Clapham. 2. In the prime of life, Rev. Thos. Morgan, Rector of Bridell, Cardiganshire. 8. Lady Campbell, relict of the late Sir Arch. Campbell.—The Hon. Wm. Lord Craig, one of the judges of the Court of Session. 11. In her 88th year, Lady C. Finch, the last surviving daughter of Thos. first Earl of Pomfret. She had been the superintendant of the nursery of their present majesties. 14. The Dowager Lady Heathcote, relict of the late Sir Gilbt. Heathcote. 20. The Right Hon. H. T. Butler, Earl of Carrick. 22. Geo. Shaw,

M.D. F.R.S. celebrated for his very popular works on Natural History. 26. Rev. Henry Ford, doctor of civil law, Principal of Magdalene Hall, Oxford.—The Rev. Hugh Worthington, minister of Salter's Hall. 28. The Right Rev. John Randolph, Bishop of London.

AUG. 1. Sir Henry Vane Tempest, M.P. for the county of Durham.—Rev. Joseph Bealey, a distinguished Unitarian minister. 2. Fighting in Spain, Capt Brownlow, son of the late Right Honourable W. Brownlow. 4. The Hon. R. H. Monckton, son of the late, and brother of the present Viscount Galway. 7. Wm. Pierrepont, Esq. Rear-Admiral of the Blue. 11. H. J. Pye, Esq. poet laureate. 13. At the age of 77, the Right Rev. Joseph Stock, bishop of Waterford. 19. Dr Vaughan, an eminent physician at Leicester. 21. At the age of 89, of the small-pox, Mr Joseph Wotton. 25. The Rev. T. Hill, formerly the classical and resident tutor in the Old College, Homerton. 27. Dr Rudolph Rhode, fifty years physician in the British army.—Baron de Rolle, the friend and adherent to the soi-disant king of France. 30. D. Adams, Esq. many years secretary to the Society for Constitutional Information.

SET. 2. Captain James Steuart, of the 3d battalion Royal Scots.—In her 92d year, Mrs Buchan Achmachoy, only grand-daughter of William, the last Lord Bargeny. 5. W. W. Moncreiff, L.L.D, and advocate for the admiralty in the island of Malta. 9. In his 84th year, E. Lock, Esq. Alderman of Oxford.—At Edinburgh, Miss Gordon, daughter of the late Patrick Gordon, Esq. of Abergeldie, aged 93. 10. At Moncalve, the Rev. James France, minister of the Associate Antiburgher Congregation.—At Drumsheugh, near Edinburgh, Wm. Stark, Esq architect. 11. At Keiss, Mr John Clunes Innes, eldest son of James Innes, Esq. 12. At Edinburgh, George Ogilvy, Esq. of Westhall. 14. At Fraserburgh, Wm. Fraser, Esq. of Memste, in his 74th year. 15. B. A. Goldsmid, Esq. 19 Rev. W. Pemberton, Rector of Rushbury, Salop.—At Morcot, Rutland, in the 85th year of her age, the Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth Chaplin, sister to Brownlow, ninth Earl of Exeter, great aunt to the present Marquis of Exeter, and mother of Charles Chaplin, Esq. M. P. 21. Robert Mann, Esq. Admiral of the Red. 25. Mr John Colston Doyle, a celebrated professional bass-singer. 29. William Gretton, D. D. Master of Magdalen College.

OCT. 2. John Touchett, Esq. Attorney-General of Carmarthen circuit. 5. At Vittoria, in Spain, of his wounds at the battle of the Pyrenees, 25th July, in the 21st year of his age, Lieut. Alexander Macdonald, of the 92d regiment, second son of the late Major Macdonald, of Dalchosnie. 6 The Hon. Mrs Strode, relict of W. S. Esq. 8. John Pennington, Lord Munster.—At the early age of 39, the Rev. Robert Young, D. D. minister of the Scots church, London Wall. 11. The Hon. F. J. Lygon, eldest daughter of the Right Hon. Lord Beauchamp. 13. Rev. J. Campbell, rector of St Andrew's, Jamaica. 14. Aged 64, Sir Barry Colles Meredyth, Bart father of Sir Joshua M. of Cheltenham; and on the day following the lady of Sir Joshua. 17. Lieut.-Gen. Sir Harry Burrard. 18. In his 31st year, at the famous battle of Leipsic, Captain Richard Bogue.

NOV. 1. Within the rules of the King's Bench, the Rev. Francis Stone, who was prosecuted and deprived of his living by the Bishop of London, on account of having preached and published a sermon on the miraculous conception.—Lady Fenn, relict of the late Sir John Fenn. 3. R. A. Harrison, Esq. collector of the customs at Hull. 8. Dr Spencer Madan, bishop of Peterborough. 9. Viscount Dillon, governor of the counties of Roscommon and Mayo. 13. Reverend Joseph Jowett, L.L.D. Professor of Civil Law at Oxford. 15. Mrs Krumpholtz, the celebrated performer on the harp.—The Right Honourable Grace, Countess of Portsmouth. 17. Sir Thos. Theophilus Metcalfe. 18. The Right Honourable Cassandra Lady Hawke. 20. Of an apoplectic fit, G. Johnstone, Esq. 23. The Right Hon. Caroline Viscountess Clifden, eldest daughter of the Duke of Marlborough. 25. Aged 79, Sir William Bennett. 26. Lady Harriet Gill, relict of the late W. Gill, Esq. 28. The Rev. Samuel Palmer, fifty years minister of the independent congregation at Hackney, and author of many excellent works.

DEC. 2. Mr John Robinson, bookseller

of Paternoster Row, highly respected for his integrity. 4. J. Gregory, Esq., many years treasurer of the Whig club. 5. The Rev. Sam. Herbert, D.D rector of Croxton Kerial. 8. George Wilbraham, Esq. formerly member of parliament for Bodmin. 9. Mr John Doddrige Humphries. 10. The lady of the Right Hon. Lord C. Bentinck.—The lady of Walter Fawkes, Esq. 13. Mary, the eldest daughter of Wm. Schreiber, Esq. 14. Chevalier Ruspini, surgeon dentist to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. 16. William Bosville, Esq. of Thorpe-Hall, in the county of York. 18. Charles Todd, Esq. on the Bengal Establishment.—In his 60th year, Mr George Sanderson, an eminent mathematician. 19. Mr Robert Lemon, 47 years chief clerk of the record office in the Tower of London.—David Hartley, Esq. son of the celebrated philosopher, and author of several literary works, and some useful inventions. 22. Geo. White, Esq. clerk of the election committees in the House of Commons. 30. John Augustus Bonney, Esq. solicitor.

PRINCIPAL APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS,

IN 1813.

General Floyd, Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury, vice Musgrave deceased.

JAN.—George Foy, Esq. Consul at the City and Port of Stockholm.

Lieutenant-Gen. Frederick Maitland, Lieutenant-Governor of Dominica.

FEB.—The Prince Regent has conferred the dignities of Viscount and Earl of the United Kingdom on the Right Hon. Gilbert Baron Minto, and his heirs-male, by the style and title of Viscount Melgund, of Melgund, co. Angus, and Earl of Minto, co. Roxburgh.

William A'Court, Esq. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Barbary States.

David Moneypenny, Esq. Advocate, a Lord of Session, and one of the Lords of Justiciary, in Scotland, vice Tytler deceased.

Alexander Maconochie, Esq. Advocate, his Majesty's Solicitor-General in Scotland.

William Laird, Esq. Consul at Malaga.

Bernard Athy, Esq. Consul at Alicant.

Richard Chandos, Marquis of Buckingham, Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Buckingham.

Major-Gen. Sir Charles Shipley, Knt. Governor of the Island of Grenada; Major-General George William Ramsay, Governor of the Island of St Croix.

The honour of Knighthood conferred on E. Hyde East, Esq. Chief Justice at Fort William in Bengal.

MARCH.—Lord Whitworth, K. B. a Lord of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber.

William Pugh, of Car Howell, Esq. Sheriff of the county of Montgomery, vice Corbett; and the following amendments on the roll: Pembroke, Gwynne Gill Vaughan, of Jordanstoun, Esq. Cardigan, Roderick Richardes, of Pentglais, Esq. Merioneth, Thomas Edwards, of Ty Issa, Esq.

Sir Richard Goodwin Keats, Governor and Commander in Chief of Newfoundland.

Viscount Lake, a Lord of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber.

APRIL.—James Hope, Esq. Conjunct Clerk to the Bills in the Office of Registers and Rolls in Scotland, vice Smith deceased.

Sir Thomas Plomer, Knt. his Majesty's Attorney-General, Vice-Chancellor of England.

Francis Lord Napier, his Majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Lord Viscount Sidmouth, High Steward of Westminster, vice Marquis of Buckingham deceased.

Henry Richmond, Esq. a Commissioner of the Customs, vice Frewin retired.

MAY.—Archibald Campbell, Esq. one of the Lords of Session, a Lord of Justiciary in Scotland, vice Sir William Honeyman, Bart. resigned; David Cathcart, Esq. Advocate, one of the Lords of Session, also vice Honeyman.

Sir William Garrow, Knt. his Majesty's late Solicitor-General, to be his Majesty's Attorney-General; Robert Dallas, Esq. one of his Majesty's Counsel, and late Chief Justice of Chester, to be his Majesty's Solicitor-General; and Richard Richards, Esq. one of his Majesty's Counsel, to be Chief Justice of Chester.

Viscount Melville, Admiral Domett, Sir J. S. Yorke, Right Hon. W. Dundas, Sir G. Warrender, J. Osborn, Esq. and

Lord H. Paulet, Commissioners for the Office of Lord High Admiral.

Major-General the Hon. Sir Charles Stewart, K. B. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Prussia.

George Jackson, Esq. Secretary of Legation at the Court of Prussia.

Sir T. Plomer, Knt. Vice-Chancellor, to be a Member of the Privy Council.

JUNE.—The Prince Regent has granted the dignity of a Viscount of the United Kingdom to Charles Baron Whitworth, by the title of Viscount Whitworth, of Adbaston, Staffordshire.

Viscount Whitworth, Lieutenant-Gen. and General Governor of Ireland.

James Earl of Fife, Lieutenant and Sheriff-Principal of the shire of Banff.

George Ross, Esq. one of the four Commissaries of Edinburgh, vice Bruce deceased.

Mr Charles Grace, Commissary Clerk of St Andrew's in Scotland, vice Stuart Grace.

Right Honourable T. Maitland, Governor and Commander in Chief of Malta and its dependencies.

Lieutenant-General the Honourable Alexander Hope, knighted and invested with the Ensign of the Order of the Bath.

Major-General H. Clinton, Colonel of 1st batt. 60th reg. an extra Knight of the Bath.

JULY.—Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville, Esq. one of the Clerks of the Privy Council in extraordinary.

Andrew Snape Douglas, Esq. Secretary of Legation to the Court of Palermo.

Marquis of Wellington, K. G. to be a Field-Marshal.

E. H. Lushington, Esq. Barrister, Coroner, and Attorney in the Court of King's Bench.

Earl of Delaware and Right Hon. Lord Graves, Lords of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber.

Lord Cathcart, F. Townsend, Esq. Windsor Herald, (as Deputy to Sir Isaac Heard, Garter Principal King of Arms,) and Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, Plenipotentiaries for investing the Emperor Alexander with the Order of the Garter.

AUG.—The Gazette contains his Majesty's permission to John Dimsdale, Esq. of Hamptstead, to assume the dignity of Baron, conferred by the late Empress of Russia on his father.

Thomas Tombs, Esq. Water Bailiff and Verger of Sandwich, vice Harvey deceased.

J. Cathrow, Esq. late Rouge Dragon Pursuivant of Arms, Somerset Herald, vice Atkinson deceased.

SEPT.—Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. Plenipotentiary at the Court of Vienna; Frederick Wise, Esq. Consul-General in Sweden.

Lieutenant-General Earl of Dalhousie, Lieutenant-Gen. Hon. W. Stewart, Major-General G. Murray, and Major-General Hon. E. M. Packenham, extra Knights of the Bath; D. Douglas, Esq. one of the Lords of Session, vice Craig deceased.

Sir Rupert George, Bart. James Brown, Esq. Hon. John Douglas, John Harness, M. D. Hon. Courtenay Boyle, and John Forbes, Esq. Commissioners for conducting the Transport Service, &c.

A. Palmer, Esq. one of his Majesty's Serjeants-at-Law, Commissioner for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors.

The Prince Regent approves of the renewal of the appointment of Mr Emanuel Viale to be Consul for the Emperor of all the Russias at Gibraltar.

The Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to grant the dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom to the following gentlemen and their respective heirs-male: viz. Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. Admiral of the Blue; George Hewitt, Esq. General in the Army; Hildebrand Oakes, Esq. Lieutenant-General in the Army; Thomas Hislop, Esq. Lieutenant-General in the Army; Josias Rowley, Esq. Captain, R. N.; Philip-Bowes-Vere Broke, Esq. Captain, R. N.; Richard Puleston, of Emral, co. Flint, Esq.; Joseph Radcliffe, of Milnsbridge House, co. York, Esq.; John Beckett, of Leeds, co. York, and of Somerby Park, co. Lincoln, Esq.; Brydges-Trecothick Henneker, of Newton Hall, Essex, Esq.; Horace-David-Cholwell St Paul, of Ewart Park, Northumberland, Esq., with remainder to his brothers, Henry-Heneage St Paul and Chas. Maximilian St Paul, of Ewart Park, Esqrs.; Richard Borough, of Basledon

Park, Berks, Esq.; James Duff, Esq. Consul at Cadiz, with remainder to his nephew, Wm. Gordon of Stanhope Street, and his heirs-male; Rev. Samuel-Clarke Jervoise, of Hanover Square, of Idsworth Park, Hants, and of Woodford, Essex; Nathaniel William Wraxall, of Wraxall, Somerset, Esq; George Wm. Denys, of Stratford Place, Middlesex, Esq.; Samuel Young, of Formosa Place, Berks, Esq.; Frederick-Gustavus Fowke, of Sowerby, Leicestershire, Esq.

Earl of Aberdeen, K. T. Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Vienna; Hon. Frederick Lambe, Secretary to the Embassy.

OCT.—Viscount Melville, Rear-Admiral Sir J. S. Yorke, Knt., Right Honourable W. Dundas, Rear-Admiral G. J. Hope, Sir G. Warrender, Bart. John Osborne, Esq. and Rear-Admiral Lord Henry Paulet, Commissioners for the Office of Lord High Admiral.

Mr Andrew Dubatschefsky, approved of as Consul-General for Russia; and Mr Joze Manoel de Couto Garrido, Consul for Portugal at Dublin.

NOV.—The dignity of a Baronet of the United Kingdom to the Right Hon. Sir Archibald Macdonald, of East Sheen, Surrey, Knt. late Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and his heirs-male.

Right Hon. Charles Long, and Right Hon. Fred. John Robinson, to the office of Receiver and Paymaster-General of the Forces.

Lieutenant-Gen. Lord Charles Henry Somerset, Governor and Commander in Chief at the Cape of Good Hope. [The Gazette also notices the honour of Knighthood having been conferred upon Colonel G. Elder, and on Nathaniel Conant, Esq. on being appointed chief magistrate at Bow Street; the appointment of H. Savage Yeames, Esq. to be Consul General at the Russian Ports in the Black Sea; and of Robert Southey, Esq. to be Poet-Laureate.

Earl of Liverpool, Right Honourable N. Vansittart, Right Hon. W. Fitzgerald, B. Paget, and J. Brogden, Esqrs. and Viscount Lowther, Commissioners for executing the Office of Treasurer of the Exchequer.

Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, Field-Marshals in the Army.

DEC.—The following Flag-Officers were promoted: viz.

Admirals of the White, Richard Rodney, and Alexander Græme, Esqrs. to be Admirals of the Red.

Admirals of the Blue, Arthur Kempe, Esq. Sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B. and Sir R. Calder, Bart. to be Admirals of the White.

Vice Admirals of the Red, Robert M'Douall, Billy Douglas, John Wickey, John Fish, John Knight, and Edward Thornborough, Esqrs. to be Admirals of the Blue.

Vice-Admirals of the White, William Domett, William Wolseley, John Manley, George Murray, John Sutton, Robert Murray, Esqrs. Honourable Sir Alexander Cochrane, K. B. and John Markham, Esq. to be Vice-Admirals of the Red.

Vice-Admirals of the Blue, Nathan Brunton, John Schanck, Esqrs. Hon. Michael de Courcy, Philip d'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon, and John Hunter, Esq. to be Vice-Admirals of the White.

Rear-Admirals of the Red, Charles Tytler, Robert Watson, Esqrs. Right Hon. Allan Lord Gardner, Manley Dixon, George Losack, William Mitchell, Esqrs. and Sir Thomas Bertie, Knt. to be Vice-Admirals of the Blue.

Rear-Admirals of the White, Sir Charles Hamilton, Bart. Hon. Henry Curzon, W. Bligh, Laurence W. Halstead, Edward Oliver Osborn, Esqrs. Sir Harry Neale, Bart. Sir Joseph Sydney Yorke, Knt. Hon. Arthur Kaye Legge, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.

Rear-Admirals of the Blue, John Lawford, Frank Sotheron, Thomas Wolley, William Johnstone Hope, Esqrs. Right Hon. Lord Henry Paulet, C. W. Paterson, George Cockburn, Thomas Surridge, Samuel Hood Linzee, Esqrs. to be Rear-Admirals of the White.

And the under-mentioned Captains were also appointed Flag-Officers of his Majesty's Fleet: viz. Philip Wilkinson, Esq. Hon. Charles Elphinstone Fleming, Charles Vinicombe Penrose, William Hotham, George Hopewell Stephens, Pulteney Malcolm, William Nowell, James Bissett, John Clements, Esqrs. Sir John

Gore, Knt. and John Harvey, Esq. to be Rear-Admirals of the Blue.

Hon. Henry Hotham, George Boulton, Esq. Sir Josias Rowley, Bart. and Edward Codrington, Esq. Colonels in his Majesty's Royal Marine Forces, vice Hon. C. E. Fleming, C. V. Penrose, J. Bissett, and P. Malcolm, Esqrs. Flag-Officers.

John Hunter, Esq. his Majesty's Consul-General in Spain.

Earl of Clancarty, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Prince of Orange Nassau, Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands; Robert Gordon, Esq. Secretary to that Embassy.

Colonel his Serene Highness William Frederick Henry, Hereditary Prince of Orange, a Major-General in the Army.

Earl of Liverpool, Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart, Right Hon. Wm. Fitzgerald, Berkeley Paget, Esq. Viscount Lowther, and Charles Grant, jun. Esq. Commissioners for executing the Office of Treasurer of the Exchequer.

Major-Gen. Barnes, Lieut.-Gen. of the Leeward Islands, vice R. H. Losack, Esq.

G. Warre, Esq. Consul for Biscay and Guipuscoa.

Sheriffs appointed by the Prince Regent in Council, for the year 1813.

Bedfordshire, Richard Parks, of Luton, Esq.

Berkshire, W. Y. Mills, of Wadley, Esq.

Buckinghamshire, Thomas Sheppard Cotton, of Thornton-hall, Esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Char. M. Chere, of Papworth Everard, Esq.

Cheshire, Fra. Jodrell, of Henbury, Esq.

Cumberland, Sir Wastel Brisco, of Crofton-place, Bart.

Derbyshire, Robert Holden, of Darley Abbey, Esq.

Devonshire, Richard Hippisley Tuckfield, of Fulford, Esq.

Dorsetshire, Robert Ratcliffe, of Winterborne Zelston, Esq.

Essex, R. J. Brassey, of Great Ilford, Esq.

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Appointed by the Prince Regent.

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